

BRILL'S STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

General Editor

A.J. VANDERJAGT, University of Groningen

Editorial Board

M. COLISH, Oberlin College

J.I. ISRAEL, University College, London

J.D. NORTH, University of Groningen

H.A. OBERMAN, University of Arizona, Tucson

R.H. POPKIN, Washington University, St. Louis-UCLA

VOLUME 97



QUEEN JEANNE AND THE PROMISED LAND

*Dynasty, Homeland, Religion and
Violence in Sixteenth-Century France*

BY

DAVID BRYSON



BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
1999

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bryson, David.

Queen Jeanne and the Promised Land / by David Bryson.

p. cm. — (Brill's studies in intellectual history, ISSN 0920-8607 ; v. 97)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 9004113789

1. Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, 1528-1572—Influence.
2. Guyenne (France)—Church history—16th century.
3. Queens-France—Guyenne—Biography.
4. Huguenots—France—Guyenne.
5. France—History—Charles IX, 1560-1574—Religious aspects.
6. Reformation—France—Guyenne. I. Title. II. Series.

DC112.J4B79 1999

944'.028'092—dc21

[B]

99-16388

CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Bryson, David:

Queen Jeanne and the Promised Land / by David Bryson – Leiden ;

Boston ; Köln : Brill, 1999

(Brill's studies in intellectual history ; Vol. 97)

ISBN 90-04-11378-9

ISSN 0920-8607

ISBN 90 04 11378 9

© Copyright 1999 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

All efforts have been done to obtain copyright of illustrations. Those copyright holders who have not been contacted are requested to contact the publisher.

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal
use is granted by Brill provided that
the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright
Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910
Danvers MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xiii
Plate: Jeanne III d'Albret	xv
Map: Gouvernement General de Guienne et Guascogne	xvi
Introduction	1
Part One: The Promised Land	
Chapter One: The Land of Aquitaine or Guyenne	17
a. Crossing the river at Bordeaux, April 1470	17
b. What was Aquitaine or Guyenne before 1555?	18
c. In what ways was Guyenne <i>particular</i> ?	26
d. Why was Guyenne a cradle of Protestantism?	32
Chapter Two: The House of Albret	43
a. Pamplona, 10 January 1494	43
b. The rise and rise of the House of Albret	44
c. Monarchs of Navarre	50
d. Sovereigns of Béarn	53
e. Governors and admirals of Guyenne	58
f. The evangelising of Marguerite?	63
g. Jeanne and Antoine	69
Chapter Three: The Evangelising of Jeanne, 1555-1560	77
a. Pau, 22 August 1555	77
b. Geneva and Guyenne, 1534-1557	85
c. Geneva and Béarn-Navarre, 1557-1559	101
d. The Conversion of Jeanne, 1560	108

Part Two: Exodus

Chapter Four: 'Christ is Risen Again in Aquitaine':

The Politicising of Jeanne, 1561-1567	121
a. Pau, 7 January 1561	121
b. Issigeac, February-May 1561	122
c. On the road to Poissy, 19 July 1561: 'all the heretics waiting expectantly, as if for the Messiah'	132
d. War and desolation: 'The cause is so just,' 13 May 1562	143
e. Death and resurrection: 'Christ is risen again in Aquitaine,' 1562	148
f. 'In Béarn I recognise only God': Jeanne sovereign, 1563-1567	152
g. 'A fatal necessity': the isolating of Protestant Guyenne, 1567	165

Chapter Five: The Road to La Rochelle: 'The God of

Armies will sustain his so just and good cause':

Jeanne Militant, 1568	172
a. Navarre, 24 March 1568	172
b. Nérac, 1 September 1568: 'The Children of Abraham now having gone out of Egypt'	177
c. Nérac, 6 September 1568: 'They must make the whole leap to surge forth to the promised land'	188
d. 'To the service of my God, my King, my homeland and my blood': Bergerac, 16 September 1568	196
e. La Rochelle, 28 September 1568: 'I had the war in my guts'	205
f. Geneva, 6 February 1569: 'All Aquitaine this side of the Garonne is ours, except Bordeaux'	208

Part Three: Sanctuary

Chapter Six: Journey to the End of Night:

The Great Retreat, 1569-1570	215
a. Béarn and Bordeaux, March and April 1569	215
b. La Rochelle, January to June 1569: 'Pax certa, Victoria integra, Mors honesta'	217

c. 'The land of the Amorites'	221
d. Béarn, June to September 1569: 'a war so holy as this, which is the question of the honour and glory of God'	228
e. La Rochelle to the river Garonne, October to December 1569: 'The cities that are on the banks of the Arnon'	239
f. 'Lost beneath the waves of the Garonne,' January 1570: 'The peace that the king wants to give us, he wants to sign with the point of his sword'	251
Chapter Seven: To the City of Blood, 1570-1572	265
a. The Royal Road: La Rochelle, September 1570- August 1571	265
b. 'By baton blows': Jeanne's <i>Ordonnances</i> of March 1570-March 1571	273
c. 'The battle between theocracy and democracy': The Synod and Confession of La Rochelle, April 1571	278
d. 'The entire restoration of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ': Jeanne's <i>Ordonnances ecclésiastiques</i> , Pau, 26 November 1571	284
e. To the City of Blood, January-August 1572	292
f. Aftermath	299
Conclusion	307
Appendix	317
Illustrations, Plates 3-14.....	325
Bibliography	339
Index	367

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I dedicate this book to Anne Gilmour-Bryson, to whom my greatest thanks are due for her unfailing support at all times, and to Mary, Tom, and Katherine Bryson.

I wish to thank Job Lisman and Ivo Romein, editors, E.J. Brill, Leiden. I also thank particularly Dr Barry Collett, and Dr Ann Trindade, of the Department of History, The University of Melbourne. I am grateful for the assistance of the Faculty of Arts, the School of Graduate Studies, the Department of History, and Professor Peter McPhee, head of the Department of History, The University of Melbourne, as well as the staff of the Baillieu Library and the Research Collection of the University of Melbourne.

Further, I wish to express my thanks to the following for their help, interest and encouragement in various ways:

Anne-Marie Cocula, president, and Jean-Bernard Marquette, vice-president, of the Université de Bordeaux III. Suzanne Tucoo-Chala, president of the Centre d'Etude du Protestantisme Béarnais, Pau. Professors Pierre Tucoo-Chala and Christian Desplat, and maître de conférences Philippe Chareyre, of the Department of History, Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour.

Professor Emerita Elizabeth A.R. Brown, City University of New York. Professor Mark Greengrass, Department of History, University of Sheffield. Robert M. Kingdon, Professor of History, Institute for Research in the Humanities, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Dr Irena Backus, Institut d'histoire de la Réformation, Geneva. Dr Jonathan Powis, Balliol College, Oxford. Professor Christopher Stocker, Department of History, University of British Columbia. Dr Andrew Breeze, Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona. Dr Jacques Lagrange, Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord, Périgueux.

Father Leonard Boyle, OP; Monsignor Charles Burns, Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Francisco Javier Alvarez Pinedo, director, Departamento de Reprografia, Archivo General de Simancas. Guy Dusaussois, formerly conservateur en chef, Bibliothèque Universitaire de

Lettres et Sciences humaines, Université de Bordeaux. Jacques Staes, director, and the staff of the Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques, Pau. The direction and staff of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, particularly Annie Angrémy, director of collections spécialisées, Département des Manuscrits. The Archives nationales, Paris, particularly Christine Nougaret, and Florence Clavaud, conservateurs of the Centre d'accueil et de recherche. The librarian of the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, Paris. The librarian of the Bibliothèque municipale, Bergerac. Father James Farge, and Caroline Suma, the Pontifical Institute Library, Toronto. Kathleen Waldie Gibson, the Caven library of Knox College, Toronto. The direction and staffs of the Robarts Library, the E.J. Pratt Library and the Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, Victoria University, and the library of Emmanuel College, Toronto.

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives nationales, Paris
ADPA	Archives départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques, Pau
Arch. Gir.	Archives Historiques du Département de la Gironde
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i>
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BM	British Museum, London
BP	Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français
<i>BSHAP</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord</i>
<i>BSHPF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français</i>
<i>CSP</i> , For.	<i>Calendar of State Papers</i> , Foreign Series
<i>CSP</i> , Spain	<i>Calendar of Letters and State Papers</i> , Spain
<i>Hist. ecclés.</i>	Théodore de Bèze (attributed to), <i>L'Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Réformées au Royaume de France</i> , eds. G. Baum and E. Cunitz, 3 vols., Paris, 1883-1889 (reprint ed. of Antwerp, 1580)
<i>Lettres</i>	Jeanne III d'Albret de Navarre, <i>Lettres de treshaute, tres vertueuse, & tres chrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre</i> , La Rochelle, 1568
Lublinskaya	Aleksandra Dmitrievna Lublinskaya, ed., <i>Documents pour servir à l'histoire des guerres civiles en France (1561-1563)</i> , Moscow, 1962
<i>Mémoires</i>	Jeanne III d'Albret de Navarre, <i>Mémoires et Poésies</i> , ed. Alphonse de Ruble, Paris, 1893 (reprint 1970; originally <i>Ample déclaration sur la jonction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568</i> , La Rochelle, 1570)
<i>NOAB</i>	<i>New Oxford Annotated Bible</i> , Revised Standard Version, Oxford, 1973
<i>Opera Omnia</i>	Jean Calvin, <i>Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia</i> , eds. Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, Berlin, 1863-1900 (reprint 1964)
<i>Simancas</i>	Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España. Archivo General de Simancas

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Plate: Jeanne III d'Albret, queen of Navarre xv
(Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, ed. Ruble)
2. Map: Gouvernement General de Guienne et Guascogne xvi
(N. Sanson d'Albeville, 1650, Musée National du Château de Pau)

ILLUSTRATIONS SECTION

3. Map: Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne 325
(Bernard Antoine Jaillot, Paris, 1733)
Section One: La Rochelle to Bordeaux
4. Map: Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne
(Bernard Antoine Jaillot, Paris, 1733)
Section Two: Bordeaux to Nérac and Montauban
5. Map: 'Les domaines de la maison de Bourbon-Navarre
(1515-1589)'
(Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon*, Atlantica, 1997, p. 5)
6. Map: 'Le croissant huguenot du Midi de la France'
(Janine Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, from Samuel Mours, *Les Eglises Réformées en France*)
7. Map: 'Area administered by the Parlement of Toulouse'
(Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr., *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*)
8. Colloquy of Poissy, contemporary engraving, Tortorel and
Pérrissin (Henry Martyn Baird, *Theodore Beza*)
9. First letter of Queen Jeanne to the viscount of Gourdon, 22
August 1555
(BNF, fr 17044 [Portefeuilles Vallant v.1], fol.446r, copy)

10. Coded/decoded dispatch, Chantonnay to Philip II, St Cloud, 21 September 1561 (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España. Archivo General de Simancas MS K.1495, no.70, original)
11. Ordinance of Jeanne, queen of Navarre, La Rochelle, 26 March 1570
(ADPA MS B.1463, original parchment)
12. *Ordonnances de Jeanne d'Albret relatives à la saisie des biens ecclésiastiques en Béarn et en Navarre*, La Rochelle, 7 March 1571
(ADPA MS E.587, fol.1r)
13. Ibid., supplication 'A La Regine,' section three, part one, fol.1r
14. Ibid., response of Queen Jeanne, section three, part two, fol.1v



. Le Rat sc. 1876.

Imp A. Salmon.

1. Jeanne III d'Albret, queen of Navarre
(Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, ed. Ruble)



2. Gouvernement General de Guienne et Guascogne
(N. Sanson d'Albeville, 1650, Musée National du Château de Pau)

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1568, a small troop of men, women and children crossed the river Loire. As they splashed through the shallows of the broad river, they sang Psalm 114 of the new Genevan or Huguenot psalter of the Reformed religion, 'When Israel went out of Egypt':

Quand Israël hors d'Egypte sortit,
Et la maison de Jacob se partit
D'entre le peuple estrange.
Juda fut fait la grande gloire de Dieu,
Et Dieu se fait Prince du peuple Hebreu,
Prince de grand'louange.¹

While they sang these words, they were conscious not only of the identification of their own crossing with the miraculous Biblical parting of the waters of the Red Sea; they also saw themselves as God's Chosen People escaping bondage in royal Catholic France, going in Exodus to the Protestant sanctuary of la Rochelle in the territory of the province of Guyenne, the 'Promised Land' of old Aquitaine that lay between the Loire and the Pyrenees. There, they would be joined by Jeanne d'Albret, and her children Henry and Catherine.

I will argue that Jeanne d'Albret III (1528-1572), queen of Navarre, played a leading role in an attempt, at first by peaceful and then by military means in the years between 1555 and 1572, to establish a Protestant homeland in the ensemble of Aquitanian domains which she held by inherited title or by ownership, and beyond those lands, throughout the province of Guyenne which her family gov-

¹ Clement Marot and Theodore de Bèze, *Pseaumes de David*, ed. of 1561, signed 'Ex bibliot. Mon. D. Bern. Paris,' CXIII, C.M., 'In exitu Israël de Aegypto,' verse 1. For comparison, the following Kirk of Scotland sung version is from *The Psalms of David in Meeter*, Edinburgh, Evan Tyler, 1650, p.64, in *The Holy Bible*, John Canne, 1682, unpaginated:

When Isra'l out of Egypt went,
and did his dwelling change,
When Jacobs house went out from those
that were of language strange.
He Judah did his Sanctuary,
His Kingdome Israel make.

erned.² That such an attempt was made has been stated by some historians, disputed by others, and for the most part ignored. Four centuries after her death, there is still no single work dedicated to the subject of the extension, use, and result of Jeanne d'Albret's political, religious and military power and influence in the wider territory of Guyenne. This book sets out to bridge that gap.

The case for the religious, political, and military reality of the effort to create a Reformed Protestant establishment in Guyenne will be presented through the abundant evidence of manuscript and printed sources. The aims will be, firstly, to show why and how this attempt took place in the territory of Guyenne; secondly, to portray the eventually dominant role of Jeanne d'Albret in the conception and carrying-out of the attempt; and thirdly, to demonstrate the ways in which the entwined themes of dynasty, homeland, religion and violence in the territory of Guyenne were combined in the story of the person who was Jeanne III d'Albret, queen of Navarre.³

The book is organised in three parts, whose titles reflect the analogies made by the Reformed between themselves and the Israelites of the Old Testament. In Part One, entitled 'The Promised Land,' chapter one, 'The Land of Aquitaine or Guyenne,' will portray the long-term setting of Guyenne as a distinct region whose particular attributes contributed to its attractiveness as a setting for the evangelising mission of the Reformed religion. Chapter two, 'The House of Albret,' will show the spreading of the authority of the Albret dynasty beyond its base of power in Béarn and Navarre, to extend throughout the territory of Guyenne. Chapter three, 'The Evangelising of Jeanne,' will demonstrate the links between Jeanne's conversion, the Reformed mission from Geneva to create a 'Promised Land' in the province of Guyenne, and the establishment of the Reformed religion in Jeanne's realm of Béarn and Navarre.

In Part Two, entitled 'Exodus,' chapter four, 'Christ is Risen Again in Aquitaine,' will follow the process, through the colloquy of Poissy and the first and second Wars of Religion, of Queen Jeanne's

² The terms 'Aquitaine' and 'Guyenne' are used interchangeably. In the sixteenth century, the territory of the provincial government of Guyenne had precise boundaries; these are defined in chapter one.

³ The relation between these themes has been suggested by Philip Benedict's use of 'the theme of the interplay of religion and politics' in his study of the case of Protestantism in the territory of the city of Rouen, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, Preface, p.xv.

politicisation for the Reformed cause. Chapter five, 'The Road to la Rochelle,' will show how Jeanne's increasing involvement in the Reformed political cause led to her 'Exodus' from her own realm, and her assumption of a leading military role in Guyenne at the outbreak of the third war.

In Part Three, 'Sanctuary,' chapter six, 'Journey to the End of Night,' will present the evidence of Jeanne's role in the attempt to establish a Protestant homeland in Guyenne by force of arms from the 'Sanctuary' of La Rochelle in the third War of Religion, and, finally, in chapter seven, 'To the City of Blood,' by the joining of dynasties through marriage.

Much of the earlier work on the Wars of Religion – particularly nineteenth-century scholarship – was polarised by the Catholic or Protestant bias of the historians. Modern scholarship has had a generally less religious focus, concentrating on the social, economic and political nature of the conflict. More recently, however, there has been a return to the view arguing the relative importance of religion. This book is concerned with the consequences of the combination of religion and politics. For Queen Jeanne, the war was 'in my guts,'⁴ a conflict between her personal faith and identity with what she had come to accept as the 'true religion' on the one hand, and, on the other, the external demands of the exercise of political and military power for 'the general cause' of the Reformed party, the preservation of her dynasty, her sovereign realm of Béarn and Navarre, and the territory of Guyenne under her family's government.

The combination of religion and politics in Jeanne d'Albret will be considered in the territorial context of Guyenne. The early establishment of the Reformed religion in Guyenne was in part a consequence of the region's cultural differences and physical distance from the 'France' of Paris and the royal court. The comradeship between Jeanne and her followers was deepened by the bonds of local loyalty that are formed by shared experience in the same place. Jeanne's

⁴ In the context of her dilemma in deciding whether to remain in her own realm, or to abandon it in order to join the Protestant cause in La Rochelle in 1568, Jeanne said 'J'eu la guerre en mes entrailles.' (Jeanne d'Albret de Navarre, *Mémoires et Poésies*, ed. le Baron de Ruble, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1970, [reprint of the Paris edition of 1893], p.90. Original title *Ample déclaration sur la jonction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568*, La Rochelle, 1570.)

evangelisation and its consequences will be considered within that particular setting of community and landscape.

This book differs from previous work on Jeanne d'Albret in several ways. First among these is its argument, through its focus on Guyenne and its close analysis of contemporary manuscripts and printed works, for Jeanne's vision of Guyenne as a Protestant homeland, and her involvement in events – including the military actions of 1569-1570 – aimed at the realisation of that vision. Secondly, as a result of its analysis of contemporary sources, including (though with caution, as noted below, and throughout) full text transcriptions and analyses of the principal among the unpublished, and disputed, manuscript copies of Jeanne's letters to the viscount of Gourdon,⁵ an overall picture of Jeanne d'Albret as a militant leader emerges, which challenges the softer portraits presented by previous works.

Apart from a sixteenth-century 'official history' by Bordenave, and the incomplete work of the nineteenth-century historian Alphonse de Ruble, to which I will return, the historiography of Jeanne d'Albret consists almost entirely of biographies. Of those, only two can be considered to be scholarly monographs by modern standards.⁶ Of these, Nancy Lyman Roelker's work of 1968, *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572*, is by far the more important, regarded as the 'definitive' biography at the time of its publication. It has not been superseded,⁷

⁵ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS fr 17044 (Portefeuilles Vallant, vol.1).

⁶ There have been seven biographies of Jeanne d'Albret: 1. Mlle. Vauvilliers, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, Reine de Navarre*, 3 vols., Paris, L. Janet and F. Guitel, 1818; 2. Martha Walker Freer, *The Life of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre*, 2 vols., London, Hurst and Blackett, 1855; 3. Théodore Muret, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret Reine de Navarre*, Paris, Grassart, 1861 (it adds nothing to Vauvilliers and Freer, and in fact seems a one-volume synthesis of them); 4. P.F. William Ryan, *Queen Jeanne of Navarre*, London, Hutchinson & Co., 1911 (microfilm: New Haven [Conn.], Research Publications, 1977, 'History of Women,' no.6952, from the library of Smith College, Northampton [Mass.]; this work has little to recommend it); 5. Bernard Nabonne, *Jeanne d'Albret Reine des Huguenots*, Paris, Hachette, 1945 (a sympathetic, if romanticised, popular synthesis); 6. Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1968; 7. Yves Cazaux, *Jeanne d'Albret*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1973. In addition, a chapter of C.C. Cairns, *Noble Women*, London, T.C. and E.C. Jack, 1911, 'Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre,' pp.74-109, is a charming, if sometimes incorrect, sentimental souvenir of its time.

⁷ See list above. Roelker's book was reviewed by Raymond F. Kierstead of Yale University, in *American Historical Review*, LXXV, 2 (December 1969), 507-8. In Kierstead's judgement at that time, 'This volume should stand as the definitive biography of the Queen of Navarre.'

but it is a full biography meant for the broader public, and to a modest degree psychohistorical. As such, it leaves a gap concerning Jeanne's role in the attempt to establish Guyenne as a Protestant homeland. With regard to Protestant aspirations in Guyenne as early as the autumn of 1561, Roelker gives a brief and vivid description:

In the southwest, where the movement was already well-launched, the Huguenot party was forming a sort of military republic, with a captain for each church and a colonel for each local group of churches under a general in each of the two regions, Guyenne and Languedoc.⁸

Having raised this theme within the context of her biography, Roelker does not pursue it. In particular, Jeanne's direct and indirect military involvement in the third War of Religion is largely omitted in Roelker's study. Further, her use of sources has in some instances resulted in problems, which I have attempted to identify by presenting original texts and corrected citations. Despite these particular problems (which have been exacerbated in the French language version of the book),⁹ Roelker's remains the best, most balanced and reliable biography of Jeanne d'Albret in either language.

The other modern monograph is Yves Cazaux's *Jeanne d'Albret* of 1973.¹⁰ Despite its impressive bibliography, Cazaux's text is developed without adequate reference to sources, and its considerable dramatic effect is sometimes obtained through stylistic devices which sacrifice chronology and clarity. Cazaux claims that the seventeenth-century manuscript copies of Jeanne's letters to the viscount of Gourdon are forgeries, and dismisses them from further consideration.¹¹ I will provide a close examination of the texts of those letters, and will, after my investigation into the question of their authenticity, make substantial use of them. Overall, Cazaux presents a 'softened' portrait of a less militant Jeanne, mother and moulder of Henry of Navarre as the great conciliator and saviour of the French nation. Such a portrait may be consistent with 'official' histories of Henry IV, but I will argue that it is inconsistent with the weight of contemporary evidence.¹²

⁸ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.163.

⁹ Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret Reine de Navarre 1528-1572* (French trans. G. de B. Merrill), Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1979.

¹⁰ See list, above.

¹¹ Cazaux, *Jeanne d'Albret*, note, pp.376-7.

¹² Cazaux also set out his revisionist view of Jeanne in a journal article, 'Pour un nouveau portrait de Jeanne d'Albret,' *BSHPF*, 119th year (October-December 1973),

Published five years after Roelker's work, Cazaux's book seems to have been produced as a French rejoinder to Roelker, but in this it does not succeed. Even in its flawed French edition (itself perhaps aimed at countering Cazaux), Roelker's work has in no sense been displaced by Cazaux's.

It would be wrong to pass over two nineteenth-century biographies of Jeanne, the first by Mlle. Vauvilliers in 1818, and the second, in English, 1855, by Martha Walker Freer.¹³ In my view they offer a still-useful attention to detail and a number of perceptions of Jeanne, particularly about her military involvements, that are sometimes missing in the modern accounts. In particular, I have taken the lead suggested by Vauvilliers' reference to Jeanne's 'Parthenay strategy' in the wake of the Protestant defeat at the battle of Moncontour in 1569, to investigate the contemporary evidence of Jeanne's leading role in the subsequent shift in Protestant military goals, away from the north, and towards the south.

On the rise and fall of Protestantism in general in southwestern France, modern scholarship includes several works by Janine Garrisson and Anne-Marie Cocula.¹⁴ The foundations for examining the history of the relation between Geneva and the Protestant establishment in Guyenne have been laid by Robert Kingdon.¹⁵ The reason *why* the initial Protestant establishment in France was so strongly cen-

502-528. The 1973 reinterpretation by Cazaux seems to have found acceptance by some francophone readers, such as the duc de Castries, who published a supporting article titled 'Jeanne d'Albret,' *Revue des Deux Mondes* (April 1974), 32-46.

¹³ See list above.

¹⁴ Janine Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598*, Toulouse, Privat, 1980; 'Les Protestants du Sud-Ouest et le premier Bourbon,' in *Provinces et pays du Midi au temps de Henri de Navarre, 1555-1589*, Bordeaux, Association Henri IV, 1989. A.M. Cocula, 'Le rôle de la Guyenne dans la conquête du royaume 1576-1589,' in *Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume* (Actes de la colloque III – Pau-Nérac de l'Association 'Henri IV, 1989'), Pau, J & D Editions, 1990, pp.123-143; 'Cyrano et Bergerac,' in *Bergerac et le Bergeracois* (XLIIe congrès d'études régionales, Bergerac, 1990), 1992, p.11; and 'Conclusion générale,' in Garrisson, *Provinces et pays du Midi*, p.317.

¹⁵ Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France 1555-1563*, PhD thesis, Columbia University, Dept of Political Science, 1955; *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572: A Contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Calvinist Resistance Theory*, Madison (Wisc), University of Wisconsin Press, 1967; *Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin*, eds. R.M Kingdon and J.F. Bergier, 11 vols., Geneva, Droz, 1962-1993. Note also Kingdon's 'Calvinism and Democracy: Some Political Implications of Debates on French Reformed Church Government, 1562-1572,' *American Historical Review*, LXIX, no.1 (Oct 1963), 393-405.

tred on the territory of Guyenne is confronted by Mark Greengrass in his *The French Reformation* (1987). Greengrass deals with this territorial issue in chapter three of his book, 'The Social Geography of French Protestantism,' in which he argues that notables in the powerful *pays* of southern France came to identify their own survival with that of the Protestant movement. The result, as Garrisson and Cocula have also shown, was the creation of a 'Calvinist crescent' of semi-autonomous small towns far from royal France, stretching across Guyenne in a 'Protestant diagonal' from La Rochelle to Montauban.¹⁶ In the provincial capital cities of Bordeaux and Toulouse, however, the pattern was less clear. The work of Jonathan Powis has concentrated on the Parlement of Bordeaux and its vital role in the difficulties, which were to prove insurmountable, faced by the Protestants in their effort to establish their power over that city, which was the key to control of Guyenne.¹⁷

Historical perceptions of Jeanne d'Albret have been distorted by the quantity and nature of studies of her son. The great mass of material on Henry IV has been constructed in the overwhelmingly retrospective light of his later kingship, deeply encrusted with legend. It has undoubtedly contributed to the formation of distorted, diminished images of Jeanne. In this way, Jeanne has been cast in a minor role during the very period when she was a powerful leader, indeed *the* leader in Guyenne from 1562 to 1572, and the boy Henry had as yet done nothing of consequence. To consider the high-reaching dream, achievement and failure of Jeanne, it is necessary to look at her out of the context of Henry. I contend that the principal reason why Jeanne of Navarre has been neglected by historians is that, from their retrospective point of view, young Prince Henry, son of Queen Jeanne, lived to become a great pivotal king of what was to become the modern French nation, while Jeanne died shortly before the old nation's moment of greatest tragedy and deepest shame. Leaving aside the retrospective point of view, however, and focusing on the period

¹⁶ Mark Greengrass, *The French Reformation*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987, pp.42-62. See *Illustration*, 'Le croissant huguenot du midi de la France.'

¹⁷ Jonathan K. Powis, 'Order, Religion, and the Magistrates of a Provincial Government in Sixteenth-Century France,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 71 (1980), 180-196; and 'Guyenne 1548: The Crown, the Province and Social Order,' *European Studies Review*, 12, 1 (January 1982), 1-15.

1555-1572, the scale of relative importance becomes quite the opposite. My book therefore portrays Jeanne of Navarre as its principal subject, a recognised religious, political and military leader of great power and influence in her own right, and not as the mother of the eventual Henry IV, king of France.

The quantity of publications by nineteenth-century historians does, of course, include a great many works on the Wars of Religion in general (though very few on the southwest specifically). While this is a rich and often rewarding literature for exploration, it does tend to present highly-charged Catholic or Protestant points of view (as do the contemporary 'primary sources'). Alphonse de Ruble's several monographs are, however, usually accurate, objective, and useful, despite their focus on Jeanne's husband Antoine, and their uncompleted state.¹⁸ De Ruble's private papers, held by the University of Bordeaux, are an underused and largely unexplored manuscript resource.¹⁹ At the end of the nineteenth century, the fundamentally modern (in his devotion to primary source evidence) historian Paul Courteault shed new light on the relation between Jeanne and her arch-enemy Blaise de Monluc. For the background political histories of Béarn and Navarre, and the structure of the realm preceding Jeanne's reign, I have made use of the authoritative older works of Cadier and Dartigue-Peyrou, and the modern works by Pierre Tucoc-Chala and Christian Desplat.²⁰

¹⁸ Baron Alphonse de Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, Paris, Labitte, 1877; *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, 4 vols., Paris, 1881-86; *Jeanne d'Albret et la guerre civile*, vol. I (1562-1563; the only volume completed at Ruble's death), Paris, 1897.

¹⁹ Bibliothèque de Lettres et Sciences humaines, Université de Bordeaux III, Papiers de Ruble (Baron Alphonse de Ruble, 1831-1898), 139 boîtes.

²⁰ P. Courteault, *L'Invasion de l'armée des princes en Agenais* (Fin Novembre 1569-Janvier 1570), Agen, Imp. et Lithographie Agenoise, 1898 (37 pp.); *Blaise de Monluc historien*, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1970 (reprint of edition of Paris, A. Picard, 1908). Léon Cadier, *Les Etats de Béarn depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1888. Charles Dartigue-Peyrou, *La Vicomté de Béarn sous le règne d'Henri d'Albret (1517-1555)*, Paris, Soc. Belles Lettres, 1934; *Jeanne d'Albret et le Béarn d'après les délibérations des Etats et les registres du Conseil Souverain (1555-1572)*, Mont-de-Marsan, Imp. Jean-Lacoste, 1934. Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *La vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines jusqu'à 1620*, Bordeaux, Imp. Bière, 1961; Pierre Tucoc-Chala and Christian Desplat, *Principatus Beneamnia. La Principauté de Béarn*, Pau, Soc. Nouvelle d'Editions Regionales et Diffusion, 1980.

First among the numerous printed contemporary primary sources are the published writings of Jeanne d'Albret herself. In addition to Jeanne's *Mémoires et poésies*, printed at La Rochelle in 1570 under the original, more telling title, *Ample déclaration sur la jonction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568*,²¹ and her published letters of 1568 from Bergerac and la Rochelle,²² a selection of Jeanne's letters was edited by Rochambeau, and there is a scattering of her letters in various other printed works.²³ Theodore Beza's *Correspondance* and the published letters of Calvin contain a fascinating correspondence to, from, and about Jeanne which has been underexploited, misquoted, and misinterpreted.²⁴

Of the many published memoirs and chronicles of Jeanne's contemporaries, the most important are Blaise de Monluc's *Commentaires* (written 1571, published 1592),²⁵ and the Protestant pastor Bordenave's *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre, 1517 à 1572*, commissioned by Jeanne and written by him shortly after her death.²⁶ Among other memoirs containing contemporary or near-contemporary perceptions of Jeanne and of Protestant Guyenne are those of Antras, Aubigné, Brantôme, Condé, Fabas, Favyn, Gaches, Hotman, La Hueguerye, La Mothe-Fénelon, la Noue, La Popelinière, Le Riche,

²¹ Jeanne d'Albret de Navarre, *Mémoires et Poésies*, ed. le Baron de Ruble, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1970 (reprint of the Paris edition of 1893).

²² Jeanne d'Albret, *Lettres de treshaute, tres vertueuse, & tres chrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre, au Roy, à la Royne Mere, à Monsieur frere du Roy, à Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon son beau frere, & à la Royne d'Angleterre. Contenant les justes occasions de son parlement, avec Monseigneur le Prince & Madame Catherine les enfans, pour venir joindre à la cause generale, avec Monseigneur le Prince de Condé son frere*, La Rochelle, B. Berton, 1568.

²³ le Marquis de Rochambeau, *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret*, Paris, Lib. Renouard, 1877; *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. Hector de la Ferrière et al, 11 vols., Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1880-1943; Charles Durier and J. Carsalade du Pont, eds., *Les Huguenots en Bigorre*, Paris, Champion, 1884; Arnaud Communay, *Les Huguenots dans le Béarn et la Navarre*, Paris, Champion, 1885; Aleksandra Dmitrievna Lublinskaja, ed., *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des guerres civiles en France (1561-1563)*, Moscow, Akademia Nauka, 1962.

²⁴ Jean Calvin, *Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss, Brunswick and Berlin, 1863-1900 (reprinted 1964), vol. 18, 'Thesaurus Epistolicus Calvinianus,' 1878 (1964); *Letters of John Calvin*, ed. J. Bonnet (trans. M.R. Gilchrist), 4 vols., New York, Burt Franklin, 1972 (reprint of ed. of 1858). Théodore de Bèze, *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, eds. Hippolyte Aubert, Fernand Aubert, Henri Meylan [et al.], vols. 1-19 (1539-1578), Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1960-1996.

²⁵ Blaise de Monluc, *Commentaires*, ed. P. Courteault, Paris, Picard, 1911, 1911-1925 (reprinted 1964).

²⁶ N. de Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre, 1517 à 1572*, Paris, J. Renuard, 1873 (written between 1572 and the 1590s).

Olhagaray, Raemonde, Salefranque, Serres, Syrueilh and Tarde.²⁷ Of these, I have made particularly substantial use of Aubigné and La Popelinière.²⁸ In addition, the *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France* (1580), attributed to Theodore de Bèze, is detailed and usually reliable, although it expresses only the Protestant view.²⁹

Of the published contemporary documents, the most important are those of Queen Jeanne's *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* of Pau, 26 November 1571, and the 'Ecclesiastical Discipline of La Rochelle,' 6-12 April 1571, often referred to as 'The Confession of La Rochelle.'³⁰ It is, however, unpublished contemporary manuscripts that have proved the most fruitful sources for this book which, with its particular focus on Jeanne d'Albret in Guyenne, has enabled me to use all or parts of letters and documents which have not been transcribed and printed by other historians.

The greater part of the manuscript material on which this book is based is held in the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques in Pau, and in the Salle des Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, especially the Baluze collection of original field dispatches from the third War of Religion, 'Recueil de documents sur la reine Jeanne d'Albret, Originals 1567-1570,'³¹ the letter copy collection of Vallant, and of Dubrowski, '*Lettres originales de Jeanne d'Albret. Ex museo Petri Dubrowski. Copie du manuscrit de Saint-Peters-*

²⁷ See *Bibliography*, A. ii. Printed Sources.

²⁸ Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630), *Histoire universelle*, ed. Alphonse de Ruble, 10 vols., Paris, Renouard, 1886-1909 (ed. of 1616); *Histoire universelle*, ed. André Thierry, 9 vols., Geneva, Lib. Droz, 1981-1985 (ed. of 1626). Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *La vraye et entiere histoire des troubles et choses memorables, avenues tant en France qu'en Flandres, et pays circonvoisins, depuis l'an 1562*, books 1-14, La Rochelle, Pierre Davantes, 1573.

²⁹ Théodore de Bèze (attributed to), *L'Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, eds. G. Baum and E. Cunitz, 3 vols., Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1883 (edition of Antwerp, Jean Remy, 1580).

³⁰ A printed text of the *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* of Jeanne d'Albret is in Marquis de Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes Illustres du Vendômois. Antoine de Bourbon & Jehanne d'Albret*, Vendôme, Lemerancier et fils, 1879, pp.187-213. It faithfully replicates the text of the manuscript held by the BNF, n.a.f. 7188 (Brienne 217), fols.147-181. A text of the 'Ecclesiastical Discipline' has been edited by Glenn S. Sunshine, 'French Protestantism on the Eve of St. Bartholomew: The Ecclesiastical Discipline of the French Reformed Churches, 1571-1572,' *French History*, 4, no.3 (September 1990), 340-377. See also Aymon, *Les synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*, 2 vols., The Hague, 1710; and John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: or, the Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Church in France*, London, T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson, 1692, vol.1 (of 2).

³¹ BNF, Baluze 151, fols. 1-16, July-December 1569.

bourg.³² Substantial use has also been made of the precious contrasting perceptions of the Series K manuscripts, held by the Archivo General de Simancas, of decoded diplomatic dispatches of the Spanish ambassadors in France to Philip II of Spain, as well as the Series K 100/b collection of the Archives nationales, Paris, which record Queen Jeanne's Reformed government of La Rochelle, and which, as will be shown, were confused with the Simancas K material in the Roelker biography. Detailed descriptions of these and the other manuscript sources consulted are given in *Bibliography, A. Primary Sources, i. Manuscripts*.

The Pau material documents a remarkably well-organised early state bureaucracy, established by Jeanne's father King Henry II of Navarre, and maintained by her for the carrying out of such uncompromising policies as the confiscation of Roman Catholic property, wealth and revenues in Béarn and Navarre,³³ as well as for the upkeep, arming and manning of the strategically vital fortress of Navarrenx.

Among the manuscript holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale de France is a remarkable and little-known collection known as the 'Portefeuilles Vallant.' It consists of fifteen volumes of the papers which were left to the library of the abbey of St Germain des Près by Dr Jean Vallant upon his death in Paris in 1686. In the nineteenth century, these were transferred to what is now the Bibliothèque nationale. Among the mass of Dr Vallant's medical notes and letters are a number of historical letters, some of which appear to be originals, while others are seventeenth-century copies, possibly in Dr Vallant's own hand.³⁴ These, or the sources from which they were copied, may have been among the papers left or given to Vallant by grateful patients who moved in the highest Parisian social and literary circles of the second half of the seventeenth century, such as madame de Guise, the countess of Maure, and madame de Sablé, for whom Vallant acted as secretary.³⁵ Of this

³² BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53.

³³ Such as, for example, ADPA, MS E.587, fols.1-9, 'Ordonnances de Jeanne d'Albret relatives à la saisie des biens ecclésiastiques en Béarn et en Navarre,' La Rochelle, 7 March 1571.

³⁴ BNF, fr 17044-17058 (Portefeuilles Vallant, vols.1-15).

³⁵ On Dr Vallant and his medical papers, see Paul-Émile Le Maguet, *Le monde médicale parisien sous le grand roy, suivi du 'portefeuille' de Vallant, médecin de S.A.R. Mme de Guise et de Mme la Mise de Sablé*, Paris, A. Maloine, 1899, especially part II, 'Le portefeuille de Vallant.' On Vallant's patients and his relations with them, see Victor Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*, Paris, Didier, 1859, and Edouard de Barthélemy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé. Recueil de lettres des principaux habitués de son salon*, Paris, E. Dentu, 1865.

material, only a portion of the first volume need concern us here. It contains copies of a private correspondence between Jeanne d'Albret and a person addressed only as 'the viscount of Gourdon,' and a further correspondence, after Jeanne's death, between her son Henry and the viscount of Gourdon. The combined correspondence covers a period of fifty years, from 1555 to 1605. Although the viscount's name is not stated, the evidence, both external and internal, points to the fact, which has not been noted before, that he is not one but *two* persons, Nicolas de Flotard, viscount of Gourdon, of Cénevières, followed by his son and heir, Antoine.

The nine letters of which Jeanne is the apparent author present a striking, and potentially important, portrait of Jeanne militant, a harder-edged image of her than comes through to us from her more public writings, or from what some historians have written about her, in their softened portrayal of Jeanne as 'the mother of Henry the fourth.' A controversy exists, however, over the question of the authenticity of some or all of these letter copies. In recent years, the historians Raymond Ritter and Yves Cazaux (as already noted) have argued that the letters are forgeries,³⁶ though they have been accepted, at least in part, and used in varying degrees, by Berger de Xivrey, Pierre Jourda, and Nancy Lyman Roelker.³⁷ I have recently completed what is, to my knowledge, the most thorough investigation of the question that has yet been made.³⁸ This has included an overall examination of the Vallant collection, and a detailed examination of the texts of all of the Albret-Gourdon letter copies, including the problems of fact, dating, location, style, spelling, and handwriting. My findings are summarised in the *Appendix*, where the full texts of letters of which use has been made are also to be found. I have included English translations in full of those letters which are significant to my argument. There are some inconsistencies, particularly of

³⁶ Raymond Ritter, *Les Solitudes de Marguerite de Navarre (1527-1549)*, Paris, H. Champion, 1953, p.200, n.71; Yves Cazaux, *Jeanne d'Albret*, note, pp.376-7, previously cited.

³⁷ Berger de Xivrey, *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV*, vol.1 (1562-1584), Paris, Imp. Royale, 1843, pp.315-316, and p.315, notes 1 and 2; Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549)*, Paris, H. Champion, 1930, vol.1, p.181, n.62; Roelker, *Queen of Navarre* (1968), pp.127, 454 nn.15 and 34, 457 n.17, 461 nn.4, 7, 8, and *Jeanne d'Albret* (1979), p.24, note, and p.111. See also Freer, *Life of Jeanne d'Albret* (1855), vol.1, p.240.

³⁸ The investigation is detailed in my article, 'The Vallant Letters of Jeanne d'Albret: Fact or Forgery?', *French History*, 13, 2 (June 1999).

date and location, from which I conclude that some or all of the letters clearly have been embellished by a copyist. In my view, these findings, to be expected in non-contemporary copies of originals which no longer exist, do not justify the dismissal of these letter copies as forgeries, and should not be allowed to preclude their transcription here. I would add, however, that although my use of these letters is substantial, my argument does not depend on the evidence – whether authentic or not – of the Vallant correspondence. From 1568 onwards, in Jeanne's contemporary published memoirs, and in her published and unpublished original letters, an indisputably authentic private and public portrait of Queen Jeanne emerges, and it is not at variance with that presented in the Vallant correspondence.

As its title indicates, the book has three subjects: Jeanne III d'Albret, queen of Navarre; the land called Guyenne; and the Reformed – sometimes called Huguenot – religious, political and military movement for the establishment of Protestantism within that land. Part One, 'The Promised Land,' chapters one and two, will introduce and define two of those subjects separately: the land of Guyenne, and the dynasty of the house of Albret. While I have deliberately sought this separation for the sake of clarity and the preservation of chronology, I have also indicated ways in which these two elements of homeland and dynasty, and, in a foreshadowing way, the third element of religion, will be linked in the dream of a Promised Land of Guyenne. The enactment of that dream begins in 1555, but to set the stage on which it will unfold, its first scene will open nearly a century earlier, at the gates of the city of Bordeaux, capital of Guyenne, in April of the year 1470.

PART ONE

THE PROMISED LAND

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAND OF AQUITAINE OR GUYENNE

a. Crossing the river at Bordeaux, April 1470

On 29 April 1469, Louis XI, king of France, granted the duchy of Guyenne in apanage to his brother Charles, who had been dissatisfied with his smaller apanage of Berry.¹ A year later, in April 1470, Charles arrived in state on the north bank of the river Garonne, opposite the city of Bordeaux, capital of the duchy:

On the entry of the duke of Guyenne to Bordeaux in April 1470, the streets were hung with cloth of gold, although the occasion was marred by rain. When Charles of France arrived by boat from Lormont he was met by the archbishop and clergy of Bordeaux. The semi-spiritual origins of his authority were symbolically emphasised. The duke was dressed in the habit of a canon and bread and wine were given to him when he entered the cathedral, where he was to take and to receive the appropriate oaths.²

The image of this river crossing both foreshadows events to come, and echoes those past. The comparison is striking, for example, between the picture painted above of Charles of France coming to take up the government of Guyenne, and that of young Prince Louis of France at precisely the same spot three centuries earlier, come to wed Eleanor and become duke of Aquitaine in 1137:

Before the middle of July they debouched from the low wooded hills of Larmont and pitched their colored pavilions on the level stretches by the river. From his royal tent, sown with the lilies of France, the prince could look westward when the sun went low upon the moon-shaped

¹ Claude de Vic and Jean-Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 2nd ed., ed. Auguste Molinier, 15 vols., Toulouse, E. Privat, 1889, vol.2 (1443-1643), no.LXII, p.73. When Charles died, 24 May 1472, Louis XI took Guyenne back to the Crown as a provincial government.

² Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne: A study of politics, government and society in late medieval France*, Woodbridge (Suffolk), Boydell & Brewer, 1994, pp.11-12. Harris cites as his source AD Gironde G.285, fol.54r.

bend of the Garonne where Bordeaux sat enthroned, moated among rivers and girdled with towers ... The next day the prince and his escort crossed the river.³

A yet more dramatic contrast can be made with this picture of Charles, a royal Catholic prince dressed in canon's robes, being rowed in state across the river to Bordeaux from the former papal residence of Lormont on the north bank. There would be no bridge over the Garonne until the nineteenth century, so most travellers – or armies – from the north avoided the difficult crossings of the two rivers Dordogne and the Garonne by first crossing the Dordogne by the bridge upstream at Bergerac, or by taking the ferry across the Gironde estuary below both rivers at Blaye.⁴ Having come ashore on the south bank, Charles was welcomed by the archbishop and assembled clergy through the streets of the city of Bordeaux lined with cloth of gold – a picture very different from that recounted at the beginning of the introduction of this book, of the prince of Condé and his little band of psalm-singing Protestants fleeing the pursuing royal army, splashing desperately across the river Loire toward sanctuary in La Rochelle, a century later.

At this point, questions arise as to what was meant by the historical terms 'Aquitaine' and 'Guyenne', what was particular about this territory and its people, and how might those particularities have been factors in the conjunction on its soil of the house of Albret and the Protestant cause, to have given rise to the dream of a Promised Land of Guyenne? In order to address those questions, it will be necessary briefly to look back to the origins and development of the historical landscape of Aquitaine or Guyenne.

b. What was Aquitaine or Guyenne before 1555?

In its original Roman form, and at subsequent times, Aquitaine or Guyenne has, at least in rough outline, conformed to the land area

³ Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1950, p.4. On the effect of the marriage on the control and sovereignty of Aquitaine, see Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen and Duchess,' in William W. Kibler, ed., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*, Austin, University of Texas, 1976, p.13.

⁴ See *Illustrations*, Maps, 'Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne,' 1733, section one, La Rochelle to Bordeaux; section two, Bordeaux to Nérac and Montauban.

bound on its four sides by the clear geographical features of the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Loire River to the north, the Central Massif to the east, and the Pyrenees mountains to the south. The Atlantic Ocean penetrates within that land area on its western side by the Gironde Estuary at Bordeaux, to which the eastern Central Massif is connected by the Dordogne River, and the southern Pyrenees are connected by the Garonne River. The *Aquitania* of Roman Gaul, the English duchy of Aquitaine from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, and the French duchy and provincial government of Guyenne from the fifteenth century onwards, were, despite shifting boundaries, political terms for the same general territory.⁵

In modern France, and indeed throughout the world, Aquitaine is generally understood to mean the region of southwestern France, whereas Guyenne now is a little-used archaic term. Despite this, in the historical context of the sixteenth century, Guyenne is the term of precise choice. 'Gascony', while it remains a widely-recognised term, is now almost totally restricted to the area south or west of the

⁵ On the evolution of the medieval duchy of Aquitaine, and its inheritance by Eleanor of Aquitaine as its sovereign ruler, see: M. l'Abbé Expilly, *Dictionnaire Géographique Historique et Politique des Gaules et de la France*, vol.1, Paris, Desaint & Saillant, 1762 (reprint Liechtenstein, Klaus Reprint, 1978): 'Aquitaine,' pp.219-222; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen and Duchess,' in William W. Kibler, ed., *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*, pp.16-18, 22-23, and 34, n.123 (citing Pierre Chaplais, 'Le Traité de Paris de 1259 et l'inféodation de la Gascogne allodiale,' *Le Moyen Age* 61 (1955): 121-137; Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony 1204-1453*, London, Hamish Hamilton, p.5; and *Rôles Gascons*, vol.1 (1242-1254), vol.I Supplément (1254-1255), vol.II (1273-1290), vol.III (1290-1307), Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1885-1906; *Gascon Rolls*, vol.IV (1307-1317), London, HM Stationery Office, 1962.

On the general displacement of the name Aquitaine during the fourteenth century by the term 'Guyenne', see Bernard Guillemain, ed., *Les recettes et les dépenses de la Chambre Apostolique pour la quatrième année du pontificat de Clément V (1308-1309) (Introitus et Exitus 75)*, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 39, Palais Farnèse, Rome, 1978, p.x-p.xi, map, 'Limites du duché de Guyenne,' 1308-1309; Expilly, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, vol.3, 1764, pp.689-695; BNF, n.a.f. 7271 (Brienne 300), fols.7 and 23 of 1301-1303 (certified copy of 1652); and Roland Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, vol.4 (1368-1377), Paris, A. Picard, 1928, pp.1-4.

On the later territorial boundaries of the province of Guyenne, see maps, ADPA *Cote 1 Fi 8*, 'Description de Guienne,' seventeenth century; ADPA *Cote 1 Fi 3*, 'Gouvernement Général de Guienne et Gascogne et Pays circonvoisins,' 1651; the same basic map is reproduced in the frontispiece of this book. (Musée National du Château de Pau, 'Gouvernement General de Guienne et Guascogne,' 1650.) See also Charles Dartigue, *Histoire de la Guyenne* ('Que sais-je?'), Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950, map, pp.8-9, and the same author's *Histoire de Gascogne* ('Que sais-je?'), Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1951, map, pp.24-25.

Garonne River, and indicates not only a geographic, but a linguistic unity.⁶

While Aquitaine or Guyenne has a broad geographic unity in terms of its external boundaries of ocean, river, central massif, and mountain range, the topographical features of the land area within those limits do not present a natural unity for the way of life of its inhabitants, nor are its inhabitants now, nor were they at any period in the historical past, culturally homogeneous. It has been said that Aquitaine is not determined by consistent geographical limits, but is an artificial, ceaselessly changing construction.⁷ That is true today, in the current, primarily economic, concept of an 'Aquitaine Region'.⁸ To an even greater degree, it was true in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the shifting, primarily political concepts of a 'duchy of Guyenne', and a 'government of Guyenne', were devised to impose and maintain royal control over a distant, vast and diversified land, whose various, mainly rural and isolated people were scarcely aware of those in the next village or the next valley, let alone those in authority in Paris.⁹

In 1453, after three hundred years of English rule, Aquitaine passed to the crown of France, and sixteen years later, Louis XI made his gift of Aquitaine or Guyenne in apanage to his brother Charles, the scene of whose arrival to take the ducal office in 1470, 'crossing the river at Bordeaux', begins this chapter. This ceremony both recalled and renewed the promise of the incorporation of Aquitaine into the kingdom of France, begun, as Elizabeth Brown

⁶ For a linguistic map of Gascony as determined by Gascon place names, see Jean Seguy and X. Ravier, *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne*, Toulouse, C.N.R.S., 1971, vol.5, Fasc.1.

⁷ Bernard Guillemain, 'Le duché d'Aquitaine hors du catharisme,' in *Effacement du Catharisme? (XIIIe-XIVe s.)*, (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 20), Toulouse, E. Privat, 1985, pp.57-71. For definitions of Aquitaine, Guillemain cites J. Broussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt*, Paris, 1956, pp.112-155; and Maurice Bordes, *Histoire de la Gascogne*, Roanne, 1977, pp.61-70.

⁸ Michel Bergès, 'De la province Gascogne à la région Aquitaine,' in Robert Escarpit, ed., *La Gascogne: Pays, Nation, Région?*, Paris, Entente, 1982, p.59.

⁹ On this problem, see Xavier de Planhol and Paul Claval, *An historical geography of France*, trans. Janet Lloyd (of *Géographie Historique de la France*, Paris, Fayard, 1988), Cambridge University Press, 1994, 'The structure of the historic regions: the ill-defined area of Aquitaine and its margins', pp.178-180. As the authors state (on p.178), 'This was an unstable area, caught between the French and English monarchies, a vast inorganic mass which, following its definitive reunification with France, survived as the gigantic *gouvernement* known as Guyenne and Gascony.'

has noted, by the crossing of Louis VII to Bordeaux in 1137, and aborted by divorce in 1152.¹⁰

The English duchy of Aquitaine was ended, but the French duchy of Guyenne thus granted to Duke Charles in 1469 resembled it closely. This new Guyenne consisted of the territory south of the river Charente, together with the *pays* of Agenais, Périgord, Quercy, Saintonge, Aunis and the seigneurie of La Rochelle. Also, the western part of the seneschally of Toulouse was transferred to Guyenne, including Comminges and l'Isle-Jourdain, so that the river Garonne served as the boundary between Guyenne and Languedoc, and all the lands between the Atlantic Ocean and the left bank of the river Garonne were included in Guyenne.¹¹

In 1472, three years after taking the title, Charles, duke of Guyenne, died. Louis XI reunited Guyenne with the Crown, and made Pierre de Bourbon governor of Guyenne. Louis reserved for the Crown the *ressort* and *hommages* of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, Comminges and L'Isle-Jourdain.¹² The duchy of Guyenne had become the provincial government of Guyenne, a new political construction to serve the changing needs of the French monarchy.

The administrative area of the 'Gouvernement Général de Guyenne' is described and illustrated by mid-seventeenth-century maps as being composed of both the area generally called Guyenne above the Garonne river, and the area called Gascogne below the river. The area above the river comprised Guyenne,¹³ La Rochelle and the Aunis, the Saintonge, the Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, the Rouergue, and the Agenais. The portion below the river comprised Gascogne, the Landes, the Bazadais, the Albret, the Condomois, Armagnac, Comminges, Bigorre, Béarn, and the

¹⁰ 'The [French coronation] formula "Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians" had special relevance to the events that seemed destined to accomplish the incorporation of Aquitaine into the kingdom of France.' (Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians" and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 82, Part 7, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1992, p.15, citing the *Ordo* BNF, lat. 14192, fols. 73r-83v.) See also Brown, 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen and Duchess,' pp.15-16.

¹¹ De Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol.2, LXII, p.73, Amboise, 29 April 1469. Source cited: *Registre de la chambre des comtes de Paris. Comtes du domaine de la sénéchaussée de Toulouse*. As I will note, changes were made during the governorships of Henry d'Albret (1528-1555) and Antoine de Bourbon (1555-1562).

¹² *Ibid.*, LXIX, p.80.

¹³ This specific use of 'Guyenne' as the name of the area surrounding Bordeaux will be described below.

Basque.¹⁴ This combined area, outlined on the illustrated map of 1650, is essentially the same as that governed by Antoine de Bourbon, husband of Jeanne d'Albret, from 1555 until his death in 1562, and then by Henry of Navarre, Jeanne's son, from 1562 (at the age of nine) until her death in 1572. It will include those areas within its overall boundary which from 1555 until 1572 were ruled by Jeanne d'Albret with varying degrees of authority and power as queen of Navarre and sovereign dame of the independent state of Béarn, or by titular inheritance as duchess, countess, or viscountess, or by direct ownership, whether through inheritance or purchase. It will be the geographical boundary of this book, the land of Guyenne.

The sheer size of the land area of the government of Guyenne¹⁵ was such that its administration, and especially its defence in time of war, required the creation of subdivisions. As Lucien Romier commented, the term Guyenne was understood in 1560 to mean almost all of southwestern France.¹⁶ Defensively, the whole area of the General and Military Government of Guyenne was divided into Haute-Guyenne and Basse-Guyenne. Administratively, a smaller central area around Bordeaux was also called Guyenne.¹⁷

¹⁴ For this description of the combined area, I have used the text heading of the map ADPA, 'Cote l Fi 3' of 1651, to which I have added La Rochelle and the Aunis from the text heading of the 1650 map from the Musée National du Château de Pau, because it is complete, whereas the ADPA version ends to the north at Brouage, and so does not include La Rochelle and the Aunis. The area below the Garonne is best seen on the map ADPA, 'Cote l Fi 18', 'Partie Meridionale du Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne,' 1711. On this map, the boundary of the 'Gouvernement General de Languedoc' is carefully drawn. Montauban lies within Guyenne. Béarn, Soule, and Basse Navarre are separately delineated.

¹⁵ Approximately 70,000 square kilometres (Planhol and Claval, *An historical geography of France*, p.168).

¹⁶ Lucien Romier, in *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: La France à la veille des guerres de religion*, Geneva, Slatkine, 1978 (ed. of Paris, 1925), vol.1, p.258, in his discussion of a letter of Pedro d'Albret to King Philip II of Spain, from Nérac, 16 September 1560, citing Arch. Simancas K.886, no.170 [orig.].

¹⁷ This restricted Guyenne is defined by Gouron as the Bordelais, plus the ecclesiastical provinces of Bordeaux (see Guillemain below) and Auch. Gouron (citing an article by A. Thomas in the *Grande Encyclopedie*) distinguishes between this Guyenne, and the *entendue* of the government of Guyenne, which he compares to the ancient unity of the old Aquitaine of Eleanor, between the Loire and the Pyrenees. (Marcel Gouron, *L'Amirauté de Guienne*, Paris, Librairie de Recueil Sirey, 1938, p.237.) On the ecclesiastical province of Bordeaux, see Bernard Guillemain, (directed by, with Raymond Darricau and Jean-Bernard Marquette), *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*, Paris, Ed. Beauchesne, 1974, p.5. On the matter of Haute and Basse Guyenne, Ernest Gaullieur, who was archivist of the city of Bordeaux, and is generally reliable, notes in his *Histoire de la*

In practice, the *pouvoir royal* in Guyenne was largely carried out by the Parlement of Bordeaux, but also by the Parlement of Toulouse, whose *ressort* extended far into the territory of Guyenne. Thus, important parts of the Albret government of Guyenne, and of the Albret lands themselves, lay within the jurisdiction of Toulouse as well as of Bordeaux.¹⁸ Further, the considerable military power of the governor was largely exercised by the lieutenant-general (or lieutenants-general) of the province. His, or their, royal troops (*gens d'armes*) were reputed to be among the best-trained and best-equipped in France, and, therefore, it was said (some Spanish troops excepted), in the world.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the authority of the titular governor throughout the territory of the province was very real. It represented the political and judicial authority of the king.

The governor also represented the mystical authority of the Gallican Catholic church and the royal blood of France, just as did the duke of Guyenne when greeted by the archbishop and canons of Bordeaux upon his arrival at the seat of his titular authority. As Ernst Kantorowitz has argued, since the fourteenth century the territory of the realm of France had come to be regarded as the *communis patria* of all of its subjects, a sacred soil:

The kingdom of France, *Francia*, whose very name suggested to her children that she was the Land of the Free (*franci*), was considered the home of a new chosen people. ... To defend and protect the soil of France, therefore, would have semi-religious connotations comparable to the defence and protection of the sacred soil of the Holy Land itself.²⁰

Réformation à Bordeaux et dans le ressort du parlement de Guyenne, Paris, H. Champion, 1884, vol.1 (1523-1563), p.6, that a royal ordinance of 1520 divided the duchy of Guyenne into Basse-Guyenne (capital Bordeaux) and Haute-Guyenne (capital Montauban).

¹⁸ Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret et la Guerre Civile*, vol.1, p.4. The overlap of the jurisdictions of the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse within the territory of the government of Guyenne is shown by the map (see *Illustrations* herein) from Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr., *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1984, p.6. Montauban, for example, and Cahors, although within the territory of Guyenne, were also well inside the boundaries of the *ressort* of the Parlement of Toulouse.

¹⁹ Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1978, p.26. Hence the modern *gendarmes*.

²⁰ Ernst H. Kantorowitz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957, pp.237-238; on this argument, see also pp.199, 220, and 232. Among more recent works espousing similar views, I note, in

What is particularly striking about this view, in which French Catholics see themselves as ‘a new chosen people’ in a homeland given them by God, is the way in which it so closely resembles the self-image of French Protestants of the mid-sixteenth century. The proclamation by French Protestants of identification with God’s Chosen People seeking refuge in a Promised Land would surely be viewed by French Catholics as an attempt to usurp a position already divinely decreed and occupied by themselves. Further, the view of the Most Christian King of France as head of the Gallican Catholic church, and the governor as an extension of such a king in a royal province, would surely be seen as fundamentally incompatible with the notion of a Protestant governor.

An early fourteenth-century bull of Clement V demonstrates the established pre-Reformation unifying link between the French Catholic monarchy and the French nation:

The King of Glory formed different kingdoms within the circuit of this world and established governments for diverse peoples according to differences of language and race. Among those, like the people of Israel ..., the kingdom of France, as a peculiar people chosen by the Lord to carry out the orders of Heaven, is distinguished by marks of special honor and grace.²¹

addition to those of Joseph Strayer (see below), and with specific regard to the period leading up to 1572, Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1991. Diefendorf’s book, on pp.43-48, presents a mid-sixteenth-century Paris of religious processions which are ritual enactments of the merger of civic, monarchical, and Catholic symbols.

²¹ *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, Annus Sextus [Regestorum vol. LVIII], Rome, Ex Typographia Vaticana, 1887, p.411, no.7501, Avignon, 27 April 1311. Cited and translated in Joseph R. Strayer, ‘France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King,’ in Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel, eds., *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1969, p.15, where Strayer notes that ‘The bull *rex glorie* gave papal sanction to the concept of the holy kingdom and the chosen people.’ Strayer goes on (p.16) to argue that, ‘... the French, earlier than any other continental kingdom, solved the problem of the “mosaic” state – that is, a state put together out of provinces which had strongly autonomous cultural, legal, and institutional traditions. These local loyalties could not be eradicated, but they could be subordinated to a higher loyalty to king and kingdom. No local lord, however ancient his lineage, could be compared to the king, heir of Charlemagne, anointed by heaven, worker of miracles. The king could be accepted as a symbol of unity because, as Guillaume de Sauqueville pointed out, he was a type of Christ. And the unity which he symbolized, the unity of the kingdom of France, could be accepted because France was a symbol of the kingdom of heaven.’

The belief in the identification of the earthly king with the king of heaven was, however, at least as fundamental to Protestantism as to Catholicism. The application in Calvinism of the sacred biblical principles, set down in Matthew 16: 18-19, of the 'power of the keys' (the power of the church) and the 'power of binding and loosing' (to forbid and to permit) in its dedication to establish 'the true Kingdom of Christ' on earth, and to overturn 'the kingdom of Antichrist', made of the early Reformed churches of France a movement whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction was inseparable from the civil jurisdiction of a legitimate Christian monarch. Calvin declares this in *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.²²

The Catholic church could claim the authority of apostolic succession for its possession of the power of the keys to the kingdom of heaven, but the Protestant churches could and did claim to overleap that, by arguing that their authority was from Scripture, and therefore superior. The use of the term 'Republic' by the Reformed churches would come to be applied not only to the Genevan city state, but also to such small towns as Mont-de-Marsan in Queen Jeanne's Reformed theocracy in the territory of Guyenne.²³ It was the application of this principle which would make England a Protestant state. Small wonder, therefore, that the Catholic identification of the king in heaven with their Most Catholic king on earth, being no less a Protestant belief, would do nothing to lessen the coming conflict of identities and claims of authority and power. The two sides were set on a collision course.²⁴

²² John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, tr. Ford Lewis Battle, London, S.C.M. Press, 1960, vol.2, Book IV, Ch.XI, p.1212. On this, see also Tadataka Maruyama, *The Ecclesiology of Theodore Beza: The Reform of the True Church*, Geneva, Lib. Droz, 1978 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance no.CLXVI), pp.124-5, 'Since Christ is the sole head and lawgiver of the church, the church is neither a Republic nor an aristocratic institution, but a Kingdom which is called the "Kingdom of Heaven."'

²³ BNF, Doat 238, fol.96, 30 September 1567.

²⁴ For a portrayal of the exercise of the power of the keys by the Catholic church, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, London, Macmillan, 1992 (ed. of 1977), in which (p.49) he describes the crusades as instruments of a Papal Monarchy at the head of 'the armies of the Christian Republic marching in response to calls from the men who on earth represented its monarch.'

c. In what ways was Guyenne particular?

Sixteenth-century Guyenne was a political construction imposed on a disparate assemblage of territorial parts whose borders were themselves constructed for reasons largely other than a perceived cultural or geographic unity. There were, nevertheless, strong factors that were specific to Guyenne at that time. While these factors were by no means unifying elements which applied throughout the whole of the province, they do suggest that the territory of the government of Guyenne offered particular characteristics which attracted the missionising, and potentially colonising, attention of the early Protestant movement, both from within France and from without – from Geneva.

Some of these characteristics are obvious, but nonetheless important, and need to be stated lest they be forgotten when particular instances of them arise. One is that of remoteness from Paris. Another, not unrelated, is that this territory stood between Spain, the greatest military power on earth, and the realm of royal France north of the Loire. It also blocked the direct land route, and its ports could (and would) easily be used to menace the vital sea lane, from Spain to its interests in the Netherlands. Moreover, those parts within this territory that were independent of the realm of France – Béarn and Navarre – guarded the mountain passes that led from Spain to France, those of Roncesvalles, and of Somport, which, it has been said, was then the only vehicular roadway through the western Pyrenees.²⁵

Much of the whole territory of Guyenne had of course been independent of France for the millennium of the existence of the Frankish kingdom. Its inclusion in the realm of France had, by contrast, been in existence for little more than a half-century when the first stirrings of Protestantism appeared. In the preceding three hundred years of English government, the leading families of Guyenne had learned the skill and practice of switching loyalties for advantage. They had also learned to develop foreign trade, principally through the export of wine sent down the rivers Garonne and Dordogne and shipped from Bordeaux and La Rochelle to England and the Netherlands, both of which were to become Protestant allies and

²⁵ According to Dartigue-Peyrou, *La Vicomté de Béarn*, pp.190-191.

places of refuge.²⁶ In addition to wine and *pastel*, a blue plant extract used for dying cloth, the trade in salt was an important factor, the *gabelle* or royal tax monopoly on which was to become a matter for civil disobedience resulting in mob violence in Guyenne in 1547-1548, directed against the government of France. In such incidents, the liberties, privileges and franchises granted by the French crown to Guyenne were the vehicles for the expression of a powerful sense of provincial identity, in direct opposition to the king of France's sovereign authority.²⁷

In any consideration of that 'immense triangle formed by the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and the domains of Jeanne d'Albret',²⁸ care must be taken to differentiate between Gascony-Guyenne, Navarre (whose Basque population had a separate identity), and sovereign Béarn, 'un pays distinct, séparé et à part soy'.²⁹ Béarn, a frontier land whose independence has been dated from the death in 1039 of Eudes, count of Poitiers and duke of Gascony,³⁰ developed a form of representative government in the fourteenth century. The *Estats* of Béarn were formed in 1391 with equal proportions of clergy, nobles, and commons (or 'communautés', towns and rural localities). The sovereign viscount or viscountess had the sole right to convoke the assembly of Estates, either in person or through his or her lieutenant-general; while the Estates had the right to be consulted on all affairs of the sovereignty.³¹ The sovereignty of the viscounty of Béarn, which was said to have been recognised by a tradition that King Louis XI of France had sheathed his sword upon entering the territory of Béarn, was challenged by the French crown. The prosecutor of the king of France argued that the viscounty of Béarn was within the jurisdiction (*destroit*) of Guyenne, and as the duke of Guyenne paid *hommage* to the king of France, so must also the lord of Béarn. But the argument of Béarn was that the English as dukes of Guyenne had no jurisdiction

²⁶ On the origins and development of the Bordeaux wine trade, the best general work is still Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, 1959. On Bergerac and the Dordogne, J. Beauroy, *Vin et société à Bergerac: du moyen âge au temps modernes*, Saratoga (Calif.), Anima Libri, 1976, is well-documented on the 'right of descent' and 'right of entry' granted to Bergerac wines for export, as well as the 'vinée of 1495' delimiting and protecting the region of production.

²⁷ Jonathan Powis, 'Guyenne 1548,' 1-15.

²⁸ Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.346.

²⁹ Pierre Tucou-Chala (directed by), *Histoire de Pau*, Toulouse, Privat, 1989, p.6.

³⁰ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.52.

³¹ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.81.

over sovereign Béarn and did not receive *hommage* from it, which coined its own money, held courts, and carried out the death sentence.³² By the Treaty of Blois, 18 July 1512, King Louis XII of France formally recognised the sovereignty of Béarn.³³ When, after the accession of Henry IV as king of France, and the royal Edict of 1607, the sieur de Beloy explained the exclusion of Béarn from union with the realm of France, a biblical analogy was advanced as a reason for the exception of Béarn. One could reproach the French, Beloy argued, for that which Jephthah, judge of the Israelites, held against the king of the Ammonites when he attempted to take back his land from the Israelites.³⁴ That is, the Israelites had conquered by arms a land which had been promised and given them by God, by whose will it had been possessed by them for three hundred years.³⁵ This is the same Old Testament passage that, as I will later speculate, may have been used by Queen Jeanne as a source of justification for her strategy for the reconquest of Béarn in 1569.³⁶ It may also have reinforced her determination to carry out that highly successful strategy.

The 'particularity' of the Béarnais was, however, more the result of geography than of politics. In this mountainous terrain, each valley was a world apart, separating its small ancient cities of Oloron, Morlaas, and Orthez. The isolation of Béarn from the relatively open lowlands of Gascony gave rise, among other particularities, to the Béarnais language, a dialect of Gascon.³⁷ An exception in this pattern of isolation was the important link of transhumance, when by 'droit de pacage', the herds of Béarnais cattle were wintered in the Landes and Gascony/Guyenne, as far north as the environs of Bordeaux.³⁸

³² Summarised from Pierre Olhagaray, *Histoire de Foix, Beam, et Navarre*, Paris, David Douceur, 1609, pp.463-465.

³³ *Sentence* [judgement] between Jean d'Albret and Cathérine de Foix, king and queen of Navarre, and Louis XII, king of France, Blois, 18 July 1512 (BNF, Périgord 10, vol.2, VIIe cahier, fol.17, copy). On this, see also J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*, vol.2, 1410-1516, 'Castilian Hegemony,' Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, p.566.

³⁴ Judges 11: 12-28.

³⁵ 'Ceux de Béarn semblent avoir prescrite leur liberté, et on peut reprocher aux François, ce que Jephté, juge des Israélites, opposoit au Roy des Ammonites, qui vouloit repeter sa terre sur les enfans de Jacob, qui l'avoient conquise par les armes, et leur avoit esté promise et donnée de Dieu, par la volonté duquel il l'avoit possédée par trois cens ans.' Sieur de Beloy, quoted in Olhagaray, *Histoire*, pp.771-2.

³⁶ Chapter six, below.

³⁷ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, pp.103, 126.

³⁸ Cadier, *Etats de Beam*, p.306.

There were also ancient political and dynastic links between Aquitaine and the Spanish monarchs of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. Beatrice (or Sancha) of Castile, daughter of Alfonso VII, king of Castile and Leon (1126-1157), married Sancho VI *el Sabio* ('the Wise'), king of Navarre (1150-1194). In 1191, their daughter Berenguela (Berengaria) married Richard, duke of Aquitaine and king of England, son of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine.³⁹ Alfonso VIII, king of Castile (1158-1214), married Leonora (or Eleanor), daughter of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Thus Castile gained a claim on Aquitaine, Eleanor's dowry.⁴⁰ When, as related by Francisque-Michel, 'King Alfonso of Navarre' ceded the rights he believed he had in Aquitaine to Eleanor of Aquitaine, the troubadour Bonifacio Calvo wrote a *sirvante* urging him to reclaim Aquitaine for Navarre:

Li Gascon e li Navar
Fasson sos mandamenz⁴¹

The argument for the cultural particularity of Guyenne and its people is complex. The spoken dialects of the Midi – especially Gascon and Béarnais – were factors for both local uniformity and broader regional difference; but the major difference was with the inhabitants of France north of the Loire. As many historians have pointed out, the modern sense of national identity and its institutions was not present in the sixteenth century. People, especially in rural areas, usually defined themselves in terms of their own town and its surrounding region.⁴² There was a sense of cultural community, which found its strongest expression in 'l'amour du pays', which could also be expressed by the term 'nation'. The following verse, dedicated to Queen Jeanne in 1565 by the author of the first edition, published by

³⁹ W. Ann Trindade, 'Berengaria of Navarre – England's Neglected Queen as Patroness of the Cistercian Order,' in John Stanley Martin, ed., *St Bernard of Clairvaux the Man*, Melbourne, Department of Germanic Studies and Russian, University of Melbourne, 1991, p.23.

⁴⁰ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.132.

⁴¹ *Choix des poésies originales des Troubadours*, vol.4, pp.228-9, in Guillelmus Anelier de Toulouse, *Histoire de la Guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277* (Collection of Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France), ed. Francisque-Michel, Paris, Imp. Impériale, 1856, p.357.

⁴² 'A sense of national identity was generally absent: individuals tended to define themselves in relation to a town or region, rather than the greater nation of which they were part.' Alister E. McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1993 (ed. of 1990), p.2.

Jeanne's patronage, of the Psalms of David in Gascon, speaks of a 'Gascon nation':

Pour donc que ce livre plein de doctrine tant bonne
 Soit communiqué à la nation gasconne
 Pour l'amour du pays: il faut que je fasse diligence,
 Et que je présente au public un David Gascon.⁴³

A sense of national identity may have been lacking in the sixteenth century, but not a sense of love of and identification with one's local community and its landscape, 'l'amour du pays'. As Garrisson has suggested in her commentary on the verse quoted above, there appears to be irony in the author of the dedicatory verse's patronising-seeming attitude toward Gascon culture as compared to French. All the more reason, then, to see here an instance of pride in a 'Gascon nation'. This was not, of course, exclusive to France, or Guyenne, or, indeed, to the sixteenth century. It has been said of seventeenth-century rural England that when those people 'spoke of their "country", they did not mean England, but Wiltshire or Kent, Leicestershire or Northamptonshire, Cumberland or Durham.'⁴⁴ In just such a way, when Jeanne d'Albret spoke of her 'patrie', or her 'pays', she usually meant Guyenne, not France.⁴⁵

A recent study of Cerdanya, a small Pyrenean valley now divided by the political boundary between France and Spain, points out that before the eighteenth century, the French monarchy 'continued to envision its sovereignty in terms of jurisdiction over subjects, not over delimited territory,' and so the creation of the nation-state depended on 'the invention of territory.'⁴⁶ In the absence of topographical

⁴³ From Pierre de Garros, *Poésies gasconnes*, vol.1, Auch, A. Durrieux, 1895, pp.66-7, in Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p.279, n.280.

⁴⁴ A.M. Everitt, 'The Local Community and the Great Rebellion,' London, The Historical Association Pamphlets G.70, 1969, p.6. The author adds that, 'This density of the fabric of local life, this elaborate network of family loyalties and personal necessities that shaped the pattern of politics in the countryside, was, of course, neither a novel feature of the county community of the seventeenth century nor a merely ephemeral one. ... In the sixteenth century, for example, the evolution of the Reformation in the north was shaped, not only by religious developments affecting the whole of Europe, but by many confused influences peculiar to the society of the region itself.' (Ibid., p.23.)

⁴⁵ Jeanne d'Albret, *Lettres*, letter from Bergerac, 16 September 1568, to King Charles IX.

⁴⁶ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989, pp.4, 6.

maps, and in the absence of the ability to view a landscape vertically from above, late medieval boundaries were defined by reference to stones, rivers, springs, trees, and some man-made features such as castle-mounds, towers and bridges.⁴⁷ For the creation of the modern territorial state, 'a local sense of place and a local identity centred on the village or valley must be superseded and replaced by a sense of belonging to a more extended territory or nation.'⁴⁸

The study of Cerdanya speaks of 'circles of identity' for its people.⁴⁹ These concentric circles, from innermost to outermost, were: 1. village; 2. valley (Cerdanya); 3. county; 4. province or region (Catalonia); 5. country or nation (Spain). Applying 'circles of identity' to an inhabitant of sixteenth-century Guyenne, they might be, for example, 1. village (Labadie); 2. township (Bergeracois); 3. county (Périgord); 4. province (Guyenne); 5. country (France). Conspicuously absent from this pattern of ever-enlarging circles is the parish – Colombier in the Guyennean example – as the inner circle within which the village is contained. In Guyenne, this would prove to be a critical point of conflict after 1560, when families living in the same parish became divided between the Reformed and Catholic confessions. Of circles 1. through 4. in the Cerdanian example, the inhabitant of Cerdanya could say, 'Here is our cradle and our tombstone which is our natural *patria*,⁵⁰ as opposed to the 'artificial' division between France and Spain. In the nation-making process, the notion and creation of the General and Military Government of Guyenne could be regarded either as an early step, or as an obstacle.⁵¹ The extraordinary and cat-

⁴⁷ An early example of the use of such boundary markers to define the boundaries of a territory (the Baianès, in Périgord) is in *Gascon Register A* (Series of 1318-1319), ed. G.P. Cuttino, Oxford, The British Academy, 1975-1977, vol.2, no.103, 31 August 1283, pp.433-435. An English translation and analysis of this Latin document is in David M. Bryson, 'Labadie and the Baianès: The Landscape of a Village and Territory in Southwestern France, 275-1578,' unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, School of Humanities, La Trobe University, 1993, pp.35-39.

⁴⁸ Sahllins, *Boundaries*, p.8. The author here cites Arnold Van Gennep on the nation as the extension of 'love for a corner of land.' The creation of the nation was, however, a complex 'dialectic of local and national interests.'

⁴⁹ Sahllins, p.111.

⁵⁰ Poem cited in Sahllins, p.288.

⁵¹ Colette Beaune, in *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (trans. by S.R. Huston of *Naissance de la Nation France*, Paris, Gallimard, 1985), Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991, writes (p.323), 'Were there some [areas of France] that missed it [national ideology] entirely? Until 1453, Gascony remained quite estranged from the kingdom. The Pyrenees and Roussillon were relatively unmoved, and Béarn and Navarre by tradition were quite hostile.'

alytic thing about Protestantism is that it could and would cut across such circles. The villager's or townsperson's identity as a Protestant, beginning in the inner circle of the parish and flowing outwards, could extend extraterritorially, internationally, and supranationally, with the attendant conflicts of loyalty and perceptions of treason.

d. Why was Guyenne a cradle of Protestantism?

The question of why Protestantism took root so early and so strongly in the southwest of France has continued to intrigue and puzzle historians. In one view, the phenomenon is seen as the result of the visit of the Franciscan friar Thomas Illyricus (d. 1528), preaching the end of the world and the Last Judgement to vast crowds in the region of Condom in 1518.⁵² Very little that is trustworthy seems to be known about the shadowy, semi-legendary figure of Thomas Illyricus,⁵³ whose death-date is that of the birth of Jeanne d'Albret. He is said to have come to Bordeaux in 1526 like Christ mounted on a donkey, to preach to the people in Gascon against the vices of the Roman clergy, and to predict the Wars of Religion in Aquitaine and the approach of Judgement Day.⁵⁴ There is a nineteenth-century reference to a now lost register of 800 pages formerly held in the town hall of Condom, containing the predictions of Thomas Illyricus. According to this, the holy man from 'Esclavonie' (Slavonia, Croatia) arrived in Condom on 'Wednesday 27 October 1508' (other sources say 1518), along with an entourage (the following numbers given by the chronicler appear inflated) of '4,000' people of all kinds. Brother Thomas then gave sermons to the masses, first to gatherings of up to '20,000' inside the walls of the Franciscan convent of Condom, and

⁵² Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525 – vers 1610)*, Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 1990, vol. 1, p.523, section headed 'Pourquoi le sud-ouest?'.

⁵³ Illyricus's career as an inquisitor against Lutherans and Vaudois after 1520 is outlined in Marie-France Godfroy, 'Vers la frontière: Thomas Illyricus,' in Robert Sauzet, Alain Ducellier, and Janine Garrisson, *Les Frontières religieuses en Europe du V^ee au X^{vii}e siècle*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1992, pp.86-96.

⁵⁴ Gaullier, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, p.15, based on Raemon, *Naissance, progrès et décadence de l'hérésie*, vol.1, chapter 3. Of possibly primary Thomas Illyricus texts, there exist copies of a prophecy (*Copie de la prophétie faite par le pauvre frere Thomas*, Paris, 1520), and of sermons given by him in Toulouse, (*Sermones aurei ac excellentissimi in alma civitate Tholosana proclamati a fratre thoma Illyrico de Auxima ordinis Minorum*).

later to crowds of '30,000' in the open fields. Illyricus thereafter went to Nérac, Montauban and Toulouse in 1526, where he convinced the crowds to burn all their playing cards.⁵⁵ According to the commentary on this source, Illyricus left profound memories in Condom, the Bordelais, and Toulouse. His 'holy name' was still to be seen in Toulouse in 1680, above the gates of the city and on the fronts of houses.⁵⁶

It is not clear whether Crouzet and others, in arguing the influence of Thomas Illyricus, mean principally that by predicting the destruction to come from heresy he, a Catholic friar and an inquisitor, had created such fear in the southwestern populace that they eventually acted with particular violence against the appearance of heretical Protestantism, or whether by predicting the end of the world and the Last Judgement, Thomas had whipped-up the evangelistic fervour which would lead to violence aimed at purging the Catholic church and society of its preceived corruption. Perhaps both, but surely principally the latter, as the burning of the playing cards suggests, recalling the earlier example of the reaction of Florentines to the preaching of the Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498).⁵⁷

Whatever the strength of this explanation (and it has provoked disagreement),⁵⁸ I would argue that there were other factors in the geography and political and social structure of the Guyenne of the early sixteenth century which can be more directly related to the rapid rise

⁵⁵ 'los molles [OF 'moules', heaps, piles] de las cartas.' L'abbé Barrère, 'Analyse et extraits d'un registre de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Condom,' *Revue de Gascogne*, vol.13 (1872), pp.470-476. The 1518 date is given by Gaullier, cited above.

⁵⁶ Léonce Couture, 'Note sur frère Thomas Illyricus,' *ibid.*, p.476. Couture names as his sources: Bajole, *Histoire sacrée d'Aquitaine*, p.268; Raymond, *Naissance*, p.16; and Ellies Dupin, *Auteurs ecclésiastiques*, XVIs., part 2, p.447.

⁵⁷ For the continuing influence of the Savonarolan movement in Florence after Savonarola's execution in 1498, throughout and beyond the period of Illyricus's preaching in Aquitaine, see Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence, 1494-1545*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1994.

⁵⁸ 'Yet the reason for the ultimate failure of [French] Protestantism to be any more than a fragile minority, in a society which shared many of the characteristics of those which became fully Protestant, remains an awkward problem. This persists despite the most radical recent re-evaluation of the matter by Denis Crouzet. His emphasis on the overwhelming fear of damnation and of the end of the world as possibly the most significant nourishment of Catholicism in the first half of the sixteenth century perhaps underestimates the fact that such fears do not seem to have seriously impeded the development of Protestantism elsewhere and particularly in the Low Countries where the political context and the chronology are comparable.' (David Potter, *A History of France, 1460-1560: The Emergence of a Nation State*, London, Macmillan, 1995, p.208.)

of Protestantism in the region. The polarisation of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in France can, for instance, be related to the polarisation of French political power at its Paris centre, and the power vacuum in the outer provinces. The famous motto 'Une foy, une loy, un roy' inscribed on a triptych of about 1500 displaying the coronation of Louis XII, gives a sense of the shift even then taking place in French initiatives toward the crown, the court, the royal councils, and the attendant Parisian bureaucratic institutions.⁵⁹ It has been argued that in the Reformation, the degree to which regimes were or were not centralist determined whether a state adopted Protestantism: centralist states (France, for example) remained Roman Catholic, while decentralised states (Germany, for example, and, to a lesser degree, England) became Protestant. While this view has since been challenged, and its deterministic stance need not be accepted, it does seem to offer a useful degree of validity. In part as a result of the period of English government, and in part as a result of French royal offers of persuasion away from English rule, many towns in Guyenne enjoyed long-established traditions of civic self-government. In numerous cases these semi-autonomous towns had been 'planted' as new towns or 'bastides' by the English or French governments before or during the Hundred Years War. A close relation has been noted between the concentration of such towns, and the area of Protestant concentration in Guyenne.⁶⁰

It has been stated, in drawing attention to the appearance that the Protestant movement in France was strongest in a long eastward-curving arc from the Atlantic coast through the southern provinces, that the relative strength of Protestantism in those areas was directly related to their relatively high degree of local autonomy.⁶¹ This argument is made by Guy E. Swanson, who gives Languedoc and Brit-

⁵⁹ David Potter, *War and government in the French provinces: Picardy, 1470-1560*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp.9-10, and on p.32 of *A History of France, 1460-1560*, as 'Ung Dieu, Ung Roi, Une Foi.'

⁶⁰ See the map, 'Late medieval grouped settlements in south-western France,' in Planhol and Claval, *An historical geography of France*, figure 29, p.145 (attributed to Charles Higounet, *Paysages et villages neufs du Moyen Age*, Bordeaux, 1975).

⁶¹ Swanson notes that, 'It may be important that these were precisely those sections of the country with the largest number of jurisdictions still enjoying a considerable autonomy in their local affairs and providing the major recruiting grounds for noble resistance to the centralization of the state.' (Guy E. Swanson, *Religion and Regime: A Sociological Account of the Reformation*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1967, p.85.)

tany as examples of such territories and, though he does not also specify Guyenne, its inclusion can be inferred by its position on the arc. Local powers and privileges had of long standing been granted to and exercised by the towns of La Rochelle, Bergerac, Agen and Montauban along the diagonal or arc as it curved through Guyenne. What was there about those particular towns and their institutions which may have made them both targets for, and susceptible to, the early Reformed church mission and establishment in France?

All four towns share key characteristics. They are located at what were strategic points along what was to become the 'safe route' between Geneva and La Rochelle, at either an Atlantic sea port or on a river navigable to the Atlantic. Their sites offered natural defences, augmented by fortifications. They were relatively 'new' towns whose late-eleventh or early-twelfth-century charters provided them with quasi-autonomous town councils whose councillors, by the sixteenth century, tended to be both local landed gentry and practising notaries, accustomed to the exercise of their entrenched civil rights and liberties. In these and other ways they resembled the model of Geneva itself, in the time before, greatly enlarged by refugee immigration, it had become the New Jerusalem of Protestantism. In other ways, however, as a recent study of La Rochelle has observed, such towns lacked roots in the national establishment, and their lesser dependency on the monarchy and the Gallican church made it difficult for them to compete with the larger urban centres of Bordeaux and Toulouse, where the Estates-General provided the money and power links with Paris, the court, and the church.⁶² The question can be posed at this point, though not yet answered: Can this be seen as a source of French Protestant failure?

Of these towns, La Rochelle was to become the most important to the Protestant cause. It would be, in effect, 'the end of the road' from Geneva, the communications and supply link with Elizabeth's England, and the potential base for an advance towards Paris. While it would be far too much to claim that all of that would have been formed in the minds of Calvinist planners in France and Geneva before 1555, it is, perhaps, not too much to put forward the view that the possibilities of La Rochelle would have been evident to them before that time. Although ceded to England by the Treaty of

⁶² Marcel Delafosse (directed by), *Histoire de la Rochelle*, Toulouse, Privat, 1985, p.11.

Brétigny in 1360, La Rochelle, unlike Bordeaux, later swore fealty to the king of France, and was in return granted new privileges by the French crown which were not retracted at the end of the Hundred Years War. Among these was its 'government of the hundred', not unlike that of Geneva, who chose their own first magistrate. It was a view held by at least one contemporary historian that the delivery of La Rochelle to the Protestants on 10 February 1568 by the king's lieutenant of Saintonge, who was also governor of la Rochelle by heritance, was the result of the institutions of self-government enjoyed by the town and its surrounding *pays* of Aunis.⁶³

The other attributes of La Rochelle were its harbour, and its fortifications. The old port, one of only a few on the south Atlantic coast of France, was closer to England and the Low Countries than its rivals of Brouages, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. Guarded by a chain stretched between the two fortified towers at its narrow entrance, it nevertheless faced the open sea, and was too small to contain a large ocean-going fleet. The effectiveness of La Rochelle's walls and fortifications, in part established, according to contemporary testimony,⁶⁴ by Jeanne's father Henry during his office as governor of Guyenne (1528-1555),⁶⁵ while formidable, was offset by the handicap of its surrounding tidal swamps, which made the town easily cut off by an army laying siege.⁶⁶

The French Protestant strategy of sanctuary in isolated fortified towns was, as I have argued, inspired in some measure by their practice of making analogies between their own situation in France, and that of the Israelites of the Old Testament. In 1548, following the imposition of the *gabelle*, the tax imposed by Henry II in Guyenne through the royal monopoly on salt, Bouchonneau, director general of *gabelles* in Guyenne, was, according to accounts, surprised by roving bands at Jarnac in the Saintonge who, after tormenting him to death or near-death, attached his body to a plank and threw it into the Charente river.⁶⁷ Such was the reaction against the *gabelle*, that in

⁶³ Jacques-Auguste de Thou [1553-1617], *Histoire universelle*, Basel, J. L. Brandmuller, 1742, vol.4, 1567-1573, Book 42, 'Protestant masters of La Rochelle,' p.27.

⁶⁴ La Popelinière, *La vraye et entiere histoire*, p.71.

⁶⁵ Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, p.223.

⁶⁶ Delafosse, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, pp.110-112.

⁶⁷ Louis Audiat, *Bernard Palissy: Etude sur sa vie et ses travaux*, Geneva, Slatkine, 1970 (reprint ed. of 1868), p.104. In his recounting of the incident, Audiat speaks of bands 'of thousands', and the subjection of Bouchonneau to 'a thousand torments'.

1550 Guyenne paid the king 450,000 livres for its suppression. The nobles of Béarn and Navarre were exempted from the payment for their lands, but the Three Estates of Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, Périgord and Limousin had to pay. Bordeaux was included but, 'covered with ashes and tears,' its inhabitants were granted a general pardon.⁶⁸ Among those thrown into prison in Bordeaux after the *gabelle* riots was the Protestant mystic, potter and grotto-builder of Saintes, Bernard Palissy. Taking as his text Psalm 104,⁶⁹ 'on which I have built my garden', Palissy, in his *Recepte véritable*, published in La Rochelle, described a utopian ideal garden, fortress, and refuge for Protestants, where 'je pensay en moy-même de faire le dessein de quelque Ville ou Cité de refuge, pour se retirer ès temps des guerres et troubles.'⁷⁰ This ideal city-fortress, 'ville-coquille, qui n'exista jamais que dans l'esprit de son inventeur'⁷¹ may, nevertheless, have had La Rochelle as a real-life analogue.

Bergerac, situated in the heart of Guyenne on the line of communication between La Rochelle and both Montauban and Nérac, offered the only point at which the middle and lower Dordogne river could be crossed by bridge.⁷² The Roman *trajectus*,⁷³ a ford or ferry crossing upstream from the town, had been replaced in or about 1209 by a stone bridge within the town itself, apparently in response to the

⁶⁸ Olhagaray, *Histoire de Foix, Beam, et Navarre*, p.509.

⁶⁹ Psalm 104, especially from l.13, 'From thy lofty abode thou waterest the mountains,' through l.23, 'Man goes forth to his work and to his labour until the evening.' (NOAB.)

⁷⁰ Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable par laquelle tous les hommes de France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmonter leurs thresors*, La Rochelle, B. Berton, 1563, in *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*, ed. B. Fillon, Niort, L. Clouzot, 1888, vol.1, p.114. Ironically, Palissy, who had visited Béarn and was connected with Jeanne's husband Antoine of Navarre's secretary la Mothe (Erest Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, Paris, Lécene, Oudin, 1894, p.51), dedicated his book to 'La roine mère' (*Recepte véritable*, unpaginated), became grotto-builder in the Tuileries for Catherine de Médécis and, during the reign of Jeanne's son Henry IV, was thrown into the Bastille, where he died (Anatole France, ed., *Oeuvres Complètes de Bernard Palissy*, Paris, Charavay Frères, 1880, 'Notice,' pp.xvii-xviii).

⁷¹ Palissy, *Oeuvres*, ed. Anatole France, 'Notice,' p.xvi.

⁷² See *Illustrations*, map, 'Gouvernement General de Guienne,' 1733, section two, 'Bordeaux to Nérac and Montauban.'

⁷³ Antonini Augusti, *Itineraire d'Antonin*, ed. Parthey et Pinder, Paris, 1848, pp.220-221, 393. On the *trajectus* of the Dordogne, see also A. Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, vol.VI, 'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine,' Paris, A. Picard, 1934, Map, p.133; and Jean Charet, *Le Bergeracois des origines à 1340*, Bergerac, Imp. Générale du Sud-Ouest, 1950, p.113.

demands and opportunities of the pilgrimage traffic to and from Saint James of Compostela.⁷⁴ Whatever the authenticity of that date, the existence of the bridge in 1254 is confirmed by the will of Hélié Rudel, lord of Bergerac, now preserved with the Albret family documents held in the archives of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques.⁷⁵ This bridge was protected by strong fortifications on both sides of the river. In August 1345, the English army succeeded in crossing the bridge, establishing at Bergerac the base from which it was to advance northwards and win the critical battle of Poitiers (1356).⁷⁶ In the difficult period of reconstruction following the English loss of Gascony in 1453, Bergerac maintained its semi-autonomous civic institutions and special privileges.⁷⁷ These included the special privileges and rights of 'descent' of Bergerac wines down the Dordogne River for export, and of 'entry', which could be refused for wines entering the delimited area of Bergerac, and which could be controlled, and thus enforced, at the bridge. It is possible that these special concessions were granted because the river Dordogne enters the sea estuary of the Gironde *below* the city of Bordeaux, and so beyond its control, a geographical fact underlying the strategic importance of Bergerac, which continued into the sixteenth century. The existence of the town's rights and privileges 'from time immemorial' was recognised, codified and extended in the *vinée* of 1495, and a municipal inquiry of 1520. Its wine trade with England recovered, and was extended to Holland.⁷⁸

An analysis of Bergerac's *syndics*, mayors and consuls from 1371 through 1781 indicates that they were composed for the most part of local minor nobles who were both landed gentry and legal officials, combining, on a modest level, *noblesse d'épée* and *noblesse de robe*.⁷⁹ This

⁷⁴ The date 1209, said to be that of a bull of Innocent III, derives from BNF, Périgord, vol.37, fol.69, a copy by Lespine of a transcript said to have been held in the abbey of Cadouin.

⁷⁵ ADPA, MS E.17.

⁷⁶ Jean Froissart, *L'histoire et cronique de Messire Jehan Froissart*, ed. Denis Sauvage de Fontenailles en Brie, Lyon, Ian de Tournes, 1559, p.119. See also *Atlas historique des villes de France: Bergerac*, eds. Charles Higounet, Jean-Bernard Marquette, and Philippe Wolff, Paris, C.N.R.S., 1984, pp.81-4.

⁷⁷ *Archives Municipales de Bergerac*, Boîte 4 bis, liasse 23, no.17, fol.3, cited in Beauroy, *Vin et Société*, pp.57-9, 219-222.

⁷⁸ Inquiry of 1520, *Archives Municipales de Bergerac*, Boîte 4 bis, liasse 23, no.17, fol.2, cited by Beauroy, *Vin et société*, p.212.

⁷⁹ L. de La Roque, *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, Bergerac, Imprimerie Générale du Sud-Ouest, 1891 (reprint ed. Laffitte Reprints: Marseille, 1976), pp.30-322.

potent combination was to play a leading role in the rise of Protestantism in Guyenne, as it has been perceived as having done elsewhere.⁸⁰ During the Hundred Years War, Bergerac was seen by contemporaries as 'the key to Gascony'.⁸¹ A similar perception of the strategic position of Bergerac has been attributed to the early leaders of the Reformed movement in the sixteenth century, due to its control of the river Dordogne, which, as has been noted, bypassed Catholic Bordeaux as a west-east water route to the Atlantic ocean, and its control of the only bridge crossing the river, and also bypassing Bordeaux, on the north-south roadways across the southwestern lowlands of France.⁸² Although the original stone bridge had been swept away by flood in 1444 or 1445, temporary crossings were maintained until, by an ordinance of Louis XII in 1501 that specifies its function of permitting the passage of armies, a new wooden bridge was built in 1509-1513 on the old stone foundations.⁸³ By this bridge, Queen Jeanne was to pass to sanctuary in Protestant Bergerac in 1568.⁸⁴

Montauban, at the very limits of the territory of Guyenne at its border with Languedoc, lay on what was to become the 'safe route', avoiding Bordeaux and Toulouse, La Rochelle-Bergerac-Montauban-Castres, to and from Montpellier, Nîmes and the valley of the Rhône. The passage between Bergerac and Montauban could be

⁸⁰ 'In Normandy, in short, the *noblesse de robe* grew out of aristocratic society, rather than in opposition to it.' Jonathan Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility: The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen, 1499-1610*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980, p.15.

⁸¹ Froissart, *L'histoire et cronique*, ed. Sauvage, vol.2, p.1.

⁸² 'Ville carrefour a mi-vallée sur une rivière navigable et dotée de l'unique pont sur la Dordogne, Bergerac, au centre d'un vignoble réputé et agrandi pour le plus grand profit de ses bourgeois et de ses marchands, n'a pas alors de rivale commerciale en Périgord. Cette situation et cette vocation lui valent d'être précocement, comme Sainte-Foy sa voisine, atteinte par la Réforme.' (A.-M. Cocula, 'Cyrano et Bergerac,' p.10.)

⁸³ 'Notre ville de Bergerac ... sur la rivière Dordogne, per Bordeaux, qui est navigable à aller de ladite ville de Bergerac à Bordeaux, à La Rochelle et en Bretagne ... de grand ancienneté souloit avoir un pont de bel et somptueux edifice, pour le passage des marchands et conducteurs des marchandises et autres gens ... lesquels payoient certain droit de barrage, revenant au profit de notre domaine ... mesmement s'il estoit besoin envoyer une armée ez frontieres de par de là ... puis soixante ans en ça tombant en ladite rivière.' (*Arch. Gir.*, vol.8, 1866, No. CCXXXII, 18 April 1501, p.503.)

⁸⁴ Chapter 5, 'The Road to La Rochelle.'

made without crossing the wide Garonne. The bridge over the river Tarn at Montauban was completed in 1335, and is still in use. The Tarn and small tributaries added natural protection to the walls of the town, enabling it to hold out against sieges even more successfully than did La Rochelle. Despite its proximity to Toulouse, Montauban had, by its charter of 1144, a long tradition of civic independence, and an Atlantic export wine trade via the deep and consistent water-course of the Tarn, as compared with the shallow and unreliable upper Garonne at Toulouse.⁸⁵

Despite comforting analogies between the Protestant 'places of security' in Guyenne and the garden-refuges of the New and Old Testaments, these towns had serious defects as places upon which to build a lasting Protestant society modeled on the examples of the cities of Jerusalem 'the old', and Geneva 'the new'. Allowing for the urbanised distortions of our present point of view, and taking into account the agricultural basis of sixteenth-century France, these places lay apart from the important routes. King Louis XI defined Guyenne in 1483 as the 'boulevard' of entry into France, but none of these towns was on the main south-north Spain-Paris axis, 'el camino real', the 'royal road' between Bordeaux and Poitiers as it would be preceived by the Spanish in the dangerous context of 1571.⁸⁶ Thus isolated, these towns were also small, and had no power other than defensive strength. The fact that they were to become sanctuaries, safe hiding-places for Protestants, ensured by that very definition of their role that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make of them centres for growth and expanding power and patronage. Those centres, which a strategy of isolated sanctuaries would make essential to avoid, were Bordeaux and Toulouse, with their royalist Estates-General, and Catholic establishments.

Bordeaux had special privileges, liberties and civic self-government, just as did La Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban. Its Collège de Guyenne was distinctly humanistic in its traditions. Why, then, was it to remain Catholic while those smaller towns were to become overwhelmingly Protestant? One reason appears to lie in the nature of the relation between the French crown and the Parlement of Bor-

⁸⁵ Daniel Ligou (directed by), *Histoire de Montauban*, Toulouse, Privat, 1984, pp.21-54.

⁸⁶ BNF, Doat 223, Tome LXXIII, fol.330, September 1483, transcribed in Cadier, *Les Etats de Béarn*, p.426.

deaux, or more precisely, its *jurats* and officers.⁸⁷ It was they who had the most to gain from the crown, and the crown that had much to gain from their orderly administration of its provincial government. The magistrates of Bordeaux and Toulouse were, unlike the lawyers and civic officials of Bergerac, not only notables in the society of Guyenne, but also agents of the crown. For the members of the Parlement of Bordeaux, many of whom came from Périgord and were educated in the law school of Toulouse, Protestant heresy was as great a threat to civil and administrative order as it was to the established religion.⁸⁸ For these magistrates of Guyenne, Protestantism equalled sedition. Chief among the magistrates was the unswervingly Catholic, and unflinchingly repressive, chief clerk of the Bordeaux Parlement, Jean de Pontac.⁸⁹

Much the same case can be made about Toulouse and its Parlement and courts, which included the principal court of the Inquisition.⁹⁰ Although Toulouse itself lay in Languedoc, just outside the territorial borders of the government of Guyenne, the area administered by the Parlement of Toulouse, as has been noted, overlapped important parts of the Albret government of Guyenne, and lands held directly by the Albret inheritance.⁹¹

Agen, at the midpoint of the Garonne River between Bordeaux and Toulouse, might well have been the prime candidate for the Protestant capital of Guyenne. Its long exercise of civic rights and liberties, minting of coinage, establishment of its own college with liberal traditions, and creation of a sixteenth-century *noblesse de robe*, all would seem to point in that direction. And yet, Agen did not conform to the Protestant strategy of sanctuaries. It lay on the main route between the Catholic capitals of Bordeaux and Toulouse, and although it was on the north-south axis of the 'safe route', its bridge over the broad and flood-prone Garonne had been wiped out in 1435, and not rebuilt when the proposed cost of reconstruction pro-

⁸⁷ Jonathan Powis, 'Guyenne 1548,' 9. As Powis notes, the Parlement of Bordeaux was established by Louis XI in 1462.

⁸⁸ Powis, 'Order, Religion, and the Magistrates,' 180-196.

⁸⁹ On Jean de Pontac and his family, Powis cites (in 'Guyenne 1548') Robert Boutruche, *Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715*, Bordeaux, 1966, pp.177-9. His signature appears on some of the most severe orders for the execution of rebel Protestants, cited in Chapter 4, below.

⁹⁰ Mentzer, *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*, pp.50, 150, 160.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Map, p.6; see *Illustrations* herein.

voked a revolt against the civil oligarchy in 1514.⁹² As a hiding place for Protestants, Agen's suitability was to be compromised by the presence, a short distance to the south, of the Albret palace of Nérac. Nearby, between Nérac and Agen, the chief of the royal Catholic forces in Guyenne, Blaise de Monluc, would establish his headquarters at the beginning of the Wars of Religion.

In sum, the land defined here as the territory of the sixteenth-century government of Guyenne, was, in the period before 1555, a region fertile for political and religious change and development. In its soil, a new and different society might be planted and shaped. At the same time and place, however, a foreshadowing can be seen, in retrospect, of deeper problems for such a society. If the major administrative centres, turned towards Paris and the crown of France, were to be denied to the people of this new society, those people could be marginalised. Given the propensity of the people of the Reformed churches to see themselves as new Israelites in recast Old Testament roles, their Promised Land could prove a wilderness in which they would wander, or shelter for safety in small, isolated sanctuaries which would then become, not New Jerusalems, but ghettos in which they would be at best tolerated, at worst destroyed.

It was, however, the presence of sovereign monarchs in Guyenne – monarchs tied by blood to the monarchy of France – that would make Guyenne a land in which the Reformed mission would pursue the promise that the kingdom on earth could be made to replicate the kingdom of heaven. Those monarchs were the dynasty of the house of Albret.

⁹² Stéphane Beaumont, *Histoire d'Agen*, Toulouse, Privat, 1991, pp.42-44, 60-61, 82-109.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HOUSE OF ALBRET

a. Pamplona, 10 January 1494

On Friday, 10 January 1494, in the high-perched city of Pamplona in Navarre, a great coronation procession made its stately progress through the city's old centre of La Navarrería.¹ The narrow streets, thronged with the people of the quarter, were lined with bright banners and strewn with laurels, from the gates of the royal palace to the open portals of the cathedral.² As the sounds of a sung antiphon swelled from within, Jean d'Albret, viscount of Tartas, and his wife, Catherine of Foix, queen of Navarre, made their solemn entry, moving slowly down the cathedral's nave toward the canopied altar, where the bishop of Pamplona and the cathedral canons stood in a waiting cluster around the two vacant gold and scarlet thrones. To either side were ranked the peers, lords, and officers of the realm of Navarre, whose people pressed in to form the narrow aisle through which the royal pair advanced. Seated before the altar, Jean and then Catherine were anointed with the holy oil by the bishop, spoke their oaths, and were crowned. After mass in the Latin rite, and having received communion, the king and queen of Navarre, preceded by the unsheathed sword of the monarchy, returned in state to the palace.³ Thus an Albret, one of that essentially rural family of Aqu-

¹ The 'two bourgs' of the medieval capital city Pamplona were the bourg of Pamplona itself, and the palace and central city of La Navarrería within the town. (Guillemus Anelier de Toulouse, *Histoire de la Guerre de Navarre*, ed. Francisque-Michel, p.348fn, and p.675.) On the royal palace of La Navarrería, see Juan José Martinena, 'Pamplona,' in Luis Javier Fortun, ed., *Sedes Reales de Navarra*, Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, 1991, p.62. On the cathedral of Santa Maria of Pamplona, see Juan José Martinena, 'Pamplona,' in Fortun, ed., *Sedes Reales de Navarra*, pp.69-77.

² ADPA, MS E.546, Coronation of Jean d'Albret and Catherine of Foix, 10 January 1494. In Navarre at that time, the year-end was the Nativity.

³ While historical aspects of this coronation are to be found in Cadier, *Etats de Beam*, pp.203-4, my narrative description of its ceremony is imaginary. I have, however, made use of ceremonial elements outlined in Janos M. Bak, ed., *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, principally in: Jacques Le Goff, 'A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint

tanian feudal lords, was made a king. As well, his successors were to be sovereigns of what would be the only part of France to remain outside the French king's administration and justice.⁴

The crown of Navarre was, of course, Catherine's, not the Albrets', to bestow.⁵ For the Albrets, it was soon to become almost nothing, and yet remain practically everything. Jeanne III of Navarre's accession in 1555, and public conversion to Protestantism in 1560, were still far in the future, but, as Dartigue has said,⁶ in order to understand how and why she became Protestant, and how and why the leaders and people of Béarn and Navarre followed her in that perilous conversion, it is necessary to examine the origins and evolution of the Albrets, and the origins and evolution of Béarn and Navarre. This chapter undertakes those crucial explanations.

b. The rise and rise of the House of Albret

In the land of Guyenne, the Albrets had been a power to reckon with since medieval times, and their power had increased during the long

Louis: The Ordo of 1250 [BNF, lat 1246], pp.46-71, and Richard C. McCoy, "The Wonderfull Spectacle": The Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation,' pp. 217-27. I have also made use of Richard A. Jackson's *Vive le Roi!: A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1984, Chapter 2, 'The Coronation of Louis XIII [1610],' pp.15-23, and Chapter 3, 'The Order of the Medieval Ceremony,' pp.15-40. The portion of the *ordo* concerning the coronation of a queen at the same time as her husband is considered by Jackson on pp.30-31.

⁴ Herbert H. Rowen has noted that in France after 1523, there remained outside royal administration and justice 'only the Foix and Albret counties in the southwest, bound in personal union since 1484 to the tiny independent kingdom of Navarre and the independent viscounty of Béarn.' (*The King's State: Proprietary Dynasticism in Early Modern France*, New Brunswick (NJ), Rutgers University Press, 1980, p.28.) The resultant binding of the counties of Foix (including Bigorre, Béarn, and Marsan) and Albret is illustrated by the map 'Les domaines de la maison de Bourbon-Navarre (1515-1589), Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon: Une calviniste exemplaire*, Biarritz, Atlantica, 1997, p.5, reproduced herein (see *Illustrations*).

⁵ Catherine (Catalina) was crowned sovereign queen of Navarre in March 1483. Her marriage to Jean d'Albret took place on 14 June 1484, when Jean was still a child; hence the coronation did not take place until 1494. (Cadier, *Etats de Beam*, vol.2, pp.182, 186.)

⁶ 'En bref, il est impossible de comprendre la politique religieuse de Jeanne d'Albret et la manière dont elle a établi la Réforme, si l'on ignore les problèmes qui avaient surgi sous le règne précédent et les transformations qui c'étaient amorcées en même temps.' Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.6.

centuries of English occupation, when they proved themselves particularly adept at playing both sides to their own advantage.⁷

In the beginning, they were not called Albret, but were known variously as Labret, Lebret, or Lebrit; Lebreto in Latin documents.⁸ As feudal seigneurs or dames, their power and influence was substantial throughout the lands to the south and east of Bordeaux, in the Landes, the Bazadais, Condomois and southern Périgord. The family papers, which in some instances include those of other important families joined to the Albrets by marriage, have been preserved as the 'Trésor des Chartes d'Albret.' This vast manuscript collection, composed of the Albret archives of Casteljaloux and Nérac, spans a period from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.⁹ Having been moved from Nérac to Pau in the seventeenth century, it is held in the departmental archives of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques.¹⁰

The medieval Albret seignury of Bergerac illustrates the dynasty's use of the strategies of switching loyalties in return for royal rewards, and of advancing its fortunes through marriage. In the mid-thirteenth century, when the lord of Bergerac died without male issue, he left the seignury to his daughter, Marguerite de Turenne, and her contested succession was upheld. After the death of Marguerite, dame of Bergerac, her son and successor, Renaud de Pons, married an Albret, Mathe, widowed daughter of Amanieu VII d'Albret (1294-1326) and Rose de Bourg, dame of Vayres.¹¹ In 1334, Mathe successfully took

⁷ On the duplicitous strategies followed by Gascon noble families during the period leading to the Hundred Years War, see Malcolm Vale, 'The Gascon nobility and the crisis of loyalty, 1294-1337,' in *La 'France Anglaise' au Moyen Age*, Paris, Ed. C.T.H.S., 1988, pp.207-216.

⁸ Jean-Bernard Marquette, *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Albret*, vol.1, Les Archives de Vayres, Part 1, Le Fonds de Langoiran, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1973, p.11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.18-30. Included among the various family archives are those of the medieval seigneuries of Bergerac (1314 [much earlier for the Pons-Rudel family]-1334), Vayres (1324-1379), Ste Bazeille (1357-1473), and Piis (1363-fifteenth century).

¹⁰ ADPA, MSS, Series E, 'Titres de Famille,' is an important resource, the medieval portion of which, apart from the pioneering work of Jean-Bernard Marquette, remains largely unedited and underexploited. Some of the Bergerac documents are cited and summarised in J. Charet, *Le Bergeracois des Origines à 1340*, Bergerac, Imp. Générale du Sud-Ouest, 1950.

¹¹ ADPA, MS E.17, Testament of Hélie Rudel, lord of Bergerac, 1254; *Recogniciones feodorum in Aquitania: Recueil d'acts relatifs à l'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIIIe siècle*, ed. C. Bémont, Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1914, no.503, p.223, delivered at Bordeaux, 4 August 1264, Act upholding the succession pronounced at Paris, 13 March 1264; ADPA, MS E.125, Testament of Marguerite de Turenne, Dame of Bergerac, 1290.

Renaud to court in Cahors for a separation agreement which included the transfer to her of the key Bergerac fortress of Moncuq, and he conveniently died soon thereafter.¹² In 1337, Philip VI of France ordered the confiscation of Aquitaine by the crown of France. When Mathe, as dame of Bergerac and Moncuq, died in 1338, she left her castle of Moncuq to her brother Bernard-Aiz V d'Albret (1326-1359). Mathe's legacy of Moncuq contained, however, a proviso: that it be handed over to the English crown 'in time of war'.¹³

The Albret handover of the strategically-located castle of Moncuq to the English at the beginning of the Hundred Years War was a key factor in the crossing of the bridge over the Dordogne, and capture of Bergerac, by the army of Henry, earl of Derby, in August 1345. For the next thirty years, Bergerac played a vital role as the English advance military outpost in the duchy of Aquitaine.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the Albrets divided their loyalties, and when the French army recovered Bergerac in 1377, an Albret, Perducat, was military governor of the besieged town, while two other Albrets commanded elements of the opposing army that carried out the siege.¹⁵ Perducat d'Albret, who had been given the castles and territories of Moncuq, Bannes and Issigeac by Henry of Derby (by then duke of Lancaster), had also been given charge over the bastides of Castillonès, Lalinde, Beaumont, Villefranche-en-Périgord, and Roquépine by the opposing side: King Charles V of France.

The Albrets' medieval strategy of switching loyalties in return for royal rewards continued to be used by them with good effect long after the English loss of the duchy of Aquitaine. As late as 1490, Albrets were treasonously seeking new English intervention in Guyenne.¹⁶ In consequence of such disloyalty, the Valois kings of France then rewarded the Albrets with higher pensions and ecclesias-

¹² ADPA, MS E.28, Mathe d'Albret against Renaud de Pons, 1334.

¹³ ADPA, MS E.21, 'Testamentum domine Mathe de Lebreto, domine Bragayraci,' 30 April 1338. Because of the wartime proviso, the castellany of Moncuq actually ended in the hands of the younger brother Bérard I d'Albret, lord of Vayre, who was on the English side. (J.-B. Marquette, 'Un castelnau en terre de franchise au XIII^e siècle: Labouheyre,' in P. Bonnassie and J.-B. Marquette, *Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval*, *Annales du Midi*, 102 (1990), 88, n.8.)

¹⁴ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Denis Sauvage de Fontenailles en Brie, Lyon, Ian de Tournes, 1559, vol.1, CIIII, p.118-119. Of the castle-fort of Moncuq, nothing remains but its commanding site.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol.2, CI, pp.1-6.

¹⁶ Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, p.170.

tical benefits in an attempt to secure their loyalty. A similar double game was also being played by other Gascon noble families who had been on the English side – the Caumont-La Force, Gontaut-Biron, Duras, and Aydie families prominent among them – and of whom many were later to turn Protestant. The power of Albrets in Guyenne became so widespread as to make it almost impossible for the Valois kings or their provincial representatives to determine who among them was ‘royal’ – except by making them so, by maintaining and extending their framework of feudal landholdings established under the English king-dukes, and by granting them high crown provincial offices.¹⁷

If duplicity and getting a high price for their loyalty was one strategy followed by the Albrets in their ‘rise and rise’, the tactic of marriage proved even more successful. Bernard-Aiz V d’Albret, he to whom dame Mathe d’Albret had left the castellany of Moncuq and its territory south of the Bergerac bridge in 1338, married Mathe of Armagnac, and in 1368, their son, Arnaud-Armanieu d’Albret, married Marguerite de Bourbon, a sister of King Charles V of France.¹⁸ Their descendant, Alain d’Albret ‘le Grand’, married Françoise of Brittany, and so became count of both Périgord¹⁹ and Limousin. Thus, the family’s titular territories, which already covered much of Gascony south of the Garonne, were extended to the northernmost reaches of Guyenne.

But Alain le Grand had still greater ambitions, and Louis XI, fearful of the Spanish threat to Guyenne, lent encouragement to the proposed marriage of Catherine of Foix, queen of Navarre, to Alain le Grand’s son, Jean d’Albret. In September 1483, Louis instructed his *ecuyer*, Antoine de la Tour, on the marriage proposal, justifying it in the following terms:

in order that this quarter of France, Guyenne, be kept always secure, loyal and obedient, as is necessary, seeing that it is the boulevard of other foreign countries, ancient enemies of this realm. For instance, and without great need for reminder, of the great and infinite harm

¹⁷ Ibid., pp.103, 166.

¹⁸ Marquette, *Trésor*, p.13; Delachenal, *Histoire*, vol.4, pp.74-77.

¹⁹ In 1399, King Charles VI of France had given Périgord to his brother Louis, duke of Orléans (BNF, Périgord 10, VIIIe cahier, fol.16, copy). In 1437, the county (later duchy) of Périgord was sold to Jean de Bretagne for 16,000 theauziles (BNF, Périgord 10, VIII, fol.14, copy). In 1464, *hommage* was paid to Alain d’Albret as count of Périgord (BNF, Périgord 10, VIII, fol.6, copy).

brought to this kingdom by the Navarrese, no example need be sought beyond the duchy of Guyenne; where ever since the only daughter and inheritor of Duke William was married to the king of England, by means of which all of the duchy was given into the hands of the English, there is no tongue of living man that could express the harm and tribulations that this kingdom has suffered from it, over a period of nearly four hundred years.²⁰

And so it was that three months later Catherine of Foix, queen of Navarre, was married to the infant Jean d'Albret, viscount of Tartas. And so too was it that, as already depicted, Jean d'Albret was crowned a king in the cathedral of Pamplona on 10 January 1494. The succession of title and transmission of property through the female line in the kingdom of Navarre,²¹ to which Salic law did not apply, had been vital to the line of descent from Jeanne I, queen of France and of Navarre, through Jeanne II, who had reigned, after her husband's death, as sovereign queen of Navarre,²² to Eleanor of Navarre, whose marriage union with the House of Foix brought an important ensemble of territories which covered much of inland Gascony.²³ From Eleanor, after a series of bizarre male deaths, the crown of Navarre passed by the female line to Catherine of Foix, as it

²⁰ BNF, Doat 223, Tome LXXIII, fol.330, September 1483. Transcribed in Cadier, *Les Etats de Béarn*, p.426. I have translated the word 'baloart' as 'boulevard.' The usual form was 'boloart' ('n.m. XVe-XVIe s., forme du boulevard,' R. Grand-saignes d'Hautrive, *Dictionnaire d'Ancienne Français, Moyen Age et Renaissance*, p.71). All translations herein are, unless otherwise indicated, my own.

²¹ On female succession and property transmission in the kingdom of Navarre, see Roger Collins, 'Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth-Century Léon and Navarre,' in John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship*, New York, St Martin's, 1993, p.91, and Roger Collins, *The Basques*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, chart, p.233.

²² On the complex succession from Jeanne I through Jeanne II, see: André Poulet, 'Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation,' in Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, 1993, pp.110-111; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair*, Cambridge (Mass.), Medieval Academy of America, 1992, p.27, and Index, p.319; Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, trans. Lionel Butler and R.J. Adam (of *Les Capétiens et la France*, 1941), London, Macmillan, 1960, pp.127-130, and Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1981, pp.153-154, 188-190, and 289 n.229.

²³ For a portrayal of the territories of Foix-Béarn-Armagnac prior to the union with Navarre, see Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Gaston Fébus et la Vicomté de Béarn (1343-1391)*, Bordeaux, Imp. Bière, 1959, fold-out end-map I, 'Foix-Béarn et Armagnac, vers le milieu du quatorzième siècle.'

would, eventually, to Jeanne III d'Albret. Eleanor was succeeded by her minor grandson Francis, who died on 30 January 1483, soon after his coronation, the victim (so it was speculated) of a poisoned flute. Thus, Eleanor's granddaughter Catherine was made queen of Navarre at the age of thirteen in March 1483, and the contract of marriage between her and Jean d'Albret was signed.²⁴

At this point, Albret power throughout the southwest rivalled that of the French monarchy, and the nobles of Guyenne, headed by the Albrets, were able to pursue their ambitions with greater freedom from royal control than they had enjoyed since the end of the English duchy.²⁵ The French king had already erred in backing the Albrets, especially in the matter of Alain's marriage which, by linking Limousin and Périgord to the Albrets' southern domains, threatened royal control over Guyenne. The king had so enhanced the power of the Albrets in Guyenne that his rule of the province had become dependent on their cooperation with him and his officers.²⁶

On 16 January 1498, Jean and Catherine, 'Le Roi, la Reine', addressed a letter from their court in Pamplona to the three Estates of Béarn, over which they exercised sovereign rule: first, the clergy, 'Révérends pères en Dieu'; second, the nobles, 'chers cousins'; and third, the commons, 'bien aimés nôtres.'²⁷ Haute-Navarre, the 'Spanish' portion of their realm that lay south of the Pyrenees, with its capital at Pamplona, was substantially larger and more important than Basse-Navarre, the 'French' portion.²⁸ Henry, son and heir of Jean and Catherine, was born there at Sangüesa on 26 April 1503.²⁹ The Albret empire extended from northern Spain almost to the valley of

²⁴ Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, pp.177-182; Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *La vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines jusqu'à 1620*, Bordeaux, Bière, 1961. On the succession from Eleanor of Navarre until the coronation of Jean and Catherine in the cathedral of Pamplona in 1494, see also Susana Herreros, 'Pau,' in Fortun, ed., *Sedes Reales de Navarra*, pp.256-257.

²⁵ Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, p.190.

²⁶ Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, p.196.

²⁷ ADPA, MS C.680, 16 January 1498. See also Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, p.254.

²⁸ Juan Maria de Olaizola Iguíñez, *Historia del Protestantismo en el País Vasco: El reino de Navarra en la encrucijada de su historia*, Pamplona, Pamiela, 1993, map, p.94.

²⁹ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, Appendix, p.485. On the location of Sangüesa in the kingdom of Navarre as it then was, see Olaizola, *Historia del Protestantismo*, map, p.94.

the Loire.³⁰ On fortune's wheel, the House of Albret-Foix-Navarre had risen to the top.

c. Monarchs of Navarre

That rise of the Albrets to the top of fortune's wheel conflicted with the ambitions of Ferdinand, king of Aragon and Castile. Jean and Catherine were, perhaps, lulled by friendship towards Ferdinand and Isabella, and hostility towards Louis XII, who had attempted to annex Béarn in 1508-1511.³¹ In any event, between April and June of 1512, Ferdinand attempted to legitimise his claim to Navarre, and discredit the rule of Jean and Catherine, by requesting their excommunication.³² Then, his army invaded Navarre. Whether Jean was indeed a prince 'mou et faible',³³ Fadrique de Toledo, duke of Alba, leader of Ferdinand's overwhelmingly powerful army, was a formidable general, and the outcome could have been in no doubt. By 24 July, the invading army had occupied Pamplona,³⁴ and Jean and Catherine fled to Sauveterre, in Béarn.³⁵ Ferdinand took the title 'king of Navarre', and in 1515 unified Spanish Navarre with Castile.³⁶

Ferdinand's military conquest of Haute-Navarre was to have far-reaching effects on the House of Albret. The first of these was caused by his use of excommunication as a double-edged weapon of propaganda, both 'softening-up' his opponents, and reinforcing his own legitimacy as Catholic king. The actual bull by Julius II, *Pastor ille caelestis* of 20 August 1512, did not in fact name either Jean or Catherine (though it did name Louis, 'king of the French').³⁷ A sub-

³⁰ In Hillgarth's words, Jean and Catherine 'now possessed not only much of the French Pyrenees but most of Gascony, Périgord, and Limousin: some 43,000 square kilometres, compared to only 12,000 in Navarre proper.' (*Spanish Kingdoms*, vol.2, p.565.)

³¹ Suggested by Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, p.188. On Louis XII and the French annexation attempts, see Tucóo-Chala, *La vicomté*, pp.110-114.

³² Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol.2, p.567.

³³ Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, p.188.

³⁴ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.200.

³⁵ Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, p.211.

³⁶ Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol.2, p.531.

³⁷ Olaizola, *Historia del Protestantismo*, pp.58-59, and Appendix B, pp.304-307, a transcription of the full text of the bull *Pastor ille caelestis*, cited as Archivo de Simancas, Patronato real. Bulas sueltas, leg. 2, no.64. On this bull of excommunication, see

sequent bull of excommunication, *Exigit contumaciam obstinata protervitas* of 20 March 1513, which does name Jean and Catherine, has been held to be 'of dubious authenticity'.³⁸ Whatever the fact of the matter of the timing and authenticity of these bulls, it can be supposed that their use in the conquest of Navarre would have contributed to making the Spanish king a bitter enemy of Jean and Catherine. It can be further supposed that the matter would also have turned the Albret-Foix-Navarres against the pope, and so, to some degree, against the Roman church.

A second aspect of the matter of the conquest of Navarre was that of the Treaty of Blois of 15 July 1512, by which Louis XII agreed to the annulation of his annexation orders against Béarn.³⁹ This was, it appears, followed by a secret defence agreement between Jean and Catherine, and Louis XII of France, made just before Ferdinand's invasion, and designed to protect Louis' vulnerable southern frontier against the greater threat, Spain. By it, Louis recognised the independence of Béarn, thus granting Jean and Catherine the continuance of their sovereign territorial jurisdiction, while linking them in an alliance with France against Spain.

It has been argued that Ferdinand published a falsified text of the Treaty of Blois in order to implicate Jean, Catherine, and Louis XII in a plot to be perceived as directed against the crown of Aragon and the Holy League, thus justifying his invasion of Navarre.⁴⁰ Here again, whatever the facts about the matter of falsification, the continuing importance of the matter for those of the House of Albret is that they were able to maintain the independence of Basse Navarre and

Tucóo-Chala and Desplat, *Principatus Benearniae*, p.149, citing Rinaldi, *Compendium Annalium Ecclesiasticorum*, tome XX (1504-1534), pp.33-34. See also Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol.2, p.567.

³⁸ The full text of this bull *Exigit contumaciam* is given in Olaizola, *Historia del Protestantismo*, Appendix D, pp.314-318, where it is cited as Archivo de Simancas, Patronato real. Bulas sueltas, leg. 2, no.65. On the matter of the doubtful authenticity of this bull of deposition, which Hillgarth dates 18 February 1513 (as does Olaizola in *Historia del Protestantismo*, p.59, and see p.293 n.14), Hillgarth cites Paul Boissonade, *Histoire de la réunion de la Navarre à la Castille, essai sur les relations des princes de Foix-Albret avec la France et l'Espagne*, Paris, 1893, pp.341-58, 636-50 (Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, p.567).

³⁹ BNF, Périgord 10, vol.2, VIIe cahier, fol.17, July 1512 (copy). The text is transcribed in Tucóo-Chala, *La vicomté*, p.192. See also Dartigue-Peyrou, *La Vicomté de Béarn*, p.200, and Hillgarth, *Spanish Kingdoms*, vol.2, p.566.

⁴⁰ Olaizola, *Historia del Protestantismo*, pp.55-57. He reproduces the 'Falso Tratado de Blois' as his Appendix A, p.303, citing the manuscript source as Simancas, Patron. Real; Cap. con Navarra, Leg.2.

Béarn, were linked in an alliance with the crown of France, and were set against the crown of Spain in what they saw as a just struggle for the recovery of a usurped Haute Navarre that was legitimately theirs. This struggle was unsuccessfully carried on by Jean until his death on 17 May 1516.⁴¹ Ferdinand, in his will of 23 January of that same year, had in effect legitimised the Spanish conquest of Haute Navarre. With the death of Catherine on 12 February 1517,⁴² her son Henry succeeded to the crown of Navarre as Henry II⁴³ at the age of fourteen.⁴⁴

The wheel of Albret fortunes would seem to have begun its downward turn. Their remaining realm of Navarre was only a minor part of that which they had acquired in 1494. To add to the misfortunes of the House of Albret-Foix-Navarre during this period, its viscounty of Soule had been assimilated by the crown of France, thus driving a wedge between their territories of Béarn and Navarre. This weakness in the Albret realm of Béarn-Navarre created by the 'wedge' of Soule would, however, be offset, in Queen Jeanne's later theocracy, by the fact that the Béarnais diocese of Oloron extended to include the territory of Soule.⁴⁵

The Albrets were, nevertheless, still recognised as monarchs, however small their realm. The vital importance to the House of Albret of the continued possession of this hollow, largely imaginary crown cannot be too strongly emphasised. Through it would flow the blood that would link them through thick and thin with the monarchy of France. Through it could be bestowed on them the legitimate right to reign over God's kingdom on earth – whether that be Catholic or Protestant. They were, as well, still sovereign viscounts of Béarn, and their power, although apparently diminished, was about to begin a

⁴¹ Cadier, *Etats de Beam*, vol.2, p.211.

⁴² Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.206.

⁴³ Henry I ('the Fat'), father of Jeanne I, had been king of Navarre from 1270 to 1274. (Collins, *Basques*, chart, p.233.)

⁴⁴ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.147.

⁴⁵ On the union of Soule with France, see Jean-Marie Régner, *Histoire de la Soule*, St-Jean-de-Luz, Ekaina, 1991, pp.159-161, in which Régner cites as his sources H. Courteault, 'Une lettre fausement attribuée à Louis XI, sur le Pays de Soule,' *Revue historique et archéologique du Béarn et du Pays Basque* (1926), 277; Abbé Menjoulet, *Chronique d'Oloron*, tome 1, Oloron, 1864, p.463; and J. de Jaurgain, *Journal de Pierris de Casalivetry*, 1908, pp.9, 27. On the overlap of the diocese of Oloron into Soule, see Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Gaston Fébus et la Vicomté de Béarn (1343-1391)*, Bordeaux, Imp. Bière, 1959, fold-out end-map II, 'Les circonscriptions civiles et religieuses du Béarn au quatorzième siècle.'

new cycle of transplantation and extension, from Pamplona to Pau, and from Pau to Nérac and throughout the whole province of Guyenne. After 1517, the Albrets' Navarre may have been a paper kingdom, but their viscounty of Béarn and its adjuncts was their sanctuary and the source of their renewed growth.

e. Sovereigns of Béarn

When Alain le Grand as regent brought his grandson Henry to the court of France at Blois in 1517, he swore allegiance to the Estates of Béarn, thereby maintaining their independence.⁴⁶ Béarn was a sovereign state, but the power of its sovereign viscounts was not absolute. During Henry's residence at the Blois court of royal France, and his almost constant absence from Béarn and Navarre for the next twenty years, the administration of his tiny realm was carried on by Jacques de Foix, bishop of Lescar.⁴⁷ Pau, which had been, and remained for many years, a small place of little importance compared to the old towns of Sauveterre, Orthez, Morlaas, and the bishoprics of Oloron and Lescar, became the new state 'capital'.⁴⁸

The structure of Béarn's government was such that its three Orders – Clergy, Barons, and the Commons or Third Estate – were divided into two, with the Clergy and Barons combined to form a powerful single 'Grand Corps', and the Commons forming a separate 'Second Corps'. The representatives of the Clergy were few in number: the bishops of Lescar and Oloron, plus three abbots; while the Barons were preponderately numerous. From their ranks two paid 'Syndics' were appointed, one of whom was a noble of the sword, the other of the robe, to whom all demands had to be submitted in advance. The deputies of the Commons represented those communities of towns, villages and rural valleys that had paid homage to the sovereign viscount. This structure assured that, in cases of division, the barons, all of whom had sworn allegiance to the sovereign viscount, could always win. Moreover, only the sovereign viscount could

⁴⁶ Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, vol.2, pp.219-224.

⁴⁷ Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.147.

⁴⁸ This remained especially true in terms of 'feux', meaning not households, but cultivated properties. (Dartigue-Peyrou, *Vicomté de Béarn*, foldout map after p.600, and note, p.30.)

convoke the Estates, though his or her lieutenant could preside.⁴⁹

In theory, the Estates of Béarn enjoyed substantial rights. These included the declaration of war, the raising of troops, the minting of money, and the expenditure of funds, including a veto over loans made by the sovereign viscount to others. In practice, however, the sovereign could control the exercise of such rights. For example, he or she reserved the right to raise and collect taxes, and their expenditure usually took the form of an annual 'donation' by the Estates to the sovereign.⁵⁰

At the best of times, such a system would have been bound to result in abuses of power by the sovereign viscount, and create antagonism between him or her and the Estates. During all but the later years of the government of Henry II d'Albret, there were particular reasons for the aggravation of natural antagonisms within the realm of Béarn and Navarre, and particular scope there for the abuse of power. Henry was an absentee sovereign. From the time of his departure at the age of fourteen for the French court at Blois in 1517, and until the late 1540s, when he was over 45, Henry was hardly ever in Béarn or Navarre, and certainly not for any extended period.⁵¹ Initially, he was virtually a willing hostage at the French court of Francis I, where he was held to offset Spanish strategies for the reunion of the two Navarres. Later, Henry's energies and funds were expended in a futile and damaging effort to regain his lost kingdom of Spanish Navarre. Military efforts to regain Spanish Navarre came to nothing not only in 1516-1519, but again in 1521, when French troops temporarily reoccupied St-Jean-Pied-de-Port; the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529 was virtually a diplomatic abandonment of Spanish Navarre by the crown of France.⁵² Henry's obsession with and intrigues for the recovery of Navarre would continue for the rest of his life, and for a time be continued by Antoine de Bourbon after 1555. It was only when Henry's efforts to recover Navarre, and his periodic game of double-dealing with Spain, had caused the breakdown of his relations

⁴⁹ This explanation of the administration of the Estates of Béarn after 1498, but before Jeanne's reign, is essentially a summary of that given in Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, vol.2, pp.225-235.

⁵⁰ Cadier, *Etats de Béarn*, pp.313-337. The *Morlaas*, the money minted in Béarn, was, Cadier states, well-regarded throughout the Midi (pp.347-351).

⁵¹ For Henry's itinerary, and a list of the places and periods of his residences, see Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, Appendix, p.485.

⁵² Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.213.

with the king of France, and his virtual expulsion in disgrace from the French court, that Henry returned to his own realm. Even then, the Navarres spent the years from 1542 until Queen Marguerite's death in 1549 mostly at their Nérac palace. From 1542 to 1544, Henry was in residence in Pau, Nérac, and Lescar; but predominantly Nérac. In 1546, Henry was in Béarn again, but only 1549-1555 shows a consistent pattern of residence in Pau and elsewhere in Béarn. Throughout that long period, the representation of a rapidly growing merchant class was increasing in the Estates of Béarn, and conflicting with that of the nobles, who were themselves menaced by the rise in numbers and influence of the nobility of the robe. I am not suggesting that the increasing conflict of the nobles of the sword with both the newly-rich merchant classes and the newly-influential nobles of the legal robe was unique to Béarn at this time (though Dartigue-Peyroux emphasises the point),⁵³ but that the administrative structure of Béarn, and the long absence of its ruler, would be likely to have exacerbated the effects of the conflict there.

Henry's marriage in 1527 to Marguerite de Valois d'Angoulême, sister of Francis I of France, was a major intermediate step, after the loss of Spanish Navarre, in the recovery and continued rise of the fortunes of the House of Albret, between the marriage of Jean d'Albret to Catherine, queen of Navarre, in 1494, and the marriage of Jeanne d'Albret to Antoine, the Bourbon 'first prince of the royal blood of France' in 1548. Francis's decision to give his widowed sister, princess of France, to the somewhat dubious king of an almost non-existent realm, was primarily influenced by his need to check Spanish claims to, and threatened invasion of, the vulnerable territories of Guyenne between the Pyrenees and the Loire. If Spanish military might could not be matched by France, then alliances by marriage were the next line of defence, including Francis's own marriage in 1530 to Eleanor, sister of his enemy and captor Charles V, king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor.⁵⁴ Such practical ends were also matched by considerations of loyalty and honour. Henry II of Navarre was not only an ally against Spain on the southern frontier of France; he was the hero of a daring prison escape during the ill-fated French military cam-

⁵³ Ibid., p.6.

⁵⁴ On the Spanish security implications of Francis having given Marguerite in marriage to Henry II d'Albret, see also Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France, 1519-1559*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1988, p.11.

paign in Piedmont, a model of noble conduct offsetting the shame of Francis's own inglorious defeat, capture, imprisonment, agreement to humiliating ransom terms which included the abandonment of Haute Navarre, and ignominious release.⁵⁵ 'All is lost,' Francis is reputed to have said in the moment of his defeat at Pavia in 1525, 'save honour.'⁵⁶

Marguerite brought to the House of Albret three great gifts. A new and immediate tie to the royal blood of France; an inquiring spirit of intellectual and spiritual genius; and a dowry with titular and territorial links both north and south of the Loire. I will deal with the last of these first, because not only does it seem to be the least of them; it will recur.

Marguerite was also duchess of Alençon, duchess of Berry, and countess of Rodez, Perche, L'Isle, and Lomaque.⁵⁷ Her dowry brought to the marriage her lands of Armagnac, and the 'usufruit'⁵⁸ incomes of Alençon and Berry.⁵⁹ Henry II d'Albret was now king of Navarre, sovereign viscount of Béarn, duke of Armagnac, lord of Albret, viscount of Bigorre, Gabardan, Marsan and Nébouzan, and count of Fézensaguet, Foix, Limousin, and Périgord. He was also count of Rodez,⁶⁰ with its four castellanies of Rouergue (although these were inherited directly by Jeanne and her son Henry III after Marguerite's death).⁶¹ Henry II was, 'as it were' (it has been said), 'viceroy of old Aquitaine.'⁶² And yet, as has also been noted, this virtual Aquitanian vice-kingdom or dynastic empire had two serious

⁵⁵ On the conditions of the peace of Madrid (January 1526), and the ransom terms of the treaty of Cambrai (August 1529), see R.J. Knecht, *Francis I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp.189-190, 219-223; also Jean Jacquart, *François Ier*, Paris, Fayard, 1981, p.219.

⁵⁶ Cited from L. Halkin, 'Pour une histoire d'honneur,' *Annales E.S.C.* 4 (1949), 437-44, in Kristen B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France*, Ithaca (NY), Cornell University Press, 1989.

⁵⁷ BNF, Périgord 10, VIIIe cahier, fol.31 (copy), 3 January 1526 [1527], Contract of marriage between Henry d'Albret and Marguerite de France.

⁵⁸ *Usufruit*. The right to the use (in this case the income) of a thing belonging to someone else, that is extinguished upon the death of the *usufruitier* (the person having the right).

⁵⁹ Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.161.

⁶⁰ Tucóo-Chala, *Histoire de Pau*, p.6; Ivan Cloulas, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LVII, 2 (1995), 524.

⁶¹ Letter of 2 December 1554 in Rochambeau, *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret*, pp.375-6, cited from BNF, Doat 237, fol.182 (copy).

⁶² '... pour ainsi dire, vice-roi de la vieille Aquitaine' (Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Henry IV*, Paris, Fayard, 1982, pp.28-9).

weaknesses: it was both geographically incoherent (as the map displays),⁶³ and politically inconsistent in terms of the degrees of authority that could be exercised by the Albrets in the various component territories.⁶⁴

Further, Marguerite's dowry excluded her duchy of Berry,⁶⁵ the territory of which would have both tied onto Henry's contiguous counties of Périgord and Limousin, and linked them to the great royal lands of the Loire valley, providing an almost unbroken line of communication through Albret lands from their courts at Pau and Nérac to the royal court at Blois. In 1521, Francis I had declared that when the French duchies were united within the domain of the crown, he had not intended that the possessions which he had given personally to his mother (the duchies of Angoulême and Anjou), his aunt (duchy of Nemours), and his sister Marguerite (Berry), should be included.⁶⁶ The duchy of Berry therefore remained among Marguerite's *biens paraphernaux*,⁶⁷ and as such not only did not pass to Henry II d'Albret, but was reserved, as an apanage of the crown, at her brother the king of France's disposition.⁶⁸ Consequently, the duchy of Berry also did not pass by inheritance from Marguerite to either her daughter Jeanne d'Albret or her grandson Henry III.

When the matter of Berry recurs, the context then will be the negotiations for the terms of the proposed marriage between Jeanne's son Henry III, and Princess Marguerite, sister of King Charles IX. In

⁶³ See the map 'Les domaines de la maison de Bourbon-Navarre,' from Tucoo-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon*, p.5, reproduced herein. The point of the incohesion of the Navarre's fiefs is made by Dartigue-Peyroux in *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.213.

⁶⁴ Roelker rightly makes the point (*Queen of Navarre*, p.254) of the difficulty Jeanne would experience in imposing her orders in her feudal fiefdoms of Guyenne, as compared to her sovereign viscounty of Béarn.

⁶⁵ BNF, Périgord 10, VIIIe cahier, fol.31, 3 January 1526 [1527].

⁶⁶ BNF, n.a.f. 7271 (Brienne 300), fol.259, 11 Aug 1521, 'Declaration du Roy françois I qu'il n'entend comprendre en sa reunion du Domaine, les dons faicte des Duchez d'Angoumois et d'Anjou avec la Comté du Mayne à sa mere ni celles qu'il a donées aux Duchesses de Berry et de Nemours ses soeur [Marguerite d'Angoulême-Navarre] et tante.'

⁶⁷ *Biens paraphernaux*: Possessions of a married woman which do not form part of her dowry, and which she can administer at her convenience.

⁶⁸ BNF, Périgord 10, VIIIe cahier, fol.31, 3 January 1526 [1527]; Marguerite's duchy of Berry was excluded from the marriage contract, to the pleasure of the crown. See also Pierre Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême. Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549)*, 2 vols., Paris, H. Champion, 1930; vol.1, 'Le Second Mariage,' p.146: 'Elle [Marguerite] se réservait [in the marriage contract of 1527] comme biens *paraphernaux* outre ses effets personnels, ses terres de Berry, y compris les droits et privilèges que le Roi lui avait reconnus.'

those negotiations, Jeanne is alleged to have demanded that the duchy of Guyenne be restored in apanage, and included in Princess Marguerite's dowry, in exchange for the royal exclusion of the duchy of Berry from her mother Marguerite's dowry, and therefore from the rightful inheritance of her (Jeanne's) son. The crucial aspect of the matter lay in the fact that as duke of Guyenne, Henry III of Navarre would have had greater power and authority throughout the whole of Guyenne than he was able to exercise as its governor.

e. Governors and admirals of Guyenne

In 1528, Francis I granted the governorship of Guyenne to Henry II d'Albret of Navarre in hereditary title,⁶⁹ an office that he held – excepting periods when he was in royal disgrace – until his death on 29 May 1555, and that his son-in-law Antoine de Bourbon, who had been governor of Picardy, would then inherit and hold until his own death on 17 November 1562.⁷⁰ Henry II's grandson Henry III would then inherit the governorship on 26 December 1562, and hold the office until he took the crown of France in 1589. The territory of the government and admiralty of Guyenne comprised the largest province of France. It included, to the north, Aunis, Saintonge and Poitou.⁷¹ When Antoine inherited the office, it encompassed Limoges as well as Bordeaux, although after Antoine's confirmation, Henry II of France detached the territory of Languedoc from Guyenne.⁷² The overall power and authority of these viceregal posts were of inestimable value to the Albrets; they provided the crucial unifying factor linking their otherwise incoherent territories and their unequal titles to them.

⁶⁹ Haag, *La France Protestante*, vol.1 (1846), Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1966, speaks of 'possession of the duchy of Berry that Marguerite brought in dowry independent of the government of Guyenne which had been given in hereditary title to Henry II d'Albret in 1528' (p.32). This explains later historians' use of the word 'abandon' in relation to Marguerite's duchy of Berry.

⁷⁰ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, pp.31, 376, 396. Henry II of France made M. de Châtillon (Admiral de Coligny) governor of Picardy in Antoine's stead (BNF, Clairambeau 60, 2213 [copy], as cited in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.376). For a period in 1556, Antoine de Noailles acted as governor of Guyenne.

⁷¹ Ivan Cloulas, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LVII, no.2 (1995), 524.

⁷² Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.376 (Limoges); Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes*, p.44 (Languedoc).

The family of Albret exercised its power in Guyenne in six ways. First, as kings and queens of Navarre, and second, as sovereign rulers of independent Béarn. Third, as landowners. Fourth, as the titular holders of duchies, counties and viscounties. Fifth, as governors of Guyenne, and sixth, as admirals of Guyenne. What is extraordinary about these six elements of territorial power is not only their spread, but also their concentration due to superimposition. In many parts of Guyenne, three or more components of Albret power were superimposed. Albret authority as governors extended to all places throughout the province. Along the Atlantic coast, from La Rochelle to Bayonne and inland along the important navigable rivers, the authority of the Albret governor was reinforced by his authority as admiral.

The governors of the eleven provinces of France: Guyenne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, Lyonnais, Burgundy, Champagne, Ile-de-France, Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany, were the agents of the king within those regions.⁷³ Although they were, together with their lieutenants-general, specifically the king's regional military commanders, they were in general his political representatives, 'all-purpose executors of the royal will.'⁷⁴ More than that, they were mediators between royal command and regional obedience, 'the crucial mediators in the political, administrative, and social hierarchies of the French state.'⁷⁵

Henry II of Navarre eventually employed a household staff that came to rival that of the king of France.⁷⁶ After 1547, the office included the distribution of the king's awards (*bienfaits du roi*) in Guyenne.⁷⁷ While this attribute gave the governor substantial power over the nobility, and indeed over all those in the province who sought money, offices and other royal favours (which is to say, everyone who mattered), it also placed the governor under considerable pressure to stay in the king's good graces and, above all, to avoid the loss of royal favour. The inhibiting effect of this pressure on provincial governors, and its negative effect on their ability to control and enlist the nobles and others of their provincial *clientage*, reflected not so much the withdrawal of royal favours, as the fear of the withdraw-

⁷³ Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, p.7.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.14.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.16.

⁷⁶ Some 64% of that of the king of France, according to Harding, *ibid.*, p.28.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.32.

al of royal favours. After 1559, under King Henry II of France, whose policy was firmly fixed against perceived Calvinists, loss of royal favour, and thus of the expected share of royal awards available through them to their *fidèles* and *clients*, began to work against the Albrets' real political and financial power.⁷⁸ By 1560, the withdrawal of royal favour would extend to the separation of Poitou from the government of Guyenne.⁷⁹ Only Guyenne and Picardy were to remain in the hands of Protestant governors.

Counts of Foix had previously held the post of governor of Guyenne. During the reign of King Charles VIII of France, Odet, count of Foix, had been appointed to the combined twin posts of governor and lieutenant-general of Guyenne and Languedoc.⁸⁰ There could have been no assurance that, as an appointment at the pleasure of the king of France, it would have passed to Henry II of Navarre. That the title was held by inheritance rather than by limited appointment would make it easier for Henry III of Navarre to continue to use it during wartime periods when he was officially deposed from office, and it would be another bargaining chip in Jeanne's eventual claim of the dukedom of Guyenne for her son Henry.

In 1529, Francis I also granted the admiralty of Guyenne, which included Aunis and the Atlantic coast from La Rochelle to Spain, to Henry II of Navarre, and it too was inherited by Antoine,⁸¹ and then by Henry III. The office of admiral of Guyenne was, in theory at least, an honorific hereditary title created by the French crown in the mid-fifteenth century. Granted to Henry II d'Albret in 1529, it was withdrawn when he fell from royal favour in 1532, but given back to him upon his return to the king's good graces in 1543.⁸² The admiral's seal, 'Sigillum Admiralitatis Aquitaniae,' is a contemporary example of the official equation of the words 'Aquitania' in Latin, and 'Guyenne' in French.⁸³

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.35.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.43.

⁸⁰ Robin Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, p.165; Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, pp.133, 223.

⁸¹ BNF, Doat 237, fols.203-207, 6 June 1555-18 June 1557. King Henry II of France issued letters patent (fol.203, copy), to 'ordonner et Establisr admiral au pays et duché de Guyenne Le Roy de Navarre' [Antoine]. It is notable that Guyenne was then still, as late as 1555-1557, being described by the crown of France as a 'duchy'. See also Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.376.

⁸² On the creation of the admiralty of Guyenne, and the succession of its admirals, see Marcel Gouron, *L'Amirauté de Guienne*, chapters five and six.

⁸³ Gouron, *L'Amirauté de Guienne*, p.187.

While the pay of the office of admiral was only two or three thousand pounds, plus a modest revenue from 'anchorage', the privileges that went with the office could be substantial, especially in time of war. The most financially rewarding of these privileges of the office was that of the right to the tenth part of seized booty. Jeanne's son Henry III of Navarre received a combined 48,000 pounds from his offices of governor and admiral of Guyenne in 1579.⁸⁴ The total, swollen by the admiral's share of seized booty, was at its peak much greater. A recent work on the private finances of the house of Albret states that 'in one year alone, Henri's portion of the admiralty prizes amounted to 300,000 livres.'⁸⁵ While the figure should be treated with caution as an indication of average revenues, 'privateering' became an important source of revenue for the Protestant cause – and the Albret purse – during the war years.

Although the financial rewards of the admiralty of Guyenne were not negligible, the most significant benefit was political. The authority of the Albrets was thereby reinforced along the whole Atlantic coast of Guyenne, from Sables-d'Olonne in the north to Bayonne in the south. In particular, Albret power and authority was strengthened over, and opposition weakened within, the strategically important seaports of La Rochelle, Brouages, Bordeaux, and Bayonne (to which their government did not extend), as well as key river ports such as that of Libourne on the lower Dordogne.⁸⁶ Henry II d'Albret, under whom the *ressort* of the admiralty was extended by royal decree in 1530, began to spend more time in Nérac, and less in Pau, because (according to Gouron) Nérac lay between La Rochelle and his Pyrenean realm.⁸⁷

It could be argued that the move to Nérac was yet more compellingly motivated by its proximity to Bordeaux, the seat of the government of Guyenne as well as its greatest seaport and vital link to those parts of the world not ruled by the Catholic kings of France and Spain. Nérac

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 188-189. Gouron, citing ADPA, B.2527, states that 24,000 of the 48,000 pounds came from Henry's pension as lieutenant-general of Guyenne.

⁸⁵ S. Amanda Eurich, *The Economics of Power: The Private Finances of the House of Foix-Navarre-Albret during the Religious Wars* (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 24), Kirksville (Mo.), Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994, p.64. For this, Eurich cites Gouron, *L'Amirauté*, p.164, who states, 'le prince voit son droit de dixième sur les prises espagnoles, entassées et vendues au marché de Baye', amounting in one year to 300,000 livres.

⁸⁶ Gouron, *L'Amirauté*, p.129.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.152.

was midway between Bordeaux and Toulouse, whose areas of administration overlapped, creating an historical problem in the region of twin jurisdictions. The outlooks and interests of the two major centres were diametrically opposed. Bordeaux, at the crossroads of the Atlantic estuary and the highway, looked west and north for its trade, while Toulouse – despite the fact that it occupied a position on the same river – looked south to the Mediterranean. The Aquitaine region therefore was, and remains, in a state of artificial division between two capitals. To this analysis of the geographical problem of the disunity of Guyenne (for which I am indebted to Planhol and Claval),⁸⁸ I would add the problem created by the absence, until the nineteenth century, of a bridge over the Garonne at Bordeaux.

The posts of governor and admiral came into the Albret inheritance specifically through the royal graces of Francis I. They were by implication, therefore, one of the most important aspects of the gifts brought to the House of Albret by the connection and influence of the new queen, Marguerite of Navarre.

After their marriage in 1527, Marguerite and Henry's close ties with Francis I and his court, and Henry's military duties and patronage role in his office of governor and admiral, kept them in or near the royal courts of France for much of the time until Henry was sent temporarily packing for his disgraceful dealings with Spain. Even then, throughout the 1530s and into the 1540s, Nérac was a more suitable location and pleasing palace setting for Marguerite's court, and Henry's government and admiralty of Guyenne, than was the then austere and remote castle at Pau. In the winter of 1541-2, Marguerite moved to Nérac, where she lived permanently until the last years of her life. Until at least 1546, Henry only came on short visits to Béarn and Pau. As Shakespeare had his king of Navarre say of the court at Nérac in *Love's Labour's Lost*:

Navarre shall be the wonder of the world;
Our court shall be a little Academe⁸⁹

⁸⁸ See Planhol and Claval, *An historical geography of France*, p.180.

⁸⁹ William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. Johnson and Steevens, vol.2, *Love's Labour's Lost*, London, 1773, Act 1, Scene I, ll.12-13. Although Shakespeare's stage direction is 'Navarre. The Palace,' the setting described is that of Nérac, not Pau. The play was written before 1598, and the setting is probably that of Nérac during the residence there of Henry III de Bourbon and Marguerite of Valois as king and queen of Navarre in 1578.

Marguerite only came to Pau in 1548-49. Portions of Marguerite's visits or stays in Béarn were spent either in retreat at her own chateau of Odos in Bigorre, or in taking the curative waters at Cauterets or Eaux-Chaudes. Almost until Marguerite's death in 1549, in fact, home for the Navarres could, it seemed, be almost anywhere – except Bordeaux, the site of Henry's provincial Parlement, or Pau, the site of the Estates of his realm.⁹⁰

f. The evangelising of Marguerite?

As has been said, among the most important gifts that Marguerite d'Angoulême brought to the House of Albret was her intellectual and spiritual genius. It will not be the intention here to analyse and evaluate that genius, or the literary works it produced. Rather, the questions to be examined in the present context will be limited to two. First, in an age when such boundaries had not yet become clear cut, was Marguerite an evangelical Roman Catholic in the spirit of reform within the church, or was she a Reformed evangelical who was obliged to remain closeted within the church? Second, to what degree might her daughter Jeanne have been influenced by her evangelism, whether it was of the one sort or the other, or somewhere in between?

Marguerite's evangelical interests began many years before her marriage to Henry, and continued until her death. Prominent among those who stimulated and encouraged those interests were Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux; Gérard Roussel and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, preachers and biblical scholars, both of whom came to take up residence at Marguerite's Nérac court; the poet and Calvinist psalmist Clément Marot, who also lived at the Nérac palace as Marguerite's secretary; and Calvin himself, who is said to have taken refuge at Nérac after his flight from Paris. An undated letter supports the evidence that Calvin took refuge in early 1534 with Louis du Tillet in Angoulême.⁹¹ There appears to be no definite confirmation

⁹⁰ Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, pp.167, 170, and Appendix, residences and itinerary of Henry II, p.485.

⁹¹ Letter of Calvin to Francis Daniel from 'Doxopolis' [Angoulême], *Letters of John Calvin*, ed. Jules Bonnet, vol.1 [trans. M.R. Gilchrist], New York, Burt Franklin, 1972 [reprint of 1858], p.41. In every instance in which I have provided an extended quotation in English from Calvin's letters, I have used Gilchrist's translations of Calvin's letters as printed in the Bonnet edition, without change.

of his subsequent stay in Nérac. The earliest source for the tradition may be Nicolas Colladon's biography of Calvin, which appeared in 1565, the year after Calvin's death.⁹² It has been stated as fact in numerous well-informed secondary sources.⁹³ There is an intriguing letter to Marguerite from the *Conseil* of Geneva on 23 December 1535, in which the *Conseil* thank Marguerite for her charity toward the afflicted refugees. Could this have been an oblique reference to Calvin?⁹⁴

The correspondence of Marguerite and Guillaume Briçonnet between 1521 and 1524⁹⁵ is a rich source of evidence that Marguerite was seeking spiritual renewal within the Gallican Church, and was receiving powerful guidance at its highest liberal levels; Briçonnet had been made bishop of Meaux in 1515.⁹⁶ The emphasis of Briçonnet's counselling of Marguerite was directly personal and spiritual: 'C'est à vous, Madame, à qui je parle,' he writes.⁹⁷ For Briçonnet, the process of spiritual renewal is analogous to renewal in the natural world, and can only take place when the individual is in direct communion with Christ, through faith and a personal interpretation of scripture. Briçonnet speaks, for example, of the 'water that is the fountain of God's spirit,' by citing John 7: 38-9: "'He who believes in me," as the scripture has said, "out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water."'"⁹⁸ The theme of the vine is then evoked to take the process to its goal: "'I am the true vine, and my Father is the vine-dresser'" (John 15: 1).⁹⁹

Criticism of the worldliness of the Catholic higher clergy is a major

⁹² *Opera Omnia* 21, 27.

⁹³ To cite one example of these, Pierre Jourda, in his *Marguerite d'Angoulême*, vol. 1, 'La Vie,' p. 181 (early 1534) states: 'Calvin, fugitif, cherchait un refuge à Nérac, dans ses [Marguerite's] états. C'est donc qu'il s'y croyait en sûreté.'

⁹⁴ No. 606, p. 134, in Pierre Jourda's *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême. Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549)*, Paris, H. Champion, 1930.

⁹⁵ Guillaume Briçonnet, Marguerite d'Angoulême, *Correspondance (1521-1524)*, ed. Christine Martineau and Michel Veissière, with Henry Heller, Geneva, Droz, 1975-1979 (an edition of the contemporary copy of the letters held as BNF, fr 11495).

⁹⁶ Eugene F Rice, Jr., ed., *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1972, p. 133. In the brief appraisal that follows, I have been guided by Heather M. Vose, 'A Sixteenth-Century Assessment of the French Church in the Years 1521-4 by Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet of Meaux,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39, 4 (October 1988), 509-19.

⁹⁷ Briçonnet-Marguerite d'Angoulême, *Correspondance*, vol. 1, p. 112; Vose, 509.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 81; Vose, 515-516.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 29; Vose, 517.

element in Briçonnet's urging of Marguerite to take up the cause of spiritual renewal: 'Take off your gloves, Madame; give yourself to the struggle for renewal, for the hour is late.'¹⁰⁰ He solicits her aid 'pour reformer l'Eglise'¹⁰¹ through the spiritual responsibility of royals, especially and explicitly Marguerite's brother Francis I, to exercise their temporal authority only through that of the King of Kings.¹⁰² Throughout, the aim to 'reform the Church' assumes a reforming process within the Roman Catholic church, not the creation of a separate Reformed Church.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples was a reform sympathiser and early translator into French of the New Testament and Psalms (1524) and Bible (1530). His published 'epistles' include a famous one from Meaux in 1523, ostensibly addressed 'To all Christian men and women,' but, it is believed, specifically addressed to Marguerite and her circle:

Et presentement il a pleu à la bonté divine inciter les nobles coeurs et chrestiens desirs des plus haultes et puissants dames et princesses du royaume de rechef faire imprimer le nouveau testament pour leur edification et consolation.¹⁰³

Epistles are also addressed to Guillaume Briçonnet,¹⁰⁴ and from Gérard Roussel,¹⁰⁵ who presented Marguerite with a partial French translation of the Bible before August 1526, and became her preacher; later, bishop of Orlon.¹⁰⁶ Roussel was one of the two preachers named from memory by Jeanne in 1555 as having been on their knees leading Marguerite in prayer in her private chambers at Nérac, in the controversial incident recounted at the beginning of chapter three, 'The Evangelising of Jeanne.' Lefèvre himself retired permanently to Nérac, probably in the autumn of 1531,¹⁰⁷ and died there in 1536.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., vol.1, p.128; Vose, 514-515.

¹⁰¹ Cited from Vose, 517.

¹⁰² Briçonnet-Marguerite d'Angoulême, *Correspondance*, vol.1, p.113; Vose, 517.

¹⁰³ *Prefatory Epistles*, ed. Rice, pp.457-458. This passage is footnoted: 'Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchess of Alençon, her aunt and friend Philiberte de Savoie, duchess of Nemours; and the queen mother Louise de Savoie, duchess of Angoulême' (n.4, p.467).

¹⁰⁴ *Epistles*, ed. Rice, p.133, April 1505.

¹⁰⁵ *Epistles*, ed. Rice, p.246, Paris, 1 May 1511.

¹⁰⁶ Darigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, pp.445-460.

¹⁰⁷ Jourda, *Correspondance*, pp.114-115.

Whether or not Calvin found refuge with Marguerite at Nérac, Clément Marot definitely did.¹⁰⁸ Marguerite had previously intervened on his behalf, obtaining his release from prison on 1 May 1526. Marot subsequently fled Paris on the night of 17-18 October 1534. He was arrested in Bordeaux, but reached asylum at Nérac.¹⁰⁹ In his *procès-verbal* before the Parlement of Bordeaux on 27 November 1534, Marot, 'soupçonné de suivre la secte luthérienne,' testified that he was born at Cahors, and was the queen of Navarre's secretary.¹¹⁰ Marguerite had herself been viewed as 'Lutheran' by Francis I's confessor, in testimony given in 1521 before the Paris faculty of theology,¹¹¹ and that impression must have been reinforced by the perceived 'Lutheranism' of her Nérac circle, and of some of her own writings at this time, such as *Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* of 1531. In Marguerite's later poem, 'Les Prisons,' there are glimpses not only of an uncompromising personal evangelism,¹¹² but also of a strong desire for public action in the face of danger that could be seen as a foreshadowing of her daughter Jeanne's eventual radical political activism:

Nous, ignorans, craignons les loix civiles,
 Papes et roys, et parlemens de villes,
 Tourmentz, gibetz et chaynes et prisons,
 Tant que par peur souvent le vray taisons;¹¹³

There is evidence in Marot's 'Epistle to the queen of Navarre' of a personal relation with Marguerite that, on Marot's part at least, hints

¹⁰⁸ In the following section on the evangelical influence of Clément Marot on Marguerite of Navarre, I am dependent on Michael A. Screech, *Clément Marot: A Renaissance Poet Discovers the Gospel: Lutheranism, Fabrism and Calvinism in the Royal Courts of France and of Navarre and in the Ducal Court of Ferrara*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1994, as and where noted. (This work is an English adaptation of the author's *Marot Évangélique*, in *Études de Philologie et d'Histoire*, vol.4, Geneva, Droz, 1967.)

¹⁰⁹ Screech, *Clément Marot*, pp.2-3.

¹¹⁰ Cited by Screech from *Clément Marot: Les Epîtres*, ed. C.A. Mayer, University of London, Athlone Press, 1958, p.5.

¹¹¹ Cited by Screech from A. Clerval, *Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de théologie de Paris, 1505-1523*, Paris, 1917, p.328.

¹¹² Car l'Evangile est la pierre de touche
 Ou de bon or se congnoist la valeur
 Et du plus bas la foiblesse et paleur.

(*Les Dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*, ed. Abel Lefranc, Paris, 1896, p.227, 'Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre,' Book 3 [BNF, fr 5122, fol.315v], cited by Screech, *Clément Marot*, p.115.)

¹¹³ *Dernières poésies*, ed. Lefranc, p.224, 'Les Prisons,' Book 3 (BNF, fr 1522, fol.313v). Cited in Screech, *Clément Marot*, p.110.

of a deep platonic love that he evokes by a subtle confusion of his own psalms with the Song of Songs:

Quelque foys suis trompé d'un plus beau songe,
Et m'est advis que me voy, sans mensonge,
Autour de toy, Royne tres honorée,
Comme souloye, en ta chambre parée
Ou que me faiz chanter en divers sons
Pseaulmes divins, car ce sont tes chansons.¹¹⁴

What is most striking about Marot's touching little passage is the way in which it evokes the psalm-singing scene in the privacy of Marguerite's 'curtained room' at Nérac. It rings so true that it connects with, and makes seem to ring true, the shocking scene, in what appears to be that same setting in Jeanne's letter of 1555, which will begin chapter three, 'The Evangelising of Jeanne.' Marot's affection for Marguerite was, by the evidence of his poetry, matched by his tender feelings towards the child princess Jeanne.¹¹⁵

There seem to have been few, if any, dissenters from the generally-held view that Marguerite of Navarre sympathised with religious reform, and on a number of occasions actively aided both reformers and Reformed. In some instances, this view has been forcefully, perhaps even extravagantly, expressed.¹¹⁶ There is some evidence, however, including, as will be seen, the later testimony of her daughter Jeanne, that she stopped well short of becoming herself Reformed. Marguerite's letter to Calvin of 1541,¹¹⁷ at the time of Jeanne's dismal marriage to the duke of Cleves, displays formal friendship, and the respect of an outside admirer. At about the same time, Calvin was actively seeking Marguerite's aid for persecuted Protestants:

¹¹⁴ 'Epistre a la royne de Navarre,' ll.115-120. (*Clément Marot: Les Épîtres*, ed. Mayer, p.247.)

¹¹⁵ See Marot's poem of this period dedicated to Jeanne, 'A une Damoyseille malade,' and the linguistic analysis of it, in Douglas R. Hofstadter, *Le ton beau de Marot: In Praise of the Music of Language*, London, Bloomsbury, 1997.

¹¹⁶ Henry Heller, in *The Conquest of Poverty: The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth Century France*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, XXXV, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986, while pointing out (p.106) that 'the religious ideas of figures like Marguerite of Navarre, Rabelais and Marot must be understood not only as measured against Calvin but within the formless and hesitant current of evangelicism found at court or among French humanist intellectuals of this period,' goes on to conclude about Marguerite that (p.241), 'her services to the Reformation at Bourges, Alençon, Nîmes, and especially in the province of Guyenne of which her husband was governor, were immeasurable.'

¹¹⁷ Marguerite to Calvin, 25 July 1541, in Jourda, *Correspondance*, no.581.

We have nothing new here, unless that the King and the Emperor, while contending in cruel persecution of the godly, both endeavour to gain the favour of the Roman idol. There was a certain personage here lately, a native of Gascony, one of the magnates as appeared; he had an escort of five horsemen along with him; by whom I have written to the Queen of Navarre, and have earnestly besought her that she would not desert us in a time of so great affliction.¹¹⁸

Nevertheless, Calvin's letter of 1542 to Pierre Viret, leader of the Calvinist community in Lyons, expresses his scepticism about the prospects for Marguerite's conversion to the Reformed side:

Froment returned lately from Lyons. He reports that the Queen of Navarre is at present even better disposed than ever she was; and he even gives the assurance in her own language, for he was admitted to familiar converse in an interview with her. Howsoever you are aware that we must not rashly hold every word that the messenger utters to be strictly true; for he was so carried away by the honour which has been put upon him in having been admitted to an interview with the Queen, that he seems to have lost the small remnant of common sense that he still possessed.¹¹⁹

By 1545, there appears to have been a falling-out between Marguerite and Calvin over Marguerite's association with people in the *libertin* movement, and Calvin's published disapproval of that association. Calvin sought to make amends, but the tone of his letter to Marguerite is not so much that of an apology to her, as that of a justification of himself:

But I do not know, Madame, wherefore or how this book has been able to make you so angry. The man who has written to me alleges as the reason, that it is forasmuch as it is composed against you and your servants. So far as you are concerned, it has not been my intention to touch your honour, nor to lessen the reverence which we all owe to you, because of the royal majesty in which our Lord has exalted you, the house whence you are descended, and all the excellence that is in you, as regards the world.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Calvin to Farel, Strasbourg, October 1540. (Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.1, p.207.)

¹¹⁹ Letter of Calvin to Viret, Geneva, 19 August 1542. (Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.1, pp.342-343.)

¹²⁰ Calvin to the queen of Navarre, Geneva, 28 April 1545. (*Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.1, p.454.) 'This book' is Calvin's 'Contre la Secte Fantastique et Furieuse des Libertins qui se disent Spirituels,' 1544. The letter goes on to name Gérard Roussel as

g. Jeanne and Antoine

At five o'clock in the afternoon of 16 November 1528, Jeanne ('Johane' in the surviving manuscript record of her birth, usually signed by her 'Jehanne'; sometimes 'Jane') III d'Albret, princess of Navarre, was born in the palace of the royal court at St-Germain-en-Laye.¹²¹ Following the death of their son Jean, she would be the only surviving child of Marguerite and Henry II, and the sole inheritor of their realm of Navarre and sovereign state of Béarn.¹²²

On Jeanne's childhood and adolescence, and her young adult life before the death of her father and her own coronation in 1555, the best secondary source is still the 1968 work of Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*. Roelker's chapter headings: 'The Twig is Bent,' 'Adolescent Pawn,' 'Bride and Daughter,' (and their subheadings such as 'Adolescent Rebellion,' 'Contented Pawn,' 'Bittersweet Motherhood,' and so on) – suggest Roelker's psychohistorical interpretations.¹²³ I will not deal with these unless they conflict with facts in primary sources, or my interpretation of them. However, some of the facts of Jeanne's life before 1555 need to be known, and it will be useful to be aware of the assumptions which some historians have made about the later consequences of certain events and relationships in her early life.¹²⁴

For an understanding of modes of behaviour in her life during the period of her queenship after 1555 it is important to know, for example, that Jeanne was born and raised in the north of France, not in her southwestern lands, that she was a child of the royal court of France and, moreover, an only child raised for long periods by nurses and guardians in the absence of her parents, often as a virtual prisoner. At

one who will bear witness to Marguerite that he, Calvin, has been falsely represented by those who have accused him of inconstancy to her (p.457). Calvin's choice of Roussel as his witness in the matter of constancy seems ironic, in that Calvin had previously attacked Roussel for supporting reform while remaining within the Roman Catholic church.

¹²¹ ADPA, MS C.683, fol.220: 'En L'an mil VC vingt et oeyt et lo sedze jour de Novembre a cinq hores apres Midy foury Naste [nat = né] tres Ilunstre princesse Johane Regine de Navarre.' See also Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.161.

¹²² Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.iii.

¹²³ The relevant portions are Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, chapter one, 'The Twig is Bent, 1528-1537,' pp.9-40; chapter two, 'Adolescent Pawn, 1538-1548,' pp.41-75; and chapter three, 'Bride and Daughter, 1548-1555,' pp.76-105.

¹²⁴ A different, sometimes contrary, interpretation by comparison with that of Roelker is given by Yves Cazaux in his *Jeanne d'Albret*, 1973.

the same time, it is important to bear in mind that such an upbringing was by no means unusual for one of her status and potential dynastic role. Jeanne's relation with her father was, perhaps, more than usually distant, and his treatment of her at times more than usually severe. Although she and her mother do not seem to have been on terms of particular affection, there were trips together to take the waters at Cauterets and Eaux-Chaudes, and a mutual interest in writing and poetry. There is some evidence that despite her infrequent appearance in Béarn, Princess Jeanne had the approval of the Estates: a donation of money to her in 1539, for example, that was equal to that donated to the king her father; on the other hand, it may simply reflect the high cost of the princess's upkeep.¹²⁵

At Châtelleraut in Berry (just beyond the northernmost border of the Albret lands) in June of 1541,¹²⁶ and thus at the age of twelve and a half,¹²⁷ Jeanne was, in a political arrangement made by Francis I, married to William, duke of Cleves.¹²⁸ The marriage was annulled in 1545,¹²⁹ primarily on the grounds of non-consummation¹³⁰ – which was no doubt correct – but the underlying motivation was that the alliance with the duke of Cleves had ceased to be advantageous to France. What appears most remarkable about that traumatic incident in her young life is Jeanne's enlistment of the Estates of Béarn, in apparent opposition to her father and their king and sovereign, in a written appeal to prevent the marriage, 'Lous deus estatz per impedire lo mariadge de la Regine ab lo Duc de Glebes.'¹³¹ Also remarkable was her apparent refusal, as recorded later by Jeanne's

¹²⁵ ADPA, MS C.681, 'Registre no. 4,' fol.180, item no.19, 1539, 'Donation de mille ecus per lo Roy et mille ecus per madame la princesse,' to hasten Jeanne's return to Béarn from the court of France.

¹²⁶ Bordenave, *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre*, p.32, gives the marriage date as 15 July 1540.

¹²⁷ Ruble, *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*, stated as aged thirteen in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.iii.

¹²⁸ The Cleves marriage and annulment is amply described in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, pp.46-67, for which Roelker acknowledges Ruble, *Le Mariage*, as her principal source. Roelker presents the arguments as to whether or not Jeanne's protest against the marriage was in opposition to her parents.

¹²⁹ By Pope Paul III, 12 October 1545 (Ruble, *Le Mariage*). As already noted, the pope sent a letter of annulment to Marguerite (Jourda, *Correspondance*, no.1001, 15 November 1545). Bordenave (*Histoire*, p.32) unaccountably gives the annulment date as 1542.

¹³⁰ 'Consumatum non fuerit' (Ruble, *Le Mariage*).

¹³¹ ADPA, MS C.683, unpaginated fols.1-6: 'Remoustren tres humblement los gentz deus tres S[tatz] de vostres pays ... lo mariadge de Madame nostra princesse ab mosser lo duc de Clebes, remustren las grantz comoditatz qui per lo muyen deud. mariadge poden advenir.'

official biographer, the Béarnais Protestant minister Nicolas de Bordenave, to give her verbal assent during the actual ceremony: 'Ne me pressez point,' she is said to have replied as her vow in response to the question of yes or no.¹³²

In the winter of 1541-1542, Queen Marguerite took up permanent residence at Nérac, before a final move to Pau in 1548-1549.¹³³ After the annulment of the Cleves marriage in 1545, Jeanne was in Francis I's keeping at Alençon, Tours, and other court locations until a suitable new marriage could be arranged.¹³⁴ In Francis I's presence at Moulins in the Bourbonnais (Allier), beyond the northeastern limits of the Albret lands, on 20 October 1548, at the age of almost 20, Jeanne was married to Antoine de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, 'first prince of the royal blood of France.'¹³⁵ Antoine de Bourbon (1518-1562), the eldest of thirteen children, was a direct descendant of count Robert of Clermont, sixth son of Saint Louis. Antoine's father was Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme; his mother was Françoise d'Alençon, daughter of the Valois prince. The 'first prince' was the one who, by virtue of his bloodline, would be next in line to be king of France after the reigning king's legitimate male successors. Antoine qualified because he was the closest living male descendant of Saint Louis. In 1550, the only Princes of the Blood were the Valois-Orléans kings' successors, and the Bourbon princes descended from St Louis. Of these, Antoine was recognised as the 'First'.¹³⁶ The contract specified that Henry II of France, by then king following the death in 1547 of Marguerite's brother Francis I, recognised Antoine as the closest to the crown of France after his son Francis II the Dauphin.¹³⁷ (Charles IX, the second son of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis, would not be born until 1550.)

¹³² Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.39. In Béarn, 'de' was applied to all names (Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, preface).

¹³³ Dartigue, *Vicomté de Béarn*, pp.161-166.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.i.

¹³⁶ Richard A. Jackson, 'Peers of France and Princes of the Blood,' *French Historical Studies*, 7 (Spring 1971), 27-46.

¹³⁷ BNF, Doat 237, 'Titres et memoires Comtes de Foix, Vicomtes de Castelbon, Vicomtes de Bearn, de Bigorre, de Marsan et Gavardan, des Comtes de Rodés et d'Armagnac, des seigneurs d'Albret, des Rois de Navarre,' 27 May 1544 – end 1563. Fol.51, 20 Oct 1548 at Moulins, is a signed and sealed copy of the original marriage contract of Antoine and Jeanne, 'fait en presence de henry Roy de France qui reconnoist ledit Seigneur Duc de Vendome Estre le plus proche de la courronne de france apres Monseigneur le Dauphin son fils.'

The evidence of the collected letters of the period indicates that this marriage was, initially at least, one of love and affection.¹³⁸ Jeanne, who at first followed Antoine's military campaigns in the north, gave birth, between 1551 and 1556, to three male children and a daughter. The happiness of the early marriage period was overshadowed by the deaths of Jeanne's mother Marguerite at the chateau of Odos in 1549,¹³⁹ and by the deaths of two of her three male children, and her (then) only daughter. The first male child, Henry, was born at Antoine's chateau of Coucy in the Aisne 21 September 1550, and died at his chateau of La Flèche in Anjou (Maine) 20 August 1552, aged 23 months.¹⁴⁰ The second male child, also Henry, who survived to become King Henry III of Navarre, and King Henry IV of France, was born at the chateau of Pau 14 December 1553. A third male child, Louis-Charles, was born at Château Gaillon in Normandy, probably on 19 February 1552 – and died in infancy of a fall, so it was said, from a window while being tossed playfully between his nurse and a gentleman-in-waiting.¹⁴¹ On or about 11 April 1556, Jeanne, by the evidence of one of Antoine's letters, gave birth to a first daughter, said to have been named Magdelaine, who died two weeks later.¹⁴² Her surviving daughter Catherine was born in Paris, 7 February 1559.

There are anomalies in the dates given by various sources for some of these births and deaths. No combination of these variations would change my comment on this succession of domestic tragedies: the concentration in the period between 1551 and 1556 (or thereabouts) of the deaths of Jeanne's mother, two of her three male infants, her baby daughter, and – as will be seen – her father, may, it could be speculated, have been a contributing factor in Jeanne's evangelical conversion at that time.

¹³⁸ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, pp.iii-399.

¹³⁹ Marguerite of Navarre died between 3-4 a.m. at her chateau of Odos, Saturday 21 December 1549. (Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.iii.)

¹⁴⁰ Rochambeau, *Galerie des hommes*.

¹⁴¹ Rochambeau, *Galerie des hommes*. But in *Lettres*, pp.395-399, Rochambeau gives a birth date of 1554, citing Claude Régin, 'Mémoire de la naissance des enfants d'Antoine, roi de Navarre, et de Jehanne d'Albret' (BNF, Dupuy 88, fol.3, vers 1562). Roelker, in *Queen of Navarre*, opts for a 19 February 1555 birth date, citing (p.101, n.59) Rochambeau for the 'Mémoire' of Régin. Roelker cites (p.102) Alphonse de Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.1, p.103, for a 'plausible' death date as late as 1557, but there are contradictions:

¹⁴² Rochambeau, *Lettres*, no.87, pp.111-112, Antoine to Montmorency, 26 April 1556; and Rochambeau, *Galerie des hommes*. See also Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.109, and n.10, p.451.

After Marguerite's death in 1549, Henry remained in residence at Pau. On matters of religion his personal views were orthodox, but he had not prevented the installation of humanist, reformist bishops in his realm, such as Gérard Roussel, bishop of Oloron, and Louis d'Albret, bishop of Lescar.¹⁴³ More positively, as an administrator, Henry began making up for the years of his absentee government. The collected documents of the years 1546-1555 are striking for the proliferation of Henry's edicts and ordinances, especially those gathered under the title 'Etablissements de Béarn 1552-1555.'¹⁴⁴ These deal with such diverse matters as the advent of heresy, measures for its abolition (fol.39, September 1546), accusations of heresy even against Henry's own controller general Joanicot de la Salle (fol.170, date not seen), the funeral honours of Queen Marguerite (fol.103, February 1549), blasphemy and its progressively severe punishments, ranging from monetary fines through the pillory, tongue-removal and death (fols.120-121), the justice system, usury, money, 'donations', taxes, tolls,¹⁴⁵ trade and markets. In some instances, documents signed by Henry and countersigned by his secretary Sponde applied not only to Béarn, but also to Henry's lands in France.¹⁴⁶

One of the matters to which Henry attended at an early date, never neglected, and which was consistently kept up after his death, was the reconstruction, reinforcement, armament, manning and provisioning of the fortress of Navarrenx, on the western frontier of Béarn. It would prove to be the military key to the survival of Protestantism in Béarn under Queen Jeanne, and after her, under the regency of her daughter Catherine. The medieval fort at Navarrenx had been built by Sancho, king of Navarre.¹⁴⁷ Henry II of Navarre rebuilt it on the new Italian model of the age of artillery, with thick walls and angled bastions to withstand attacking cannon fire, behind which were platforms for the fort's own artillery, protected and yet positioned to give the

¹⁴³ Dartigue-Peyroux, *Vicomté de Béarn*, pp.445-460.

¹⁴⁴ ADPA, MSS C.683, a register consisting of 221 folios described as (though by no means confined to) 'Etablissements de Béarn 1552-1555,' fols.19 (7 February 1552) – 117 (20 December 1554), not necessarily in chronological order (fol.187 is dated Orthez, 9 May 1554).

¹⁴⁵ ADPA, MSS C.1229, 1550-1157: fol.2, 28 July 1552, fol.4, 31 October 1552, toll rights granted by Henry II.

¹⁴⁶ ADPA, MS C.683, fol.117, 20 December 1554, 'Henryc ... in nostres pays de Bearn et de frantz.'

¹⁴⁷ Dartigue, *Vicomté de Béarn*, p.489.

defenders sweeping fields of fire.¹⁴⁸ The manuscripts held at Pau for the whole period from 1543 to 1568 are notably peppered with items for financing the defence work on Navarrenx, and for the maintenance of its garrison and command by Darros.¹⁴⁹

Further, the Albret lands were by 1548 producing an income that was capable of sustaining the political power of the dynasty.¹⁵⁰ The account books of the House of Albret held in the Pau archives present a clear and fascinating picture of orderly administration.¹⁵¹ Henry's good financial management of his realm was important, as was his insistence on the strength and state of readiness of its defence capability, but the most important legacy he left to Jeanne was his conversion of the style of his government from one in which the absentee sovereign's power was dependent on his persuasion over his semi-autonomous and often recalcitrant Estates, to one in which the sovereign was resident and actively engaged in governing, and whose power was, in practice, absolute.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, and Estates*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, p.91.

¹⁴⁹ ADPA, MSS C.681, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1521 – 1547,' 210 folios (mostly unnumbered; in many cases, I have calculated folio numbers): fol.200, no.22, 1543, 'suyx centz homis' (600 men) for the defence of Navarrenx; fol.207, 1545, donation for works on Navarrenx fortress; fol.209, no.24, 1547, repairs on the fortifications of Navarrenx. ADPA, MSS C.682, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1548 – 1576,' 159 folios with modern numbering: pp.6-8, 1548, gentlemen, soldiers and munitions for Navarrenx; p.78, 1560, spending for the town of Navarrenx; p.98, before 1567, repairs on Navarrenx; p.121, 1568, M. Darros [d'Arros] made Captain-General of Navarrenx. 'Darros' is the original signature form of this name which I have elected to use throughout, without the usual modern apostrophe. In Béarnais family names, 'de' signifies place, but not nobility.

¹⁵⁰ On the financial strength of the House of Albret at this point, see Neuschel, *Word of Honor*, chapter 5, pp.132-185, 'The Ties of Territory: The Bourbons as Provincial Landholders and Feudal Lords.' Neuschel (p.138) says (citing Major, 'Noble Income,' p.32) that 'the truly extraordinary levels of income generated by the Albret lands of the south' were 127,315 livres tournois in 1548 from the kingdom of Navarre plus the counties of Foix and Armagnac, the viscounty of Béarn and other estates in the region, 'on a par with the incomes produced by the greatest fortunes in the land' (p.139).

¹⁵¹ ADPA, MSS Series B, 'Chambre des Comptes de Pau et de Nérac.' These are well-kept account books in clear, easily read French, now accessible on microfilm. My detailed use of them was principally of ADPA, MSS B.11-B.15 (microfilm Bob 3 Mi 6), 1563-1569, 'Compte des recettes et dépenses de la maison de Jeanne, reine de Navarre.' For a recently-published analysis of the household and other accounts of the Navarres, particularly of the period after Jeanne's reign, see Eurich, *Economics of Power*.

¹⁵² Dartigue-Peyroux argues that toward the end of his reign, at Pau, Henry insisted that the legislative authority resided in him alone, and that his insistence made possible the absolutism of Jeanne's period (*Vicomté de Béarn*, p.493).

Thus, when Henry II of Navarre died in May 1555, Jeanne and Antoine returned to Pau to take up the succession of a realm that had been conditioned for obedience to its sovereign. Initially, the Estates, favouring Jeanne, were reluctant to accept the kingship of Antoine, but were soon brought into line.¹⁵³ Edicts signed by Jeanne and Antoine as queen and king are dated as early as 16 July 1555,¹⁵⁴ and the record of the swearing of their coronation oaths is dated 18 August 1555:

lisons de la bouche: Serment, Dit, Nous Antoine Par la grace de dieu Roy de Navarre Seigneur souverain de Bearn; Juronie a la cour – ... villes, lieux, vallees et communitiez ... eviterons tous mal, et garderons le for [the customs of the country], et fairons tout service a leues seigneurs.¹⁵⁵

The above is listed as a contemporary French translation of what were given as verbal oaths, presumably in Béarnais. That the Béarnais people regarded Antoine as a foreigner is yet more understandable when problems of language are considered: four months after the coronation oaths were taken, an official document struggles to deal with the Bourbon name.¹⁵⁶

The House of Albret's power in Guyenne had expanded during the Hundred Years War, to a great extent owing to the willingness of its members to change sides, and their skill in manipulating one side or the other to advantage. Thereafter, marriage was the principal means by which the family advanced its fortunes, becoming successively counts of Limousin and Périgord, sovereigns of Béarn, kings and queens of Navarre, and among the closest to the throne in the lineage

¹⁵³ According to Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.52, the Navarrois and Béarnois initially refused to pay homage to Antoine as their king, whereas Jeanne was 'leur vraye et naturelle Royne et dame.'

¹⁵⁴ ADPA, MS C.683, fol.200, at Pau, 16 July 1555, 'Edict De part Les Roy et Royne.' Signed Antoine ('Antoyne') and Jeanne ('Jehane'). Their coronation coin is inscribed: 'Antonius et Johanna Dei gratia reges Navarrae Domini Bearnii.' (Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.44.)

¹⁵⁵ ADPA, MS C.1229, fol.10, 18 August 1555, Coronation oaths of king and queen of Navarre (translation). Witnesses M. Nicolas Dangu, bishop of Mende and chancellor of Navarre; Jean de Pardeilhan, bishop of Pamiers ['Pamiés']. Signed by the baron de Serres [Salles?], lieutenant-general of Bearn.

¹⁵⁶ ADPA, MS C.683, 12 December 1555, fol.220r, 'princes anthoyn de bozboo duc de Vandome et madame Johanne de Nabarre.' The manuscript 'z' could be a contemporary 'r', making the name 'borboo'.

of the royal blood of France. As governors and admirals of Guyenne, their extensive but incoherent territories were united within a single entity over which they exercised royal authority, political and military.

Henry II d'Albret exercised the power of the sovereign that was inherent in the structure of the Estates of Béarn, gaining their obedience, organising the state's administration, and strengthening it financially and defensively. His success in taking firm control over Béarn, and governing it well, was his legacy to Jeanne. Marguerite's legacy to her may have been of even greater importance: a profound attraction to and sympathy for humanist thought, religious reform, and individual liberty.

Jeanne III d'Albret, queen of Navarre, combined these legacies of political power and spiritual belief, in a culture which permitted female sovereignty. Her husband the king of Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon, and after him her son the prince Henry III de Bourbon of Navarre, were potential kings of France. These were attributes of the House of Albret in 1555 which would attract the close attention of, and concerted efforts for enlistment by, those in France and Geneva who led the new and growing cause of the Reformed churches. The House of Albret was now on the verge of becoming a powerful part of that Reformed cause.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVANGELISING OF JEANNE

a. Pau, 22 August 1555

Little more than a month after her coronation, it seems, Queen Jeanne addressed a letter to a relatively obscure figure, Nicolas de Flotard, viscount of Gourdon, at his castle of Cénevières on the left bank of the river Lot, upstream from Cahors.¹ The letter begins:

Viscount, Sir, I am writing the present letter to tell you that until now I have been following the deceased Queen, Madame my most honoured Mother, whom God absolve regarding the doubt between the Religions in which she engaged through her deceased brother King Francis the First of good and glorious memory, my most honoured Uncle, not to put new dogmas in her head, nor to occupy herself with other than amusing literature, and being always mindful of the disputes that long before, the deceased King my much honoured Father and Lord, whom God keep in his grace, discovered when the Queen was at prayer in her chambers with the Ministers Roussel and Farel, who straightaway fled in great dismay. He slapped my mother on the right cheek, and gave me a caning, while severely forbidding involvement in Doctrine, which cost me bitter tears and kept me in fear and sadness until their passing ...²

¹ BNF, fr 17044 (Portefeuilles Vallant, vol.1), 'Recueil de plusieurs Lettres des Roys et Reines de France d'autres Souverains de l'Europe & des Ministres d'Estats escrites aux viscomtes comtes & marquis de Gourdon Mirabel et Seneviers tous de meme Maison ou l'on a ajouté seulement les points & les virgules' (copies numbered and verified 6 October 1880), fols.446-455, *Lettres de Jeanne d'Albret*, fol.446, 'Premier Lettre de Jeanne D'albret Reine de Navarre le 22 aoust 1555' (see *Illustrations*).

² 'Monsieur le viscomte je vous escript la presente pour vous dire que jusques a maintenant j'ay esté sur les voyes de la defuncte Royne Madame ma tres honorée Mere que Dieu absolue au regard du doute entre les Religions laquelle Royne induite par defunct son frere Monsieur le Roy françois premier de bonne et glorieuse memoire mon tres honoré Oncle, a ne se mettre en cervelle dogmes nouveaux ne se cuyda oncques que de Romans jovials, outres plus me recordant toujours bien des noyses que loing auparavant le defunct Roy Monsieur mon tres honoré Pere et Seigneur que Dieu tienne en grace rechercha alors que la ditte Royne faisant dans sa chambre prieres avecques les Ministres Roussel et Farel quy dheure sesquiverent en grand esmoy luy bailla un soufflet sur la jouë dextre & me tanisa de verges en deffen-

The revelations of this letter are astonishing. Primary among them is that Jeanne had, it appears, at this early date, and for an indefinite preceding time, only been waiting for the death of her father in order to declare herself openly for the side of religious reform; by implication at the very least, for the Reformed religion. Before commenting in detail on the letter, I will first make a more general comment. In this chapter, contemporary letters and documents will be used to examine the process of the 'evangelising' of Jeanne: that is, how she personally converted to, and was at the same time converted from without to, the Reformed religion in France. Jeanne's letters to Gourdon will be an important element in the examination of that process, but questions surrounding their authenticity, and problems resulting from their use by historians of Jeanne d'Albret, must be given careful attention. The roles of Calvin, Beza, and the mission of the Genevan pastors, will also be evaluated, as well as the roles of the leaders of the Reformed churches in France. Of particular importance will be the way in which, and the reasons why, that missionary effort was directed especially towards Guyenne and Béarn, and whether its implantation was adversely affected by the degree to which it was imposed from without. I will also consider the dynamic changes taking place in the French Reformed religion during the same period, by which it was becoming institutionalised, and its leaders and their adherents were moving from an evangelising mission towards a concerted political cause. These threads of the personal confession of Jeanne, and the political, evangelised queen of Navarre, will be drawn together in Jeanne's public conversion at Pau in 1560, and the shift in the attention of Calvin and Beza away from King Antoine, and towards Queen Jeanne.

Now, to return to the letter which begins this chapter: it has the special attribute of connecting almost seamlessly the coronation oath of Queen Jeanne in July 1555, and evidence, in August 1555, of her evangelisation. There is also a deeper connection, already noted. The violent, shocking scene in Queen Marguerite's room from Jeanne's vividly recollected childhood both recalls and contrasts with the tranquil, even loving, scene set in what may have been Marguerite's same 'curtained room', equally vividly evoked by Clément Marot in his

dant asprement de ne se mesler de Doctrine, ce quy me cousta larmes ameres & ma retenue en treneur et complainte jusques a leurs trepas advenus ... ' (Fol.446r.)

poem, 'Epistre a la royne de Navarre.' Raymond Ritter, so emphatic in his assertion that this letter copy is not authentic, nevertheless describes, in terms that are entirely consistent with the image evoked by the letter, Marguerite's small private room at Nérac,

Dans une de ces sallettes où elle peut échapper aux fâcheux, elle a certainement fait dresser le 'petit oratoire couvert de velours rouge,' devant lequel elle s'absorbe dans la prière³

in which we can well imagine Marguerite's husband Henry as chief among the 'fâcheux', whether or not Brantôme's story about Henry having treated her roughly, to her brother Francis the first's displeasure, was founded on truth, as Bourgeon over-boldly asserted 'definitively' by citing this Vallant letter copy as incontestable testimony,⁴ or whether it was exaggerated, as Haag believed.⁵

Now, as I have said, emphatic claims have been made that this letter, and others in the same collection, have been fabricated in whole or in part. These Gourdon letters are important for any study of Jeanne, and two of them,⁶ even more than the one begun above, are especially important in the present context. If the forgery claims can be shown to be valid beyond doubt, then the content of this, and some or all of the other letters, cannot be used as primary source evidence. It is, on the other hand, impossible to 'prove' the absolute validity of the text of copied documents such as these. If, however, the arguments which have been made on the side of forgery do not stand up under close examination, or if the provably inconsistent dates and places of sending in several of the letter copies can be

³ Ritter, *Solitudes*, p.83.

⁴ 'le récit de Brantôme qui nous représente le roi poursuivant des ministres jusque dans la chambre de Marguerite, et se laissant emporter par la colère jusqu'à souffleter la reine. Nous pouvons, grâce à une lettre inédite de Jeanne d'Albret [citing BN Vallant], dont on ne saurait récuser le témoignage, faire définitivement la lumière sur ce point contesté.' (G. Bourgeon, *La Réforme à Nérac: Les origines (1530-1560)*, Toulouse, A. Chauvin, 1880, p.38.) Bourgeon seems to have confused Brantôme's testimony with that of the Vallant letter.

⁵ 'Le roy Henry d'Albret aveq Marguerite de Vallois, comme je tiens de bon lieu, qui la traittoit très mal, et eut encor faict pis sans le roy François son frère, qui parla bien à luy, le rudoia fort, et le menassa pour honnorer si peu sa femme et sa soeur, veu le rang qu'elle tenoit.' (Brantôme, *Oeuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme*, ed. Lucovic Lalanne, Paris, Société de l'histoire de France, 1864-1882, *Des Dames*, vol.8, Première Partie [suite], p.58.) On this, see Haag, *France protestante*, item 'Marguerite d'Orléans,' p.236.

⁶ Fols.450, in chapter four, section *d.*, and 454, in chapter five, section *b.*, below.

attributed to causes other than forgery, then it will be legitimate, in my view, to use the contents of the letters in this book, in conjunction with whatever statements of caution appear necessary.

Given the problem of asserted forgery, and given the incomplete or omitted transcriptions or translations of the manuscript texts in previously published works, I have transcribed the full texts of each of the letters I have used extensively, and in those and all cases of reference or incomplete quotation, perceived errors of date, place, persons or events will be noted. In this way, the reader will be able to form an independent opinion on the questions of fact, style, authenticity, and interpretation. To consult the texts, see *Appendix*.

The full text of this letter portrays a Jeanne who is making a difficult confession of her unhappy past and dangerous present sympathies for reform to a trusted confidant, and is seeking his measured counsel. It has previously been transcribed only in part – the dramatic childhood caning incident given above – which has until now limited the focus of historians. The Roelker translation of this portion of the letter, in my view, both softens the incident, and hardens the portrayal of Jeanne to one who has simply been waiting for her father's death in order to declare her support for the cause. Roelker presents an incident in which Jeanne says her father Henry 'shook a stick at me,'⁷ whereas this is 'gave me a caning' in my presentation above. Ambiguous interpretations of the word 'tanisa' in the manuscript are evident in the transcription by Roelker or her editor.⁸ The copyist's hand lends itself to this confusion, but under magnification it can be seen clearly that the the word is 'tanisa' – 'tanned', as in the English colloquial expression for a beating or flogging (see *Illustrations*, BNF, fr 17044, fol.446r). In Roelker's translation, her father then 'forbade her [her mother Marguerite] sharply to meddle in matters of doctrine', but there is nothing in 'en deffendant asprement de ne se mesler de Doctrine' to indicate that the forbidding was exclusively directed at Marguerite; if anything, the position of the phrase directs the command primarily at Jeanne. Further, that Jeanne was in the Roelker translation thereby kept 'compliant', confuses the word 'complainte' in the text – sadness, grief – for 'complaisante', compliant. Roelker thus softens the savagery of the incident which, in the estimate offered by Roelker and Jourda, must have taken place

⁷ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.127.

⁸ *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.24, 'tansa'; p.110, 'tancha'.

between 1533 and 1536, when Jeanne was only from five to eight years of age.⁹

Much has been made of the evidence that Farel could not have been present at Nérac during the period in question,¹⁰ despite Jules Bonnet's discovery of an autograph letter of March 1536 in which Farel apparently described himself, in moving terms, as being present as an eyewitness at Nérac in or before 1535, prior to Lefèvre d'Etaples' death:

Jacques Le Fevre d'Etaples, souffrant de la maladie qui l'a enlevé, fut durant quelques jours tellement effrayé à la pensée de Dieu, qu'il ne cessait de répéter que c'en était fait de lui, disait: J'ai encouru la mort éternelle pour n'avoir pas osé confesser publiquement la vérité. Nuit et jour il ne cessait de faire entendre cette plainte. Gérard Roussel l'exhortait à se rassurer, et à mettre toute sa confiance en Jésus-Christ ... C'était un terrible spectacle de voir un si pieux viellard en proie à de telles angoisses¹¹

Herminjard, however, refuted this by showing that Farel's description of the scene, despite his use of the phrase 'a terrible sight to see', must in fact have been related by him at second hand from Marguerite's testimony, while Farel himself was, by the evidence of his other letters and itinerary, still in Geneva.¹² But, does it matter? The inclusion of Farel in the letter, rightly or wrongly, has no clear bearing on the question of forgery: Jeanne is recollecting the memory of an incident of her childhood, in which some elements have evidently remained dramatically vivid, while other details may have been vague or confused with images of other memories. She could, for example, have mistakenly recollected as Farel, Lefèvre d'Etaples, who lived at Marguerite's court, along with Roussel, until his death in 1536.

In Roelker's abbreviated translation of the letter, substantial omissions indicated by ellipses, understandable in the context of a biogra-

⁹ Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême*, p.181, n.62; Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.24.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Farel to Michel d'Arande, written on back of letter of March 1536, original, Bibl. Publ. De Genève, vol.113, in Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol.1, p.404. See Jules Bonnet, *Récits du XVI^e siècle*, 'Les derniers jours de Le Fevre d'Etaples,' pp.18-20.

¹² Aimé Louis Herminjard, *Correspondance des informateurs dans les pays de langue française*, Geneva, H. Georg, 1866-1897, vol.3, 1870, pp.399, 400, n.7. On the conjunction at Nérac and Pau of the itineraries of the king Henry II, the queen Marguerite, and the princess Jeanne, see Jourda, *Répertoire analytique*, p.186, and *Marguerite d'Angoulême*, vol.1, pp.274-275, 288-291.

phy, have subtly distorted or made ambiguous the interpretations open to the reader. Thus, when in Roelker's text Jeanne writes, 'Now that I am freed by the death of my father two months ago ... a reform seems so right and necessary,'¹³ the ellipsis marks the omission of several lines of text, beginning with 'from the poignant distresses that assailed him.'¹⁴ These lines show that she is not saying, seemingly callously (as the truncated text indicates), that she has gained new freedom simply as a direct result of her father's death, but that she had felt prevented from acting freely in deference to the distress caused him by the unjust treatment, by the papacy and others, of his claim to Spanish Navarre. Another ellipsis is used by Roelker to form the statement by Jeanne that 'I consider that it would be disloyalty and cowardice to God, to my conscience and to my people to remain any longer in a state of suspense and indecision ... It is necessary for sincere persons to take counsel together.' The omitted text of several lines,¹⁵ seemingly inessential for Roelker's purpose, contains the matter of Henry II's edict against the holding of public meetings by Protestants, which explains the necessity of Jeanne's call for a meeting to be held 'secretly', a word absent in Roelker's translated text, but present in the French edition of her work.¹⁶

The outright dismissal of this and the other Albret-Gourdon letters seems, on the other hand – as has been indicated in my introduction – to have supported a view in which we are invited to accept a 'new portrait' of Jeanne d'Albret, not as the activist, militant leader of the

¹³ *Queen of Navarre*, p.127.

¹⁴ 'Now free, by the death of the King my father two months ago, from the poignant distresses that assailed him when the assembly of Marck broke up without giving him any reason for the perverse invasion and seizure of his Realm by King Ferdinand of Aragon and the Emperor Charles, through the great power and enormous greed of Rome, and more than flavoured with the actions and orders of my cousin the Duchess of Ferrara, it appears to me that the reform is so just and so necessary ...' This text, and a note on the conference at Marck (May 1555), are in my *Appendix*.

¹⁵ 'I myself consider that it would be disloyal cowardice towards God, my conscience, and my people, to remain any longer in indecision and confusion, now that the debates and altercations between my much honoured cousin King Henry and Pope Julius have resulted in the appearance, three years ago, of an edict which is so severe in its treatment of the aforesaid reform, that it is necessary for people of good standing to hold meetings together secretly in order to resolve the way to proceed, whether now or in future.' For the full text, and note on the edict of Chateaubriand (June 1551), see *Appendix*.

¹⁶ *Queen of Navarre*, p.127; *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.111.

Huguenots, but as the caring, nurturing mother of Henry IV, creator of a united nation of France.¹⁷ Such a revisionist view of Jeanne d'Albret seeks an easy solution to the complexities and contradictions of the evidence of her life and written record.

Yet, Jeanne's letter of 1555 has a distinctly unsettling impact. The idea that Jeanne was writing in this intimately revealing and dangerous fashion to someone about whom, and about whose relations with Jeanne, we know almost nothing from other sources, sows the seeds of doubt and disquiet in the reader's mind. Yet, Gourdon was and is not unknown, and was not a figure so minor that Jeanne, a queen and 'the mother of Henri IV,' could not have trusted and confided in him in this way, as Ritter insisted, and as Cazaux has more recently reiterated.¹⁸ Nicolas de Flotard de Gourdon, of Cénevières, to whom Jeanne addressed this letter, was an important noble of southwestern France, and a leader of the Reformed cause there.¹⁹ But, as I have said, and what seems not to have been noticed, all but the first two or three, or perhaps four, of the whole Vallant letter series, although addressed as always only to 'the viscount of Gourdon,' would have been addressed not to Flotard, but to his son and heir Antoine, a well-known Huguenot leader whose extensive correspondence to and from Jeanne's son Henry has been collected and published, and who became Henry's lieutenant-general in Périgord and Quercy.²⁰

Nevertheless, worries surrounding this letter of 1555 are amplified by the fact that so soon after her coronation, Jeanne would be inviting this man, Nicolas de Flotard, viscount of Gourdon, to a secret meeting with her at what was her mother Marguerite's castle retreat

¹⁷ Yves Cazaux, 'Pour un nouveau portrait de Jeanne d'Albret,' 503-528; 'Réflexions en liberté sur Jeanne d'Albret,' *Revue de Pau et Béarn*, no.2 (1974), 71-82; 'Etude en dyptiques sur Jeanne d'Albret et Henri de Navarre,' *Revue de Béarn*, no.12 (1984), 265-305; Duc de Castries, 'Jeanne d'Albret,' p.46.

¹⁸ Ritter, *Solitudes*, p.200, n.71. Cazaux, *Jeanne d'Albret*, note, pp.376-377.

¹⁹ On Flotard, see E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante*, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1966 (reprint of Paris-Geneva 1846-1859), vol.5, p.119 (cited by Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, note, p.24), and BNF, fr 20227, fols.220-227, 'Extrait d'un manuscrit d'Antoine de Gourdon en Quercy.' See also Guillaume Lacoste, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, ed. L. Combarieu, F. Cangardel, Michel Labrousse, 2nd ed., Paris, Guengaud, 1968 (of Cahors, 1883), vol.3, p.363, vol.4, p.119. Some mentions of Flotard and Antoine in Lacoste appear to be contradictory, perhaps reflecting a similar confusion in Haag, above.

²⁰ Edmond Cabié, *Guerres de religion dans le sud-ouest de la France et principalement dans le Quercy, d'après les papiers des seigneurs de Saint-Sulpice, de 1561 à 1590*, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1975 (reprint of Paris, 1906), pp.201, 208 n.3, et passim.

of Odos in Bigorre. Jeanne's invitation of Gourdon, about whose friendship with her we have been unaware, is also extended to other unidentified leaders of the Reformed cause in Guyenne, apparently without the knowledge of, and presumably in expectation of the absence of, the king her husband. As Jeanne writes in this first letter:

it is necessary for people of good standing²¹ to hold meetings together secretly²² in order to resolve the way to proceed, whether now or in future. Being well advised that you have knowledgeable people close to you, and recognising the spirit of Nobility and courage in you, I ask if you would come with those people to the castle of Odos in Bigorre, where I expect to be towards the end of September next.²³

But, there is more to evoke our wonder. The date of Jeanne's letter – 22 August 1555 – is the *very day* of the first ordinance declared by the new monarchs of Navarre, King Antoine and Queen Jeanne, for the exclusion of heretics and the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion in their realm.²⁴ Much has been made of that ordinance; but should it be? It could hardly be expected that the new young monarchs would risk all at the very moment of their crowning, even if sympathy for the Reformed religion was shared between them at that time – which is by no means a certainty. All the same, that Jeanne's letter should have been written on that particular day seems sufficiently remarkable as to give rise to reservations and questions.

How Jeanne may have come to that contradictory and dangerous position in 1555, and how she would then proceed on her still more perilous course toward conversion, is the subject of the next sections of this chapter.

²¹ Text: 'gens de bien', which I have translated as 'people of good standing'. Robert M. Kingdon, in 'A New View of Calvin in the Light of the Registers of the Geneva Consistory,' in William H. Neuser and Brian G. Armstrong, eds., *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, vol. XXXVI, Kirksville (Mo.), Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997, p.31, defines 'homme de bien' as 'a man of property and good social standing.' In Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, the translation is 'sincere persons', p.111.

²² Text: 'couëtement', 'secretly', a key word which is omitted in Roelker's English translation (*Queen of Navarre*, p.127), but present in the French transcription (*Jeanne d'Albret*, p.111).

²³ Fol.446v.

²⁴ ADPA, MS C.684, Tome 6, fol.19, 22 August 1555, 'Loe rey et regine senyors souvrans de Bearn,' order for the maintenance of 'la fe catholique.'

b. Geneva and Guyenne, 1534-1557

The beginnings of reform in Guyenne predate Calvin. The wine trade with England from Bordeaux and the upstream vineyards of the Dordogne and Garonne, which had been interrupted by English loss of the duchy of Aquitaine in 1453, had begun to pick up again by 1495. The re-establishment of the Aquitanian-English wine trade connection, and its extension to Holland, gave economic and social reinforcement to the Protestant religious connection.²⁵ Whatever one chooses to make of the entry of Thomas Illyricus into Bordeaux like Christ on a donkey in 1526, arrests of 'heretics' were notable in that city in 1530; by 1532-1533 its Collège de Guyenne was perceived to have 'Lutherans' among its professors, and in 1539 a chair of theology was founded at that institution which had connections with leaders of religious reform in the new republic of Geneva. The new religion began spreading up the valleys of the Dordogne, Lot, and Garonne to towns such as Ste-Foy, Villeneuve, and Tonneins.²⁶

By 1544, the president of the Parlement of Bordeaux was blaming the Collège de Guyenne for 'the loss of all Aquitaine' to Protestantism.²⁷ A similar institution was founded in 1535 at Agen, where Scaliger lived.²⁸ In the same year, the Parlement of Bordeaux sent a commissioner, De Valée, to investigate the Collège d'Agen, who reported on religious discussions he had heard at the court circle of Marguerite of Navarre in Nérac.²⁹ Among those in that circle was Gérard Roussel from the abbey school of Clairac, one of the two ministers named by Jeanne in her letter of 1555; he had fled from Paris in late 1533.³⁰ In 1538, the inquisitor Louis de Rochette came

²⁵ J. Beaurroy, *Vin et société à Bergerac*, pp.57-59.

²⁶ Gaullieur, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, pp.22, 37.

²⁷ 'En 1544 le second président du Parlement, de Calvimont, affirmait que le collège avait causé la perte de toute l'Aquitaine.' Raymond Darricau, in Guillemain, *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*, p.102.

²⁸ On Jules-César Scaliger in Agen, see Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc*, p.384.

²⁹ Henry Heller, *The Conquest of Poverty*, p.106.

³⁰ Pierre d'Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, Tome IV [vol.3], *Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1935, p.22, 'nous savons avec quelle complaisance Marguerite de Navarre avait ouvert son université aux nouveautés intellectuelles'; on the circle of Queen Marguerite and Gérard Roussel, which also included Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples until his death in 1536, see p.26. On Marguerite's court circle, Roussel, and André Melancthon, see also Gregory Hanlon, *L'Univers des gens de bien: Culture et comportements des élites urbaines en Agenais-Condornois au XVII^e siècle*, Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1989, pp.211-213.

to Agen to investigate reports of heresy. At Tonneins, André Melancthon, a nephew of Philippe, was arrested in 1541, but was saved by the intervention of Marguerite of Navarre.³¹

It was, however, from Geneva and from John Calvin that the direction principally came for the organisation and implantation of the Reformed religion in Guyenne. In this section, I will examine how and why that early missionary effort was aimed at Guyenne, and how and why it was extended to the court and realm of the king and queen of Navarre.

In the beginning – until 1536 at least, and for much of the period until 1541, and even, at times, into the 1550s – Calvin and Geneva can be seen as parallel, but separate, subjects, acting and reacting in counterpoint but not in concert, as this account will show.

On 10 April 1533, communion according to the reformed rite of Guillaume Farel was celebrated for the first time in a garden in Geneva.³² Six months later, on 1 November, an address believed to have been written by Jean Cauvin or Calvin was delivered at the University of Paris. Calvin's address was, it has been observed, not 'Protestant', but reflected 'the Biblical humanism of the party of Marguerite d'Angoulême'[of Navarre].³³ Nevertheless, the perceived danger was such that Calvin fled Paris and, as I have already noted, took refuge with Louis du Tillet, canon of Angoulême, in the spring of 1534.

Louis du Tillet was a younger brother of Jean du Tillet, *greffier civil* of the Parlement of Paris, who was a committed Catholic and powerful 'king's man'. Louis' complex relation with Calvin at this time has been explained recently. Louis and Calvin, who had studied together in Paris, travelled to Strasbourg, Switzerland, and Italy, where they visited Renée de France, duchess of Ferrara, the 'cousin' mentioned in Jeanne's first letter to Gourdon. Louis, who had become attached to the Reformed religion, was recalled to Paris by his elder brother Jean in 1538. He returned to Angoulême, abjured his heresy, resumed his duties as a Catholic preacher, and eventually became a chaplain of Catherine de Médicis.³⁴

³¹ Baumont, *Histoire d'Agen*, pp.115-117. The inquisitor Rochette was later himself burned for heresy at Toulouse.

³² McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, p.90.

³³ John T. McNeill, ed., *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1961, vol.1, Introduction, p.XXX.

³⁴ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, *Jean du Tillet and the French Wars of Religion: Five Tracts, 1562-1569*, Binghamton (NY), Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994,

Calvin's precise itinerary in southwestern France is not clear, in that it varies according to the teller. He resigned his chaplaincy at Noyon, north of Paris, on 4 May 1534.³⁵ Either before or after that date, he may have been at the court of Marguerite of Navarre in Nérac, where Gérard Roussel and Lefèvre d'Étaples already were.³⁶ More importantly, Calvin had made contact with the embryo Reformed community of Poitiers where, as in Geneva, in the words of Jules Bonnet (evoking a biblical image of the small reformed congregation as the New Testament disciples, and John Calvin as Jesus Christ), 'the first disciples assembled in a garden.'³⁷

In January 1534, Pierre Viret left Berne to join Farel in Geneva, and in 1535 the city council abolished the Catholic mass.³⁸ Calvin, meantime, had arrived in the safety of Basle, where he completed the Latin text of *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. His Preface to that work of August 1535, addressed to King Francis I, begins with a plea for the persecuted evangelicals of France, points out errors in the nature of the Church, and boldly and pointedly warns: 'Let the king beware.'³⁹ In February 1536, Geneva, with its new motto *post tenebras lux* – 'after the shadows, light' – was inaugurated as a republic,⁴⁰ and that summer Calvin entered that 'New Jerusalem' – though not then for long: in 1538, Calvin and Farel were expelled from Geneva, Calvin taking up residence in Strasbourg.

At Strasbourg, Calvin became pastor of the Reformed congregation, establishing it as the prototype of the sixteenth-century Gallican Reformed churches,⁴¹ and completing the 1539 Strasbourg French edition of *Institutes* before his return to Geneva for good in

pp.3-4. On p.4, n.4, Brown has provided a rich bibliography of Louis du Tillet and his relations with Calvin.

³⁵ McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, p.73.

³⁶ On Calvin at Angoulême, Poitiers, and the court of Nérac, see (with caution), Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps*, 7 vols., Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1969 (reprint of Lausanne and Paris, 1899-1927), vol.1, 'La jeunesse de Calvin', pp.362-464; a brief factual account is given in François Wendel, *Calvin* (trans. Philip Mairet), London, Collins, The Fontana Library, 1974, pp.42-3.

³⁷ Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.3, p.68, n.1.

³⁸ McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, p.91.

³⁹ *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. McNeill, pp.9, 11, 24, 30.

⁴⁰ On the foundation of the independent urban Republic of Geneva in 1536, see E. William Monter, *Studies in Genevan Government (1536-1605)*, Geneva, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 62, Droz, 1964, p.6.

⁴¹ On Calvin's Strasbourg church of 1538 as the prototype 'ecclesiola gallicana', see René Bornert, *La Réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVI^e Siècle (1523-1598)*, Leiden, Brill, 1981, pp.192-194.

1541.⁴² That momentous year saw not only the publication in Geneva of the French edition of *Institutes*, and the publication in Antwerp of Marot's Psalms of David in French verse – it saw the establishment in Geneva of Calvin's *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, and in the following year, the Consistory was created for the enforcement of its disciplinary code.⁴³

From within the sanctuary of the Genevan 'New Jerusalem', Calvin now turned his gaze back towards France in general, and Guyenne in particular. At the town of Ste Foy-la-Grande on the river Dordogne, one of the earliest Protestant communities had been formed in 1542 by the pastor Aymon de la Voye, who had been sent from Geneva in 1541, and who was, like Calvin, originally from Noyon in Picardy. Ste Foy, among other small towns along the lower reaches of the Dordogne, Lot, and Garonne, had long enjoyed the privileges of a semi-autonomous consular government, and the protection of noble families such as those of Albret and La Force. Ste Foy was a fortified walled town at a point of strategic river-crossing. At a considerable distance from the reaches of the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse, it also lay within the diocese of Agen, just beyond the limits of the old diocese of Bordeaux.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Aymon de la Voye was arrested and burned at Bordeaux in or about 1542 (the reported dates vary considerably).⁴⁵ Although the 'martyr-

⁴² McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, pp.75-75, 92-93, 95, 100-103; Wendel, *Calvin*, pp.46-68.

⁴³ On the 1541 Antwerp edition of the Marot Psalms, see Pierre Pidoux, *Le psautier huguenot du XVI^e siècle, mélodies et documents*, 2 vols., Basle, Editions Baerenreiter, 1962, vol.1, p.xxi; on the 1539 Strasbourg and 1541 Geneva French editions of the *Institutes*, see the introduction of the McNeill edition of *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. On the 1541 *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, and the Consistory of 1542, see McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, pp.111-112.

⁴⁴ Map (unpaginated), 'Les Anciens Diocèses de Bordeaux et de Bazas,' in Guillemain, *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*.

⁴⁵ There are many accounts of the 'martyrdom' of Aymon de la Voye. The best-known of these is probably that in Jean Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs persécutés et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Evangile*. eds. D. Benoit and M. Lelièvre, 3 vols., Toulouse, Société des Livres Religieux, 1885-1889, vol.1, p.348. Emile Léonard, in his (Protestant) account in *Histoire générale du protestantisme*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1988, says (vol.1, p.270): 'L'exposé le plus complet des croyances de ces premiers réformés français se trouve dans le récit des interrogations d'Aymon de La Voye, de Noyon comme Calvin, fondateur de la communauté de Sainte-Foy, sur la Dordogne, et supplicié en 1541.' While a date of 1541 is thus given by Léonard, Ruble, *Antoine et Jeanne*, gives a date of 21 August 1542 (p.250); 1542 is also given by Darricau (in Guillemain, *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*), p.102, and Gaullieur, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, p.59. In Beaumont, *Histoire d'Agen*, p.115, the date is given as 1544.

dom' of Aymon de la Voye thus became one of the earliest and best-known in Guyenne, such incidents multiplied.

By 1543, the evangelical beginnings in Ste Foy had advanced upriver to the town of Bergerac, which was in the territory of the Albrets as duke and duchess of Périgord. The greater importance of that town was, as I have said, largely the result of the location there, since the early thirteenth century, of the only bridge over the Dordogne River. The medieval stone bridge, which had collapsed in 1444-1445, had been rebuilt in 1509 by raising the stone piers of the old bridge, and adding a wooden superstructure.⁴⁶ In 1543, an extraordinary event took place on the bridge at Bergerac: the statue of Notre-Dame, which had stood at its mid-point since the thirteenth century, was broken off by a group of townspeople, and thrown into the river (from which it was later recovered). That incident is followed, in the entry for that year in the annals of the town, by the passage in pomp and ceremony of Henry d'Albret II, king of Navarre and duke of Périgord.⁴⁷ This bridge, and its destruction by the royal Catholic forces under Monluc, would later prove to be of critical importance to Jeanne d'Albret and Protestant military strategy in Guyenne.

By 1546, the territory between the rivers Dordogne, Lot, and Garonne, from Bergerac to Agen, had become one of the areas of the greatest concentration of missionary activity for 'the new religion' in southwestern France. Why there, and not Béarn and Navarre? The most obvious reason is that, until 1555, Henry d'Albret II was still alive and, as we have seen, while Henry condoned the presence of humanists at his court, and allowed Roussel to be bishop of Oloron, the open practice of heresy was never allowed in his realm during his lifetime. A second, subtler reason is that a sympathetic Marguerite

⁴⁶ 'Burgus apud pontem Brageriaci.' (BNF, Périgord 37, fol.69. Copy by the abbé Lespine of a transcript said to have been held in the abbey of Cadouin (Dordogne), of a bull said to have been by Pope Innocent III, dated 1209. See also J. Mesqui, *Le Pont en France avant le temps des ingénieurs*, Paris, Picard, 1986, p.21; Higounet, Marquette and Wolff, *Atlas historique des villes de France: Bergerac* (unpaginated); and Bryson, 'Labadie,' pp.56-59.

⁴⁷ 'Les consuls [of the town of Bergerac] fournirent douze torches à l'enterrement du seigneur de Bridoire; firent raccommoder le pont, retirer un image de Notre-Dame du pont qui avoit été jetté dans la rivière de Dordogne.

Le roy de Navarre passa dans la ville, les bourgeois lui furent au devant; les consuls firent tirer l'artillerie et lui présentèrent de la part de la communauté deux barriques de vin blanc et claret, deux pipes d'avoine et 20 flambeaux.' (La Roque, *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, p.117.)

could be far more useful in a covert role, as Calvin and the other Protestant leaders in Geneva and in France realised, in aiding and protecting religious refugees throughout Guyenne in the name of humanity, sometimes offering them sanctuary at Nérac – but not if that meant openly accepting Protestant preaching in her realm, thereby losing her ‘cover’.

Things had become more dangerous than ever for Protestants in France. On 5 April 1546, for example, one Jehan Malhout was arraigned for speaking heresy at the village of Cahusac, on the river Dropt between Bergerac and Villeneuve-sur-Lot. Brought before the court of the Parlement of Bordeaux for sentencing, Malhout had his tongue pierced by a hot iron, and was banished.⁴⁸ From Geneva on 20 February 1546, Calvin had written to Farel:

The Parliament of Paris, as I hear, now wages war with fire and faggot against Christ. It is indeed certain that a great multitude of the godly are everywhere held in bonds. Sardanapalus [Francis I], meanwhile, in the midst of his courtesans, feeds his fancy with victories. May the Lord have respect to his Church!⁴⁹

Although the Wars of Religion still lay six years in the future, a state of great danger amounting to underground war already existed for those practising or espousing the new religion in France. Calvin’s letter is partly disguised in a rather juvenile code, in which Francis I is ‘Sardanapalus’ (‘a legendary Assyrian king noted for his luxury and debauchery’),⁵⁰ and Calvin signs himself, as he often did thereafter, ‘Charles d’Espeville’.

At this same time, the Church was holding its Council at Trent (sessions one to six, 1545-1547), with the avowed ecumenical purpose of hearing the arguments of the new religious thought, and maintaining unity within one Catholic and Apostolic Church, ‘that there be one fold and one shepherd’ (John 10: 16).⁵¹ This intention was proba-

⁴⁸ Arch. Gir., Sér. B, Parlement Arrêts, reg.26, cited in Gaullieur, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, p.80.

⁴⁹ Calvin to Farel, Geneva, 20 February 1546 (*Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.2, p.36).

⁵⁰ ‘... un roi assyrien, légendaire pour son luxe et sa débauche’ (*Petit Robert*); his character is generally described as ‘effeminate’.

⁵¹ *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, (1545-1563), ed. and trans. H.J. Schroeder, St Louis, B. Herder, 1960 (ed. of 1941, Latin text based on the Neapolitan edition of 1859, with English trans.), Bull of Convocation, Pope Paul III, 1542, p.1; ‘Bulla Indictionis Sacrosancta Oecumenica Concilii Tridentini,’ p.281.

bly doomed to failure from the beginning, when the Council was opened in the absence of any representatives from the Lutheran or Reformed churches. The debate foundered after mid-1546, primarily on the fundamental issue of 'justification by faith'.⁵² Thereafter, the Christian religion of the west was to remain divided, with a more personal evangelical piety, identified with the Protestant churches, growing in opposition to the traditional form of the Roman church:⁵³

After 1546, when Rome had spoken, and the boundaries were drawn, and the rival faiths of Latin Christendom were defined ... [there resulted] the loss at Trent of the last hopes of ideological reconciliation in Christian Europe.⁵⁴

In effect, the decree of 1546 had 'made it impossible to hold that new doctrines may still be revealed to the church'.⁵⁵ By the sixth session, 'Against the Vain Confidence of Heretics' (13 January 1547), the tone at Trent had turned to one of attack, in which

it must not be said that sins are forgiven to anyone who boasts of his confidence and certainty of the remission of sins, resting on that alone, though among heretics and schismatics this vain and ungodly confidence may be and in our troubled times indeed is found and preached with untiring fury against the Catholic Church.⁵⁶

On 24 July 1547, Calvin wrote his open letter from Geneva 'To the Faithful of France' by which, it has been contended,⁵⁷ Calvin established his leadership of the Reformed churches of France. Yet, on the face of it, it is difficult to see in what way this letter would justify such a contention. The letter consists of reassurances by Calvin that

⁵² 'The attainment of a state of righteousness, or justice, which is acceptable to God in his judgement of man.' (Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985, Appendix, p.279.)

⁵³ 'The failure of 1546 was followed by signs of a new kind of piety ... directed towards personal experience.' (Collett, *Italian Benedictine scholars*, p.246.)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Epilogue, p.261.

⁵⁵ George H. Tavad, *Holy Writ or Holy Church: The Crisis of the Protestant Reformation*, London, Burns & Oates, 1959, pp.208-209.

⁵⁶ *Council of Trent*, ed. Schroeder, p.35. (Latin, p.314: 'Contra Inanem Haereticorum Fiduciam.' 'Sed neque illud asserendum est ... atque hac sola fide absolutionem et justificationem perfici, quasi qui hoc non credit ... immo nostra tempestate sit et magna contra ecclesiam catholicam contentione praedicetur.')

⁵⁷ Henry Heller, *Conquest of Poverty*, on the letter of 1547 (*Opera Omnia* XII, 560-563), pp.67-68.

he is in control in Geneva. Calvin's need to make such reassurances suggests to the reader that he was perceived, or thought he was perceived, not to be in control.⁵⁸ However, despite the apparent contradiction between the above-noted contention about the letter, and its actual contents, there is an important sense in which that view is upheld. If Calvin's leadership in Geneva was vulnerable, he looked for support to French Protestants – particularly the refugees arriving in Geneva in substantial numbers since the stepped-up persecutions of the late 1540s – who had changed the balance of power in the city-state. That he was so supported by the refugee French Protestants in Geneva would be demonstrated later by his survival of the crisis provoked by the accusation, arrest, and burning of Michael Servetus in Geneva in 1553, and the consolidation of Calvin's control over the General Council of Geneva in the elections of 1555.⁵⁹

In the meantime, in the Bordelais and the Saintonge between 1542 and 1548, social violence associated with the royal salt tax became intermingled with religious violence associated with Protestant heresy. Who were the mobs who then attacked the representatives and symbols of royal and Catholic power in Guyenne? Were they simply the reactive product of social and economic discontent, or were they the result of complex forces making for the rejection of traditional forms and values, and a seeking of new forms and values, including those of the new religious confession? The subjects of the salt tax uprisings in Guyenne, the writings of the Protestant potter and mystic Bernard Palissy, and the paradigm of the Protestant garden-fortress-refuge, have already been introduced in relation to the citadel of La Rochelle. Those matters are raised again here for the light they may throw on the question of the relation between socio-economic and religious uprisings in Guyenne, and to link them chronologically with Calvin, Geneva and Guyenne at the end of the 1540s.

Palissy, born about 1510, possibly in the Agenais, Périgord, or Saintonge, took up his trade as a potter in Saintes, about 1540.⁶⁰ As a Protestant, he is said to have read the French Bible of Olivetan, the Clément Marot psalter, Calvin's *Instruction chrétienne*, and various

⁵⁸ Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.2, pp.129-132.

⁵⁹ McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, pp.115-120, 122-123; Wendel, *Calvin*, pp.93-100.

⁶⁰ Palissy, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Anatole France, Introduction, p.v.

pseudo-scientific works, as well as Hamelin's *Oraisons saintes*.⁶¹ (Philibert Hamelin was among those missionaries sent from Geneva 1555. He was hanged and burned in Bordeaux in 1557.⁶²) In his *Saintes atelier*, 'Maître Bernard' developed new ways of working with enamel. His first royal patron was Ann de Montmorency, constable of France. Despite this, he was thrown into prison in Bordeaux.⁶³ After his release, he published, at La Rochelle, his 'mystical Protestant' work, *Recepte véritable*.

By his own testimony, Palissy's imaginary garden-fortress-refuge in *Recepte véritable* was inspired by his reading of the Marot version of Psalm 104, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul!': 'Par ta bonté les monts droits et hartains/ Sont le refuge aux chevres et aux daims', in which refuge, Palissy says, he has built his garden.⁶⁴ Palissy's design for this sanctuary is laid out in two sections of the work, 'Dessein du Jardin Delectable', and 'de la Ville de Forteresse.' While a work of the imagination, the sanctuary is specifically Protestant,⁶⁵ and conceived as a place of refuge in time of war: 'je pensay en moy-même de faire le dessein de quelque Ville ou Cité de refuge, pour se retirer ès temps des guerres et troubles.'⁶⁶ In view of Palissy's home region, and the place of publication of the book, it would not seem too much to suggest that La Rochelle may have been a real-life model for his imagined 'Ville de Forteresse.'⁶⁷

It has been suggested that Palissy's garden-fortress-refuge can be compared with the new Genevan city state, dedicated to the 'sanctification by religion of the most cherished values of the productive classes of European society.'⁶⁸ Calvin, in his *Commentary on Psalms*, refrains from making contemporary analogies with the garden-fortress-refuge images of Psalm 104, though his comment on Psalm

⁶¹ Erest Dupuy, *Bernard Palissy*, pp.136-137.

⁶² Audiat, *Bernard Palissy*, p.104.

⁶³ *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Anatole France, p.xi.

⁶⁴ Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, ed. Fillon, p.100. On the theme of the garden as a physical depiction of the new evangelical piety in the 1550s and 1560s after the Council of Trent, see Collett, *Italian Benedictine scholars*, pp.251-253, in which the author cites Don Marco of Cremona, *De Supplittio et Morte Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*, Brescia, 1557, fol.A4, a tract of three sermons on the eighteenth chapter of John (Jesus with the disciples in the garden of Gethsemane; also Mark 14: 32; Matthew 26: 36; Luke 22: 39).

⁶⁵ 'Je suis ... de la nouvelle Religion.' (*Recepte véritable*, p.111.)

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.114.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.132.

⁶⁸ Henry Heller, *Conquest of Poverty*, p.252.

105 seems to suggest such an analogy.⁶⁹ Calvin makes explicit the concept of an earthly sanctuary reserved by God for his chosen people in his commentary on verse 24 of Psalm 68, 'Thy solemn processions are seen, O God/ the processions of my God, my King, into the sanctuary': 'The great reason why God undertakes the guardianship of his people, and goes before them to repel the attacks of the enemy, is his having promised that he will hear their prayers in the sanctuary.'⁷⁰ Psalm 68, 'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered,' would become a battle hymn of the Huguenot armies.

On 27 November 1548, towards the end of the salt tax uprisings in the Bordelais and Saintonge, Calvin wrote from Geneva to Farel:

The commotions at Bordeaux are settled, or they are at least lulled for a season. For examples of extreme cruelty have been exhibited, which may in a short time boil forth in greater tempests. The people of Saintonge keep themselves concealed in the isles. Bucer lately wrote to me that Antiochus [Zurich] was looking forward to a day of purification.⁷¹

In this letter, Calvin displays his scepticism, and his realistic judgement about the wars to come. The 'isles' in which the endangered Protestants of Saintonge were hiding are the Ile d'Oléron offshore Brouage, and the Ile de Ré offshore La Rochelle. Why is king 'Antiochus' Zurich, as the editor Jules Bonnet notes? Is the analogy between Geneva as the Protestant Jerusalem, and Zurich as the Protestant Antioch – or is this possibly a coded reference to the channel called 'Antioche' between the islands of Oléron and Ré? This Pass of Antioch – 'le Pertuis d'Antioche' – which would later become, according to Jean de Pablo, the 'centre of gravity' of the Huguenot battle fleet operating out of La Rochelle, was to prove vital to the Protestant war strategy in Guyenne in 1569-1570, by enabling the

⁶⁹ So he led forth his people with joy,
His chosen ones with singing,
And he gave them the lands of the nations;
and they took possession of the fruit of the peoples' toil,
to the end that they should keep his statutes,
and observe his laws. (*NOAB*, Psalm 105, 43-45.)

Calvin comments: 'And he gave them the countries of the nations they now possessed as it were by right of inheritance.' (*Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ed. and tr. Rev. James Anderson, Grand Rapids [Mich.], Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1949, vol.4, Psalm 105, pp.204-205.)

⁷⁰ Calvin, *Commentary on Psalms*, vol.III, p.32, l.24.

⁷¹ *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.2, p.199.

defeat of the royal naval effort to isolate the supply port of La Rochelle by sea blockade.⁷²

There follows a remarkable series of letters from Calvin to the beleaguered French Protestant communities on the islands of Oléron and Ré, in the mainland province of Poitou, and in Poitiers itself. The first of these, 'To the faithful dispersed in some isles of France', is dated from Geneva 12 October 1553:

Very Dear Brethren, We have to praise God that in captivity wherein you are, he vouchsafes you the strength you ask, to worship him in purity, fearing more the being deprived of his grace, than exposing yourselves to the dangers which may perhaps be about to occur to you, owing to the malice of the adversaries; for the brother who is bearer of the present letter [Philibert Hamelin] has declared to us that you have requested him to return to you whenever he could; and that you desire to be by all means exhorted to what is right, and confirmed in the faith of the Gospel;⁷³

The most striking aspect of these letters to the fledgling Reformed communities of Saintonge and Poitou is their stylistic resemblance to the Epistles of Paul. It is clear that Calvin in these letters is consciously putting himself in the role of Paul, 'signposting' his letters with quotes from and references to Paul. In fact, these letters, like Paul's, seem on the surface to be almost exclusively about individual piety and the Christian conduct of parishioners, while actually being about church organisation, leadership, discipline, admonition, exhortation, and the exercise of the politics of the new religion. Calvin's subsequent letters, 'To the Brethren of Poitou,' 19 June 1554,⁷⁴ and again on 3 September 1554,⁷⁵ 'To the Church of Poitiers' on 20 February 1555,⁷⁶ and again 'To the Brethren of Poitiers' on 9 September 1555,⁷⁷ are in a similar self-consciously New Testament Pauline model. As already noted, the editor, Bonnet, recalling in a footnote to the letter of 3 September 1554 that 'the first disciples assembled in a gar-

⁷² Jean de Pablo, 'Die Armee von La Rochelle,' Berlin, Huguenottenmuseum, 1969, p.8, in Jean de Pablo, *Gaspard de Coligny als Feldherr*, Obersiedte/ Braunschweig, Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Huguenotten, 1972. See *Illustrations*, Map, 'Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne,' section one, La Rochelle to Bordeaux.

⁷³ *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.2, p.432.

⁷⁴ *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.3, p.43.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.68.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.138.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.223.

den' with Calvin at Poitiers in 1534,⁷⁸ evokes both a biblical image of Calvin as Christ, and the parallel contemporary image of the first reformed service held in a garden in Geneva. In the letter of 20 February 1555, headed by Bonnet 'To the Church of Poitiers' (actually no address is given), Calvin writes: 'You know that for this cause St. Paul was constrained to boast himself, though nothing was farther from his wishes. Excuse then what I have done.'⁷⁹ The effect of these parallels with the letters of Paul is amplified by the particular status of Poitiers as the 'mother congregation' of French Reformed churches, and the one most closely associated with Calvin.⁸⁰ The foundation of the church at Poitiers was linked by Bonnet with Palissy's vision of a Protestant garden-refuge and asylum. 'Needless to add,' Bonnet added, 'that the ambition of the Calvinists was to transform this shelter into the germ of a new order which would take the place of the old and embrace the whole of French society.'⁸¹

In his English edition, Bonnet has assumed that the 'bearer of the present letter' mentioned by Calvin in the letter of 1553 'To the faithful dispersed in some isles of France' quoted above, was Philibert Hamelin, who returned as a pastor to Saintes and, as I have already noted, was arrested and burned at Bordeaux in 1557.

Yet, despite the stepping-up of repressive measures by Henry II of France, and the consequent increase in arrests and executions by the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse, the evangelisation of Guyenne continued to spread, and also to become more firmly and visibly established, sometimes effectively displacing the local Catholic establishments. At Bergerac, for instance, where the first signs of covert activity against the symbols of Catholicism had been reported in 1543, it was reported in 1553 that the Reformed religion was being publicly preached in the town, that the demolition of the existing Catholic church buildings had been authorised, and that the massacre of priests and religious had been condoned. It was also reported that the curate and another priest of the principal church of St James in Bergerac had been severely beaten in the church, only managing to escape death by being carted to safety concealed in a wine barrel.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.68, n.1.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.150.

⁸⁰ On the status of Poitiers as 'mother congregation', Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France 1555-1563*, p.7.

⁸¹ Heller, *Conquest of Poverty*, p.200.

The wording of the report of this incident clearly displays disapproval. The question is whether that disapproval indicates that a Catholic majority still controlled the Bergerac town council in 1553, or whether it reflects the views of the French translator of the *Jurades* in 1627.

The lieutenant-generalship of the presidium of Bergerac was a post newly-created in the previous year by an edict of Henry II of France.⁸² The chief duty of the office was to see to it that the edicts and ordinances of the crown were obeyed and enforced at the local level. Most important among these was Henry II's tough edict of Châteaubriant, promulgated in 1551, as already noted,⁸³ which extended more power to local magistrates for the punishment of heresy. It is, therefore, extraordinary that Pierre Poyné, the new lieutenant-general of Bergerac, should, as the text below appears to say – the operative term is 'par le crédit de' – have been the one through whose influence the Reformed religion was established in the town, and who, it was also said, not only had the new religion publicly preached, but also lent his authority to the attacks against Catholic church property and priests:

La R.P.R. (religion prétendue réformée) s'établit dans Bergerac l'an 1553 par le crédit de Pierre Poyné, lieutenant général, qui la fit prêcher publiquement et autorisa la démolition des bâtiments ecclésiastiques et le massacre des prêtres et religieux; le Curé de St-Jammes nommé Galajou et Antoine Benteynac, prêtres, reçurent tant de coups dans l'église qu'ils furent sourds le reste de leur vie, qui leur auroit été ravie, si les catholiques ne les eussent renfermés dans les tonneaux et fait porter sur des charrettes en lieu de sûreté.⁸⁴

Even if the incident at Bergerac was an extreme case, or a case of distorted reporting, it is probable that the royal policy of repression was not working, and the Reformed religion was gaining ground in Guyenne in 1553. In Geneva in that year, as I have already said, Calvin's authority survived the execution of Michael Servetus, and was consolidated as a controlling status in April 1555. Calvin was

⁸² La Roque, *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, year 1552, p.126.

⁸³ On the edict of Châteaubriant, see above, section *a.*, first letter of Jeanne to Gourdon, 1555, footnote. See also below, section *c.*, second letter of Jeanne to Gourdon, 1557, footnote.

⁸⁴ La Roque, *Annales*, year 1553, p.127.

now in a position to proceed with an important mission: the evangelisation of France.

The instrument for this was to be the Geneva Company of Pastors.⁸⁵ According to the figures provided by the pioneering work of Robert Kingdon, 88 pastors were sent from Geneva to France between 1555 and 1562, to found or take up the pastorship of 64 or 65 churches. The first of these missionary pastors went to Poitiers, which eventually received six men from Geneva. Sixteen men are listed as having gone to Guyenne (including three to Béarn and Navarre) to twelve of the churches, of which three were in Bergerac. By the definition of Guyenne I have used, however, which includes Aunis and Saintonge, a total of 21 pastors were sent to Guyenne, 24% of the total, to 17 churches (26%). If Poitou is included, Guyenne received 33% of all the missionary pastors sent to France from Geneva during the period, to 31% of the churches thus founded or manned. By comparison, Paris and the Ile-de-France during the same period received only seven pastors (8%) for two churches (2%).⁸⁶

This floodtide of missions peaked in 1559, the two years 1558-1559 alone accounting for 51% of the total for the eight year period 1555-1562.⁸⁷ Issue has been taken with Kingdon's conclusion that the main thrust of French Protestantism came in the 1550s, and then from without, from Geneva. It has been contended that Calvin's influence 'long predates the fifteen-fifties' with the publication of the *Institutes* and, as I have already noted, Calvin's letter 'To the Faithful of France' of 1547. French Protestantism developed from within, it has been argued, not from Geneva.⁸⁸ It is difficult to make a judgement about this question based on the statistical evidence, in that Kingdon's numbers are derived from the Genevan source alone, and there is no source of overall numbers of French Reformed churches and pastors for these same years on which to base a proportional comparison. It is, nevertheless, evident that in certain key places such as Aunis-La Rochelle,

⁸⁵ McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, pp.123, 175.

⁸⁶ Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, Appendix VI, pp.332-333. Kingdon cites as his source Geneva State Archives, *Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*, vols.B1, B2. Thanks to Kingdon's editorship, the registers are now available in printed form as *Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin*. On the first agent sent from Geneva to Poitiers, McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, p.182.

⁸⁷ Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, p.332.

⁸⁸ Heller, *Conquest of Poverty*, pp.116, 139.

Bergerac, Nérac and Poitiers in Aquitaine/Guyenne (and Lyons elsewhere in France), Kingdon's numbers uphold the view that the 1550s was the major period of Reformed missionary incursion and establishment, and that its principal source was Geneva. As Kingdon notes, 'The Guyenne strongholds were Bergerac and Nérac, not Bordeaux, the biggest city, where in spite of the establishment of a Reformed church the Catholics remained in firm control.'⁸⁹ Further, as Imbart de la Tour remarked, the new arrivals often owed their allegiance not to Guyenne, but to Geneva: 'Leur vraie patrie sera Genève.'⁹⁰

It has been said that a serious drawback resulting from the 'foreign' origin of many of the Genevan missionary pastors was their lack of linguistic and cultural connection with the people of southwestern France.⁹¹ One reason for this was probably the difficulty of supplying adequately trained ministers to France during the years of peak demand from 1559 to 1562.⁹² The deficiency was certainly not due to any lack of purpose and will on Calvin's part; it has been said that Calvin 'had left France in order to evangelize it from without, to organize his new communities from afar. All his life he had striven to attain this goal glimpsed in his youth.'⁹³ Whatever the reason, can such statements be meaningfully examined by an analysis of Kingdon's lists? His list of Calvinist pastors sent from Geneva to France in 1555-1562 shows that when sorted by place of origin, 22% of those thus identifiable came from Guyenne (including Aunis-Saintonge) – scarcely differing from the 24% who were sent there.⁹⁴ But, were they the same people? In other words, were the people from Guyenne sent back to Guyenne, or elsewhere? Were the people sent to Guyenne actually from other regions? The answer is unclear, mainly due to the large number of pastors for whom the place of origin is unknown. Based on those of known origin only, 6 of the 21 pastors sent to Guyenne, or 29%, did not originate from that region. A tentative working conclusion would be that there was indeed a considerable

⁸⁹ Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, p.137.

⁹⁰ Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, Tome IV [vol.3], *Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne*, p.456.

⁹¹ As, for example, in McGrath, *Life of John Calvin*, p.188.

⁹² On this problem of keeping up with the demand for ministers, see Karin Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1995, pp.19-23.

⁹³ Wendel, *Calvin*, p.107.

⁹⁴ Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, Appendix III, 'Place of Origin', pp.326-327.

tendency for pastors sent out from Geneva to be directed elsewhere than back to their region of origin. Those twin phenomena – that the Reformed religion in France was to an important degree imposed from without, and that it failed to establish itself strongly in the major cities such as Bordeaux in Guyenne, Toulouse in Languedoc, and Paris in the northern heartland – have already been noted, and will be considered again in the context of the Huguenot military strategy in Guyenne in 1569-70.

For the time being, however, the Reformed missionary effort was proving enormously successful in the face of extreme adversity. Churches lacking a structural organisation, a building in which to hold services, and a regular pastor – ‘églises plantées’ – began to be replaced by ‘églises dressées’ with a church building, a trained pastor, elders, deacons, and a disciplinary code to which the congregation was strictly subject and punished for transgressing.⁹⁵ The often reproduced map ‘Eglises Réformées – XVI^e Siècle’ displays an impressive accumulation of ‘églises dressées’, especially along the ‘Protestant Crescent’ from La Rochelle through Guyenne and Languedoc to Lyons.⁹⁶

In the 1540s, Calvin had begun the process for the evangelisation of France by concentrating on those places or regions where there could be expected to be the most acceptance of it, or the least resistance to it. Of those, the province of greatest concentration was Guyenne, and within Guyenne, the contiguous regions of Agenais-Périgord, and Aunis-Saintonge. In 1555, that process was accelerated, because Calvin then had the power to do so. But in that same year, Henry II d’Albret of Navarre had died, and Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d’Albret had acceded to the throne of Navarre. That created a new opportunity which Calvin was not slow to exploit. Not only was resistance to the Reformed mission likely to prove diminished in Béarn and Navarre; here was a chance to make an ally, possibly even a new leader, who was himself a king, and so entitled to be a bearer on earth of the power of the kingdom of heaven, who was a potential king of France, who was governor and admiral of Guyenne, and who could legitimise the cause in France.

⁹⁵ Gaullieur, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, pp.123, 177.

⁹⁶ Samuel Mours, *Les Eglises Réformées en France*, Paris-Strasbourg, 1958, p.51. See map, *Illustrations*, herein.

At Christmas of 1556, the king and queen of Navarre, on their way to present themselves to the court of France at Paris, made their triumphal entry into Limoges, of which they were duke and duchess:

Then the King of Navarre made his solemn entry "dressed in a rich tunic with sleeves of cloth of silver ... and gold buttons ... He rode a beautiful white horse, the handsomest ever seen ... caparisoned in the same way." He was accompanied by the bishops of Mende and Oloron and a number of lords. Later in the day the ceremony was repeated for the Queen of Navarre, "dressed in cloth of gold trimmed with ermine ... and stones of inestimable value ... also riding a white horse."⁹⁷

By 1557, Calvin had turned his gaze from Geneva toward the monarchs of Navarre.

c. Geneva and Béarn-Navarre, 1557-1559

Around 1557, some six or seven preachers of the new religion can be identified from various sources as having been brought into Béarn and Navarre, either from elsewhere in Guyenne or from Geneva. These were Pierre David, François Legay (alias 'Boisnormand'), Pierre-Henry de Barran ('Maître Henri'), Jean Henry, Bernard Solon, Pierre Lemée, and one 'Martin'.⁹⁸ Opinion seems divided as to which among them were sent for by Jeanne, or by Antoine, or both.

The heretical ex-monk Pierre David, who had been preaching at the temple of Ste Capraise in Agen since 1555, was, according to the *Histoire ecclésiastique*, sent for by command of the king and queen of Navarre to preach in the great hall of their Nérac palace.⁹⁹ 'Boisnormand', François Legay, was, according to Bordenave, minister of the

⁹⁷ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, pp.111-112, citing *Registres consulaires de la ville de Limoges*, ed. Ruben, Limoges, 1869, vol.2, pp.103ff. The passage was transcribed and published by Rochambeau in *Galerie des hommes illustres du Vendômois* (1879), 'Entrée a Limoges du roi et de la reine de Navarre [1556],' pp.147-165: 'La royne suyvoyt apres, habillée de drapt d'or, forée d'ermine ... montée sur une hacquenée blanche richement enharnachée' (p.159). For this, Rochambeau also cites Ruben (1869).

⁹⁸ On pastors brought from Geneva to Béarn and Navarre, 1555-1560, in addition to *Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève*, Geneva State Archives, vols.B1, B2, cited in Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, list, p.333, see Bordenave, Salefranque, *Histoire ecclésiastique* (attrib. Bèze), and Tucoc-Chala and Desplat, below.

⁹⁹ *Hist. ecclés.*, vol.1, pp.102-103.

royal household at Nérac after 1557, and 'Maître Henri', Pierre-Henry de Barran, became minister at Pau and Nay (see below). Bordenave, who insisted that Jeanne was still strongly opposed to the Reformed religion at that time ('La Roine, femme dudit roi Antoine avoit toujours [deffavori] plustot que favori la réformée et de tout son pouvoir reculé son mary d'icelle'¹⁰⁰), attributed their appointments to Antoine.¹⁰¹ It is difficult to accept this contention in the light of the contrary evidence, not only of Jeanne's letters to Gourdon of 1555 and 1557, but of the testimony of Pierre de Salefranque.

While it is true that Salefranque (about 1600-1687), a lawyer and a deputy of the Parlement of Pau between 1641-1661, was a Catholic convert from Protestantism, he was able to cite (or at least alleged to be citing) manuscripts of the archives of Pau that, it is believed, were subsequently burned in the fire of 1716. Among these, Salefranque cites a letter from Queen Jeanne to her cousin Louis d'Albret, bishop of Lescar, 2 March 1556 (or 1557 'nouveau style'), instructing him to send for and authorise David to preach in the parish of Pau.¹⁰² A document dated 7 March 1558 [1559] records a protest of the clergy of Nay (in Béarn, near Pau) against the bishop of Lescar, who had imposed a heterodox preacher, the ex-Dominican Pierre-Henri Barran. Barran had preached the new doctrine since 1557, with Jeanne's support. The cardinal of Armagnac put Barran in prison, but Jeanne and Antoine had him released in 1559, and made him preacher at Nay again.¹⁰³

From the same letter of 1556 [1557] cited by Salefranque, it is also clear that Barran, Henry, and Lemée were already pastors in the service of Queen Jeanne. In a footnote, Salefranque adds the comment that it can, therefore, be seen that Jeanne had completely embraced

¹⁰⁰ Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.108.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.54 (Legay), p.57 (Barrau, or Barran).

¹⁰² 'et mon consentement [est] que le dit David preschera en la paroisse au matin et Me Henry preschera devant moy et mes enfans après disner. Et pour ce, envoyez au dit David vostre placet et crides [permission], affin qu'ils [the parishioners] connoissent et entendent que je veux que ce soit par vostre autorité.' (Pierre de Salefranque, *Histoire de l'hérésie de Béarn*, ed. V. Dubarat, *Bulletin de la Société des Lettres et Arts de Pau*, 1920-23, 'Preuves,' no.10, 'Lettre de la Reyne à l'Evesque sur le fait de Barran', 2 mars 1556 [1557], p.126.)

¹⁰³ ADPA, MS E.1732, fol.95, 7 March 1558. On this incident, see also *Le Béarn sous Jeanne d'Albret. 4e centenaire de la publication des Psaumes en béarnais par Arnaud de Salette, 1583-1983*, Pau, Bibliothèque Municipale de Pau, 18 February-31 March 1983, p.31.

the Reformed religion, at least since 1556.¹⁰⁴ Salefranque also notes the reason why Jeanne and Antoine were able to pledge in 1555 their maintenance of the ordinance against heresy in their realm, and then proceed to have Protestant pastors at their courts, and in the parish: the bishop of Lescar was an Albret, and 'their man'. Not only had Jeanne caused Louis d'Albret to be invested as bishop of Lescar in 1556, but also Claude Régin as bishop of Oloron, to succeed Rous-sel.¹⁰⁵ Of at least equal importance was the fact that, owing to Henry II d'Albret's establishment of virtually absolute control, the Estates of Béarn was effectively composed of 'their men'.

Why, then, would Bordenave, writing the 'authorised' biography of Jeanne d'Albret in the 1580s, have said that Jeanne was anti-Protestant in 1555-1557, while Antoine was pro? One possible answer was proposed by Palma Cayet, who, born in 1525, was a Protestant pastor prepared in Geneva under Beza. Palma Cayet had been engaged by Jeanne to be young Henry's tutor, and, after Henry's conversion to Catholicism, also converted, and held the chair in oriental languages at the Collège royal. Cayet offers an explanation for Jeanne's apparent early resistance to Protestantism. According to him, Jeanne did not take up the Reformed cause until later, because her mother Marguerite had given 2,000 ecus to aid the persecuted of the new religion, and only received abuse in return from the ministers in charge.¹⁰⁶

Whatever the truth of Cayet's explanation, Bordenave's statement about Jeanne's apparent resistance to Protestantism in the early years of her queenship may have had another cause: the published version of Bordenave's book having been printed after Jeanne's death by commission of Henry III of Navarre, then a convert to Catholicism and king Henry IV of France, Henry wanted a 'revised' portrait of Jeanne as mother during his childhood.

The other, more important question is, why did Jeanne so dissimulate as to appear to be, if not anti-Protestant, then publicly Catholic? On this question, the most compelling answer is the one offered by Rochambeau: that, although Jeanne was secretly more engaged than Antoine to the Protestant cause, she wanted to keep her lands in

¹⁰⁴ Salefranque, p.124: 'On voit donc que Jeanne d'Albret embrassa absolument la Réforme, au moins depuis 1556.'

¹⁰⁵ Tucoc-Chala and Desplat, *Principatus Beneamnia*, p.161. In 1557, according to the authors, it was Antoine who brought Legay from Geneva to Navarrenx and Pau.

¹⁰⁶ Pierre-Victor (Palma) Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, eds. Michaud and Poujoulat, Paris, 1838 (ed. of 1589-98), 'Notice', and p.165.

France, and avoid reprisals by Henry II of France.¹⁰⁷ There is, however, another, less self-serving justification: thus concealed, Jeanne, and also to a degree Antoine, could much more effectively protect Protestants in their realm and territories. There is a kind of 'negative proof' of this: even though the edict against heretics in their realm was approved and continued by Jeanne and Antoine in 1555, it was not ever, so far as can be judged from the absence of such items in the extant archives of Pau, enforced by them.

On 10 January 1557 (according to the copy held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France),¹⁰⁸ Queen Jeanne wrote a second letter from Pau to the viscount of Gourdon.¹⁰⁹ She had been long awaiting his reply to another letter which she thought had been received by Gourdon's servant Bidal¹¹⁰ at Ste Foy, but no reply had come. In her letter, she speaks of the rigours of the edict of Châteaubriant, and the consequent cruelties of the inquisitors against the Reformed.¹¹¹ The settlement, brought about by Pope Paul, between Henry II of France, and the Emperor Charles, is, she feels, bound to have calamitous results, ending in 'iron and flame' for those of the Reformed religion.¹¹² In spite of new repressive measures by Henry II of France in Guyenne, Languedoc and elsewhere, the tide from Geneva was continuing to rise.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes*, p.46.

¹⁰⁸ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.454, n.34, says this letter 'is dated by the copyist of the Collection Vallant as February 1558,' but that she is 'sure this is an error.' However, this MS fol.447 is clearly dated 10 January 1557, which could be 1558 in the new calendar, but the other letters as copied do not appear to reproduce old calendar dates.

¹⁰⁹ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1), fol.447, 'Seconde Lettre de la Reine de Navarre du 10 janvier 1557' (copy). For a review of the questions surrounding the authenticity of these copies of letters, see above, section *a*, first letter of 1555, fol.446, and *Appendix*, below.

¹¹⁰ A secretary Vidal is mentioned in an original letter of Antoine de Gourdon dated 21 December 1588 (in Cabié, *Guerres de religion*, p.802), and is named in an earlier context as a Calvinist bourgeois of Cahors. (Lacoste, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, vol.4, pp.118, 137.)

¹¹¹ On the edict of Châteaubriant (1551), see Jeanne's first letter to Gourdon of 1555, and the incident of 1553 at Bergerac, above.

¹¹² 'la paix faite entre le Roy Henry et l'Empereur Charles par les prestiges & trames du Pape Paul nest a aultre fin que par le fer & la flame couvrir de calamitez les dogmitisans de reforme & leurs adherents.' (BNF, fr 17044, fol.447.)

¹¹³ In Guyenne, 7 May 1556, Armand Monier of St Emilion was executed at Bordeaux (Ruble, *Antoine et Jeanne*, vol.1, chapter 4, 1548-1559, p.222); in Languedoc and Auvergne, see Henry II of France's letter of 3 July 1557 to the seneschal of Nîmes on heretical preachers sent from Geneva to the Cevennes (cited as Reg. Parlement de Toulouse, édits, tome 7, fol.148, in De Vic, *Hist. Languedoc*, vol.12, 'Preuves', p.559, no.232).

When Calvin wrote soon thereafter to the Navarres, it was not to Jeanne, but to Antoine that he made his first approach. His correspondence with the previous generation of Navarres had been exclusively with Queen Marguerite, and not with King Henry. Does that indicate that Calvin now believed Queen Jeanne to be opposed to the Reformed cause? The evidence strongly indicates, on the contrary, that Calvin would have known full well Jeanne's sympathetic views, and positive actions within Béarn. It would be tempting to put forward the motive of disapproval of the exercise of power by women, queens not excepted, as was so vehemently expressed by Calvin's contemporary and, for a time, resident of Geneva, John Knox, in *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558).¹¹⁴ Such an attribution would not appear to hold in this case; Calvin did not hesitate to enlist women, and when Jeanne's time came, he did not hesitate to enlist her. That Calvin's first approach was to Antoine can be attributed to two factors. The first of these is that he had just then received a letter dated 13 April 1557 from the minister Ville-roche of Nérac, informing him about Antoine's Reformed propensities.¹¹⁵ The second factor is that, as the internal evidence of this letter, and that of 1558, indicate, Calvin wanted to enlist Antoine, as 'First Prince of the Blood of France', for kingly duties in the service of the cause beyond the borders of Béarn and Navarre, especially in France, where Salic law applied.

Calvin's letter 'To the King of Navarre' of 14 December 1557 is well-known, but a substantial portion of it has been reproduced below, in order to include the segment omitted by Roelker when quoting from this letter in *Queen of Navarre* (as indicated by square brackets, and as footnoted):

¹¹⁴ 'To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance; and, finally, the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice.' John Knox (1505-1572), *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, in Marvin A. Breslow, ed., *The Political Writings of John Knox*, London and Toronto, Associated University Presses, 1985 (modern American spellings used; first published in Geneva by Crespin, 1558), p.42. (Microfilm: *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women. To which is added, The Contents of the Second Blast, and A Letter from John Knox to the People of Edinburgh, Anno 1571*, Edinburgh, Printed, and Philadelphia, Reprinted by Andrew Steuart, 1766, microfilm no.4982 "History of Women" [sequence 2, monographs], Reel 47, no.308, New Haven, Conn., Research Publications, Inc., 1975, p.15.)

¹¹⁵ *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.3, pp.384-385, footnote.

I hold myself assured that when you shall perceive that I desire nothing else except that God should be glorified in you, that is by your welfare and eternal happiness, you will willingly suffer yourself to be exhorted by me in the name of Him who has entire authority over you. [For in proportion to the difficulty of the office which kings and princes have to discharge, so much greater need have they of being put in mind of their duty. And for that reason, also, it is that God has especially commanded them to give more diligent heed than private persons, to study how to profit by his law. Nor is it reasonable, that the princes of the earth, who are but his officers and viceregents, should desire to be obeyed, while he who possesses supreme empire should be defrauded of his rights. Now it is in these days more than ever that great and small should strive that God be served in such a manner as is his due.]¹¹⁶ For everything is, nowadays, so corrupted and perverted that for the most part what is called the service of God consists of detestable falsities, forged by the Devil, to do dishonour to the true God.¹¹⁷

It is clear in this letter that Calvin, who does not usually mince words, even to 'real' kings, is taking a cautious approach towards Antoine. It seems probable that, as a realist, Calvin is (correctly) sceptical about the nature of Antoine's commitment, if any, to the Reformed cause. The gloves have come off in his next letter, 8 June 1558. Six months have then gone by, and, at the risk of distorting the 'true' impression by such a contraction of time, the following quotation from that second letter is placed here, in order to make more apparent the contrast of the comparison:

I am quite aware what important results the confession you will make may have to disquiet you in your person, royal dignity, states, honours and property.¹¹⁸

'The confession you will make' being Calvin's bald statement that he expects Antoine to publicly renounce the Catholic religion, and pub-

¹¹⁶ Roelker has substituted the four words '[Kings are God's lieutenants]' for the 12 lines of Calvin's text that I have enclosed in square brackets. The result in Roelker is '[King's are God's lieutenants] and this is the time, when all is corrupted and perverted with detestable falsehoods forged by the devil.' (Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.130.) In the French version, the insert and triple-dotted omission is, 'Des Princes terriens ... ne sont que officiers et lieutenans [de Dieu].' (Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.113.)

¹¹⁷ 'To the King of Navarre', first Letter from Calvin to Antoine, Geneva, 14 December 1557. (*Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.3, pp.385-386; *Opera Omnia* XVI, no.2274, col.730-734.)

¹¹⁸ Calvin to Antoine [in Paris?], 8 June 1558, *Letters*, vol.3, p.424.

licly make his conversion to the Reformed religion, it is little wonder that Antoine would take fright at the consequences so plainly spelled-out by Calvin, all in the space of one sentence. Antoine is expected to be prepared to sacrifice everything for the cause: titles, property, perhaps even life itself. But, as Calvin no doubt suspected, Antoine was not that kind of person. As Calvin had written to Theodore Beza a few days before his previous letter to Antoine, 'But the king [of France] has called an Assembly of all the orders before Christmas [1557]. The king of Navarre must in that case be roused up.' To which Calvin added ruefully, 'The task is certainly one which I detest; I shall attempt it nevertheless.'¹¹⁹

In 1558, Antoine and Jeanne travelled in state, via Bordeaux and Bergerac, to La Rochelle, where they participated in Reformed services,¹²⁰ before continuing to Poitiers, and on to Paris for the wedding of Mary Stuart and Francis II. In that Paris winter of 1558-1559, their daughter Catherine was born. By 10 December 1558, troubles were already brewing in Béarn. The converted monk Pierre David, Jeanne's protégé, had quarrelled with the minister François Legay ('Boisnormand', brought in by Antoine), who had returned to Geneva.¹²¹ In his letter, Calvin urges Antoine, through the courier Villeroche, to support Legay, and to take in 'Lutheran' Protestant refugees from Spain.¹²² Antoine, however, had other priorities. Still clinging to the prospect of either recovering Spanish Navarre by force, or trading his claims to it for other titles and territories dangled as bait by Spain, Antoine made a bungled attempt at invading Spanish Navarre by attacking the fortified frontier town of Fuenterrabia. Despite the military assistance of Burie

¹¹⁹ Calvin to Beza, 5 December 1557, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.3, p.380. ('Quia rex conventum ordinibus indixit ad Christi natalem, animandus erit rex Navarrae.' Calvin, *Opera Omnia*, XVI, 725.) Bonnet (fn.2) calls this 'an obscure passage'. The context appears to be a forthcoming meeting of the Protestants of the cantons of the Pays de Vaud with the king of France and the Protestant princes. See also Richard Nürnberger, *Die Politisierung des Französischen Protestantismus*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1948, p.45. Calvin's portrayal of Antoine here contrasts strikingly with Beza's remark to Calvin about the exploits of Jeanne's wartime lieutenants Piles and Rivière in 1562: 'Christ is risen again in Aquitaine.' ('Christus in Aquitania rursus emergit.' Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.4, 31 January 1563, p.124.)

¹²⁰ L.E. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, La Rochelle, 1756, vol.1, pp.333-334, cited in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.119.

¹²¹ According to *Hist. ecclès.*, vol.1, pp.102-3, David became 'a courtesan preacher' who, around 1558, left the Navarres, went to the royal court of France, and later died in prison.

¹²² Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, 10 December 1558, Calvin to Antoine, vol.3, pp.487-490.

and Monluc, the affair fizzled out in unusually wet weather as ‘la guerre mouillée’. Henry II of France, who had not paid Antoine’s troops, was, meantime, arranging a peace treaty with Spain. The resultant Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (1559) made no provision for any further claims to Spanish Navarre.¹²³ On their return from Paris to their realm in the spring of 1559, according to Ruble, Antoine and Jeanne took part in *La Cène*,¹²⁴ the celebration of the Lord’s Supper according to the Reformed rite, in the temple of Pau on 26 March 1559.¹²⁵ There was, however, no renunciation of the Catholic faith.

The focus of the Genevan Reformed mission under the leadership of Calvin, which had been concentrated on Guyenne until 1555, had shifted towards Béarn and Navarre in the several following years, with Antoine of Navarre as the principal target of that shift. The following section will show a further shift: the vesting of Calvin’s leadership in France in his lieutenant Theodore Beza, and the change in missionary aim from Antoine of Navarre to Jeanne.

d. The Conversion of Jeanne, 1560

In Paris, in May of 1559, soon after Antoine and Jeanne’s celebration of the Lord’s Supper in the temple at Pau, the Reformed churches of France held their first national synod. There, they established the Confession of Faith, beginning with the words, ‘We believe that there is but one God.’ They also drew up the Canons of Discipline, with articles on elders and deacons, consistories and excommunication (33 articles), national and provincial synods, baptism (19 articles), the Lord’s Supper (14 articles), marriage (32 articles), and particulars of conduct (33 articles), such as gaming.¹²⁶ The Reformed churches of France had emerged as an organised and disciplined entity, but one

¹²³ On this period, see Ruble, *Antoine et Jeanne*, vol.1, chapter 4, 1548-1559, p.222.

¹²⁴ On the Reformed celebration of ‘La Cène du Seigneur’ as a reaction against the Mass, and the consequent dissolution of the structure of the Eucharist, see René Bornert, *La Réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg*, p.537.

¹²⁵ Ruble, *Antoine et Jeanne*, vol.2, pp.28-29. Jeanne was said to have ‘followed his [Antoine’s] example’ (Olhagary, p.520).

¹²⁶ John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol.1, pp.vi-xv (Confession of Faith, Paris, 1559, 15 articles); pp.xvi-xxvi (Discipline, Paris, 1559); pp.xxvi-xxvii, 57 general Canons; pp.2-10, Synod of Paris; p.11, Synod of Poitiers; p.155, Synod of Montauban.

that would soon be forced to seek refuge in the south. Of the synods held thereafter, beginning with Poitiers in 1560, nearly all, until after 1594 (Montauban), would be held in southwestern France, and of those, almost all were held in Guyenne.

Soon after the synod of Paris, another event occurred which, at first, also seemed to auger well for the Reformed churches. On 30 June 1559, the lance of Montgomery, Henry II of France's captain of the Scots Guard (later to be Jeanne of Navarre's general), accidentally pierced Henry's eye at a joust, and, not long thereafter, the king died. Of his death, Beza wrote:

Tool of bad men, Henry, thy thirst for blood
Fit retribution found,
From thy pierced eyeball gushed a purple flood
Which crimsoned all the ground.¹²⁷

Beza's satisfaction in the retribution wrought by God through the death of Henry II was soon offset by the succession of Henry's fifteen-year-old son Francis II.¹²⁸ Antoine was at Paris and Reims for the coronation of Francis II on 18 September 1559. The deliberations of the Estates of Béarn, from his accession in 1555 until his death in 1562, are notable for the absence of Antoine, and the leading presence of Jeanne who was, effectively, running the country.¹²⁹ Events in early 1560 would, however, soon bring Antoine back to Nérac.

The Reformed churches of France had emerged in 1559 not only as a religious entity, but a political one. When the Protestant plot of 16 March 1560, to kidnap Francis II at Amboise on the Loire, and thus 'rescue' the young king from the clutches of the Guises, failed miserably, Antoine's brother Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé, was held responsible. Condé left the court of France in haste and, in the company of Antoine (who was also under suspicion), went to the safe haven of Nérac.

¹²⁷ Bèze, cited in Calvin, *Letters*, vol.4, p.153 (footnote).

¹²⁸ Calvin, on the subsequent death of Henry's son Francis II, 5 December 1560, simply said, 'Did you ever read or hear of anything more opportune than the death of the king?' (Ibid., letter to Sturm, 16 December 1560, p.152.)

¹²⁹ ADPA, MSS C.692 (Registre), 'Délibérations des Etats de Béarn ('Brevets'), 1558-1574 (modern pagination of 339 sheets). For example, Jeanne opens the Estates in 1560: 'Lo vingt et trois de Fevrier ... La Ryne fo feyt la ubertuor deus estatz' (fol.39, 23 February 1560). The Rolls of members of the Estates for subsequent years – 1563 (unpaginated), 126; 1565 (fol.126), 154; 1566 (fol.154), 183; 1567 (fol.183) – are generally opened and led in person by Queen Jeanne.

By July of 1560, Nérac had become a Reformed hotbed, awaiting the arrival from Geneva of Theodore Beza. At that time and place, the Genevan minister La Motte wrote to Calvin:

I was in Nérac two weeks ago and saw a spectacle which greatly surpassed my expectations. Preaching is open – in public. The streets resound to the chanting of Psalms. Religious books are sold as freely and openly as at home [in Geneva] ... this excitement is caused by the impending arrival of Théodore de Bèze, he is expected at any moment.¹³⁰

Beza had been sent on the long and dangerous road from Geneva to Nérac on 20 July 1560,¹³¹ where he arrived in early August.¹³² His principal mission, from the evidence of Calvin's correspondence, was to enlist Antoine in the service of the Reformed cause in France, in opposition to the Catholic power of the Guises at the French court.¹³³ At the same time, Antoine and Condé were to be dissuaded from their foolish plan of participating in an insurrection against the Guises at Lyons.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ La Motte to Calvin, as translated in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.142, citing G. Bourgeon, *La Réforme à Nérac. Les origines (1530-1560)*, Toulouse, 1880 (p.105), and *Opera Omnia*, vol.18, no.3231, cols. 152-154. In Paul-F. Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze*, Geneva, Alexandre Jullien, 1967, p.123, the same letter is excerpted and represented as happening during Beza's stay, when: 'Toutes les rues retentissent du chant des Psaumes. Les livres de religion se vendent au grand jour et aussi librement que cela se pratique chez nous.' (Cited as *Opera Omnia*, vol.18, 153.) The internal evidence of the letter is, however, that it was written before Beza's arrival at Nérac, and this is supported by the short interval between the date of Beza's departure from Geneva (20 July; see note below), and the given date of La Motte's letter (27 July).

¹³¹ 'On the 20th of July, our brother, Monsieur de Bèze, was sent to Guyenne to the King and Queen of Navarre, for the purpose of instructing them in the word of God.' (Minute of the Geneva Company of Pastors, from Baum, vol.2, p.110, cited in Henry Martyn Baird, *Theodore Beza the Counsellor of the French Reformation 1519-1605*, New York, Burt Franklin, 1899 [reprint 1970], p.110.)

¹³² Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze*, p.120.

¹³³ Letter of Calvin to Bullinger, 6 September 1560, *Letters*, vol.4, p.124, 'Beza at my request has undertaken a mission both troublesome and dangerous.' See letter of 10 September, below.

¹³⁴ Calvin, letter to Theodore Beza, 10 September 1560: 'Our Hotspur [Antoine] had been informed in time of the change in their purpose, and I had previously informed him that, for important reasons, nothing ought to be attempted by him, till something had been accomplished by you.' (*Letters*, vol.4, p.126.) Their 'Hotspur' Antoine was apparently planning to lead his noble followers from Nérac with the rallying-cry, 'Christ and Capet' (footnote 1.), a motto presumably based on the Bourbon line's descent from Hugues Capet. This has been the basis of one theory of the origin of the term 'Huguenot'. Also, Calvin's letter to Bullinger, 14 October 1560: 'I wrote to you lately respecting the troubles at Lyons. Certainly something was agitated, but by a few. They wished, but very preposterously, to stimulate in this way the King of Navarre.' (*Letters*, vol.4, p.142.)

Beza, whose life and career (1519-1605) spans the whole of the beginning and establishment of French Protestantism (whereas Calvin's life ended in 1564), did not succeed in obtaining Antoine's commitment, but he did succeed in gaining Jeanne's devoted trust, and remained her mentor and respected 'father' until her death.¹³⁵

Antoine and Condé had been ordered to present themselves at the Paris court, and they left Nérac towards the end of September 1560.¹³⁶ Calvin on 5 November recorded Beza's safe return to Geneva, 'having escaped, as it were, by a miracle from the greatest dangers,' and said of Antoine, now reduced, in Calvin's eyes, from a 'Hotspur' to a 'tortoise':

I need not say a word, then, of the sluggishness of that tortoise [Antoine], since he shut his ears against all persuasion, and repudiated the services of a numerous nobility all entirely devoted to him. Let him work his own ruin, since all men know that he deserves a disgraceful end.¹³⁷

When Antoine and Condé arrived at court, Condé was arrested and held under sentence of death. Then, the sudden death of Francis II of an ear infection released Condé from his sentence, and, in theory at least, should have given Antoine, as First Prince of the Blood, first claim to be regent of France, the new king Charles IX being a minor aged ten. As has already been noted, Calvin was jubilant, writing, 'Did you ever read or hear of anything more opportune than the death of the king?'¹³⁸ It was, however, the queen mother Catherine de Médicis whose claim to the regency was upheld, and not Antoine, who had to settle for the office of lieutenant-general of France.

Meantime, at Nérac, Jeanne wrote a third letter to Gourdon, the copy of which is, as Roelker suggested, and as the internal evidence

¹³⁵ Geisendorf argues that Antoine was the natural target of Beza's efforts, but was 'un faible et un ambitieux', whereas Jeanne 'l'indomptable', although less zealous than her husband, and more attached to material things, was totally evangelised by Beza by the time he left Nérac three months later, and 'ce changement d'attitude [était] capital pour l'histoire du protestantisme français' (*Théodore de Bèze*, pp.121). In putting forward this view, which is at odds with the evidence I have presented that the process of Jeanne's evangelisation had been underway since at least 1555, Geisendorf takes as his source the thesis of N. Weiss in *BSHPF*, 72 (1923), p.127.

¹³⁶ Calvin, letter to Bullinger, 14 October 1560, *Letters*, vol.4, p.143.

¹³⁷ Calvin, letter to Sturm, 5 November 1560, *Letters*, vol.4, p.147.

¹³⁸ Calvin, letter to Sturm, 16 December 1560, *Letters*, vol.4, p.152.

shows, incorrectly dated 28 October 1560.¹³⁹ It can be argued that this misdating could have resulted from an error in transcribing 28 May 1561, a date consistent with events mentioned in the letter.¹⁴⁰ However, as already stated, this is only the first of a series of four evidently misdated letters in the copies of this correspondence, the authenticity of which remains a matter for caution. The whole text of this letter is given in the *Appendix*.

The controversy over details of time and place should not deflect attention from the personal message, in which Jeanne confesses to Gourdon not merely her 'soul's sadness' brought about by events such as the condemnation and execution of 'true believers in the Gospel,' but also the torment caused by her inability to 'say a word' about these things, despite 'the comfort of her [private] belief in the true doctrine'.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1), fol.447v (copy), 'Troisième Lettre de la Reine de Navarre du 28 octobre 1560.' Roelker's argument appears to be, in part at least, based on her omission of a phrase in the text, and her own addition of a word not found in the text. In her translation, beginning with the phrase, 'Since the coronation of the new young king [May 15 (1561)]', Roelker has omitted the immediately preceding phrase, and added the word 'new'. (Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.159.) In the French version, the quotation from the letter has been entirely omitted (Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.143), but the footnote 'probablement juillet 1561' has been retained (ibid., n.17, p.411), underlining the problems and pitfalls of the French edition of Roelker's book.

¹⁴⁰ The manuscript text reads, 'l'esdict de fontainebleau rendu ces mois passez apres le sacre de Monsieur le jeune Roy' (see transcription in full, *Appendix*). Roelker has assumed that Jeanne's reference to 'the young king' is Charles IX, crowned 15 May 1561, and the edict of Fontainebleau is dated 19 April 1561 (*Mémoires de Condé*, ii, pp.334-5). A letter date of 28 May 1561 would be consistent with these events. Roelker dates this letter 'probably July 1561', apparently based on the reference to Poissy (*Queen of Navarre*, p.159, and p.457, n.17). It is likely, however, that Jeanne would have known about Poissy – from Beza, for instance – before the formal announcement. I note, also, that the manuscript has been marked by an 'x' in the right margin opposite the mention of the execution of Ann du Bourg, and again opposite the letter date, but, du Bourg having been burned in Paris 23 December 1559, there does not appear to be any necessary conflict. In any case, as I have stated, I support the position Roelker has taken, that wrong dates can be attributed to addition by the copyist, in the absence of other evidence which would point to forgery.

¹⁴¹ 'Monsieur le Viscomte es precedents regnes la puissance enorme & loutrecuidance des Guises au regard des Princes de la Maison de Borbon, la condemnation & execution a mort du conseiller du Bourg daultres personages notables vray croians de l'Evangile ... [Jeanne here states other perceived wrongs] avoient tant contristé mon ame, que j'ay senty tourmens aspres & poignantes detroisses, sans mot dire quoyque reconfortée de la croissement de la veritable Doctrine.' (BNF, fr 17044, fol.447v.)

On Christmas day of 1560, according to Bordenave's testimony, Queen Jeanne, in Antoine's absence, attended the Reformed service in Pau, received the Lord's Supper according to the Reformed rite, and publicly renounced the Catholic faith.¹⁴² Jeanne immediately forwarded the news of her conversion to Beza in Geneva, and Calvin lost no time in sending two letters on 16 January 1561, one to Antoine, and the other to Jeanne.

In his letter to Antoine of 16 January 1561, Calvin made one last stab at bringing Antoine back to the Reformed fold, in despairing echoes of his earlier letters to Antoine of 14 December 1577 and 5 June 1558, noted above:

Wherefore, sire, though I am aware that you have no need of my counsels, yet I do not cease to entreat and even exhort you, in the name of God, to be pleased to take courage, in order to do combat courageously and more and more overcome all the difficulties with which I know you to be surrounded. And, in truth, the re-establishment of such a kingdom is an object for which we should spare nothing, and still more it is our imperious duty to strive that the reign of the Son of God, true religion and the pure doctrine of salvation, which are things more precious than the whole world, should be completely re-established. The greatest obstacle that stands in your way seems to me easy to overcome, whenever you shall be pleased, sire, to remonstrate frankly with the adverse party, and let her feel keenly that she ought not to apply in thwarting you the power which she holds only by your favour.¹⁴³

A new element, in comparison with Calvin's letters to Antoine of 1557 and 1558, is 'the adverse party', whom Jules Bonnet identifies as Catherine de Médicis; an identification substantiated by 'the power which she holds only by your favour' – namely, the regency of France, which, as I have noted above, was held to have been the right of Antoine.

The true, and new, object of Calvin's writing was, however, not Antoine but Jeanne. Calvin's letter to Jeanne takes up two themes. The first of these is that Jeanne, by her worldly involvements, almost

¹⁴² Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.108. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.151, states this date correctly as Christmas 1560. Unaccountably, however, the French version of her book reads, incorrectly, 'L'an donc 1561 à la Cène de Noël' (Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, pp.135-136).

¹⁴³ Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, 'To the King of Navarre', Geneva, 16 January 1561, vol.4, pp.161-162.

lost the true faith, in which she had a grounding 'long ago', but now she has recovered it. In this Calvin may be implying, though it is unstated, that her grounding came from God working through Marguerite and the chaplains of the Nérac court, and, as suggested by Roelker,¹⁴⁴ that her recovery was wrought by God working through the agency of Beza:

Madame: I cannot adequately express my joy at the letter you were pleased to write to my brother Monsieur de Chalonné [Beza], seeing how powerfully God had wrought in you in a few hours. For though already long ago he had sown in you some good seed, you know at present that it was almost choked by the thorns of this world; as for want of daily exercising ourselves in the holy Scriptures, the truth which we had known little by little drops away, till at length it totally disappears, unless our compassionate Father provide a remedy. Now of his infinite goodness he has made provision to keep you from coming to that extremity.¹⁴⁵

Calvin's second theme is that, as a queen, Jeanne has a 'double tie' of duty towards that true faith. This second theme, it will be noted, is the same as that with which Calvin charged Antoine, but with which he is now charging Queen Jeanne:

And whereas kings and princes would often wish to be exempted from subjection to Jesus Christ, and are accustomed to make a buckler of their privileges under pretence of their greatness, being ashamed even to belong to the fold of this great Shepherd, do you, Madame, bethink you that the dignity and grandeur in which this God of goodness has brought you up, should be in your esteem a double tie to bind you to obedience to him, seeing that it is from him that you hold everything, and that according to the measure which each one has received, he shall have to render a stricter account. But since I see how the Spirit of God governs you, I have more reason to render him thanks than to exhort you as if you had need to be goaded forward. When, besides, I doubt not but you apply all your zeal to that end, as is indeed very requisite, when we reflect on the coldness, weakness, and frailty that is in us.

Long ago we had already essayed to discharge our duty with respect of the king your husband, and even more than once to the end that he might quit himself manfully. But you will see once more, Madame, by

¹⁴⁴ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.153.

¹⁴⁵ Calvin, letter 'To the Queen of Navarre', Geneva, undated (sent 16 January 1561), *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, vol.4, pp.162-163.

the copy of the letter which we have sent to him, what effects your admonition has produced.¹⁴⁶

By this letter Calvin had, in effect, changed horses. From then on, although he had not entirely given up hope that Jeanne would by example or by exhortation lead Antoine onto the true path, it was Jeanne who would be the primary vehicle for the continuation of the Reformed mission in Béarn and Navarre, in Guyenne, and, potentially, at the court of France. It is unfortunate that this letter has been misrepresented in Roelker, so that the reader may gain an unwarranted impression that Calvin was urging Jeanne, in January of 1561, immediately after her conversion, before the colloquy of Poissy, before the outbreak of war, and before the death of her husband Antoine, to take the route of violence. This mistaken impression is the result of a combination of two errors in Roelker's partial transcription and translation of Calvin's letter to Jeanne of 16 January 1561.¹⁴⁷ First, the Roelker text incorporates, in the letter to Jeanne, a portion of the letter to *Antoine*, which I have quoted above from Bonnet's translation as 'though I am aware that you have no need of my counsels, yet I do not cease to entreat and even exhort you, in the name of God, to be pleased to take courage, in order to do combat courageously and more and more overcome all the difficulties with which I know you to be surrounded,'¹⁴⁸ and which Roelker has interpolated in the letter to Jeanne as 'I know that you do not need my advice ... to take arms and do battle against ... the difficulties that will assail you.'¹⁴⁹ The second error is apparent in a comparison of these two translations: in the Roelker text, 'to take courage' has been replaced by 'to take arms.' The reader can judge the incorrectness of the Roelker translation by referring to the Calvin text, which I footnote here.¹⁵⁰ In fact, the only reference to 'taking arms' in the letters of

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p.164.

¹⁴⁷ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.153.

¹⁴⁸ Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, 'To the King of Navarre,' Geneva, 16 January 1561, vol.4, pp.161-162.

¹⁴⁹ Calvin, letter to the queen of Navarre, Geneva, undated (sent 16 January 1561), in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.153.

¹⁵⁰ 'je sache que vous naves besoing de mon conseil, si ne laissuay je a vous prier et mesme exhorter, au nom de Dieu, quil vous plaise prendre courage pour batailler vertueusement et de plus en plus contre toutes les difficultez dont je sçay bien que vous estes assiegé.' (Calvin, letter of 16 January 1561 to Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, *Opera Omnia*, vol.18, pp.311-312.)

Calvin to Jeanne is in that of 23 January 1563, during the first war in Guyenne, and then only as 'to arm yourself with his [God's] promises that your faith will be victorious over the world.'¹⁵¹ In the French version of Roelker's book, the problem has been avoided – but not resolved – by simply omitting this portion of the letter.¹⁵²

This chapter has examined, through contemporary letters and documents, the process and progress of the evangelisation of Jeanne d'Albret. Although the chronology of the examination begins in this chapter with Jeanne's letter of 1555 to the viscount of Gourdon, it has actually begun much earlier, during Jeanne's childhood in the 1530s. In the main, that earlier period was examined in the preceding chapter, but also through the opening 'flashback' contained in Jeanne's letter of 1555. The examination has ended with the conversion of Queen Jeanne on Christmas day of 1560, and the resultant letter from Calvin in January 1561.

A parallel examination has also been made of the process and progress of the evangelical mission from Geneva to Guyenne and Béarn/Navarre during the same period, using as principal primary sources the letters of Calvin, and the registers of the Geneva Company of Pastors from 1555 to 1562, as presented in the published work of Robert Kingdon. I have argued that after 1555, and especially after 1557, the spearhead of the Genevan missionary effort was deliberately directed towards Béarn. The initial target of that effort was Antoine, but with Beza's visit to Nérac in mid-1560, Antoine's vacillation at the Paris court, and Jeanne's conversion at Pau, the evangelising aim from Geneva switched from King Antoine to Queen Jeanne, and the principal instrument of that Genevan purpose in France also changed, from Calvin to Beza.

After 1555, therefore, the parallel but separate progressions of the evangelising of Jeanne, and the evangelising of Guyenne from Geneva, begin to converge, and by the end of 1560, they meet and are joined. This union of Geneva, Guyenne, and Queen Jeanne contains, however, the seeds of future problems. The first of these is that, having been to a considerable degree imposed from without, the evange-

¹⁵¹ Calvin, *Letters*, ed. Bonnet, p.293. The text transcribed in Calvin, *Opera Omnia*, vol.19, pp.643-647, is, 'de vous armer de ses promesses, afin que vostre foy soit victorieuse par dessus le monde.'

¹⁵² Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret*, pp.137-138.

lising of Guyenne has not only imposed the difficulties of distance, it has set up potential conflicts between local and regional needs and aims, and those of Geneva, and, for that matter, of Paris. Indeed, the initial Reformed penetration of Guyenne can be seen to have succeeded remarkably in 'isolated' towns and villages such as La Rochelle, Ste Foy, Bergerac, Villeneuve, Clairac, Tonneins, Nérac and Montauban, along or adjacent to the lower-middle reaches of the rivers Dordogne, Lot, Tarn, and Garonne, but not in the Paris-oriented cities and centres of government, Bordeaux and Toulouse. It will be recalled that Toulouse, while the capital of Languedoc, and not in Guyenne, was the location of a Parlement whose jurisdiction extended over a substantial part of the area of the government of Guyenne. Adding to the isolation of French Protestants was their strategic adaptation of the Old Testament paradigm of the safe haven or sanctuary for God's Chosen People, of which an archetype for the 'Promised Land' of Guyenne was that conceived by the Protestant mystic Bernard Palissy.

The second, and at the beginning of 1561 the most immediate problem, was that the initial evangelical calling of the Reformed religion in France was rapidly being overtaken by the necessities of organising and defending itself, as an institution and a cause, in conflict with the established religion, judicial system, and Most Catholic monarchy of France.

This chapter has recorded the largely private evangelising of Jeanne until her conversion in 1560. The question has been confronted as to whether Jeanne d'Albret converted out of 'spiritual conviction', or as 'a vehicle for her dynastic ambition and political rights.'¹⁵³ In my view, Jeanne's letter to Gourdon of 1555 would – assuming, for the present, its authenticity – leave no grounds for doubting her spiritual conviction. As to the matter of 'dynastic ambition and political rights', the following chapter will deal with that question, moving to Jeanne's next confrontation: her politicisation in the Reformed cause, a process which begins in 1561, on the road to Poissy.

¹⁵³ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.151.

PART TWO

EXODUS

CHAPTER FOUR

‘CHRIST IS RISEN AGAIN IN AQUITAINE’: THE POLITICISING OF JEANNE, 1561-1567

a. Pau, 7 January 1561

A document dated 7 January 1561, thirteen days after Jeanne’s Christmas conversion in Pau, records the moving of furnishings from the castle of Nérac to the castle of Pau. They would not be shipped back to Nérac until 1578.¹ Just before her conversion, Jeanne had strengthened her fortress sanctuary of Navarrenx in western Béarn.² No reason was given at the time for these provisions, but it would seem in retrospect that Jeanne was preparing for the storm of violence to come. Although it was her act of conversion that had put her in a new position as a potential target of violent action, the actions themselves had been increasing since the death of Henry II of France, and the organisation and politicising of the Reformed churches, in 1559.

On receiving the news of Jeanne’s conversion, Queen Elizabeth of England wrote to her on 20 January 1561:

Queen Elizabeth ... congratulates the Queen of Navarre upon her affection for the true religion, which she feels assured she will advance at all times. The present opportunity for so doing should not be neglected. Care should be taken that such as feel well disposed towards it should not be discouraged, nor should the adversaries be encouraged by the indifference of the professors.³

¹ ADPA, MS A.4, 20 July 1571, inventory of furnishings moved from the chateau of Nérac to the chateau of Pau 7 January 1561. (This would not have been 7 January 1562, because Jeanne had changed the commencement of the New Year from Easter to 1 January before 1571.) The same inventory shows that the furnishings were moved back to Nérac in November 1578, after Henry III of Navarre’s escape from the court of France.

² ADPA, MS C.682, p.78: 1560, spending for Navarrenx during the period of Jeanne’s residence in Pau, and Antoine’s absence from Pau, in Paris.

³ *CSP, For.*, Reign of Elizabeth I 1558-1588, ed. Joseph Stevenson, London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1866 (Kronis Reprint, 10 vols., Liechtenstein, 1966). Elizabeth [Throckmorton] to the Queen of Navarre, 20 January 1561, vol.3, no.900, p.509.

Elizabeth's references to 'the present opportunity' (possibly the weakened French Catholic monarchy, or the forthcoming colloquy at Poissy), and 'the adversaries' (possibly Catherine de Médicis, but more probably the dukes of Guise), are carefully and guardedly worded, but the intended message is clearly one of political encouragement, implying future support.

As Calvin's letter to Bullinger of May 1561 portrays, Protestant popularity and assertiveness in France – and in Guyenne particularly – were fast becoming a positive embarrassment for the cause, and even downright dangerous:

In many towns, as no private building was capable of containing the multitude [of new enthusiasts for the Reformed religion] they [Protestant pastors] have usurped the temples. And though they are everywhere preaching all over Guyenne, without any public disturbance, we should have preferred nevertheless that they had followed a line of conduct we deemed more expedient. Nor are they dismayed by the atrocious edicts in which the king commands all the edifices in which a meeting may have been held to be razed to the ground, and those who have attended it to be punished as rebels. But there is greater liberty in Guyenne.⁴

The preceding chapter has shown the process of Jeanne's evangelisation. This chapter will show how and why that evangelical confession became overtly politicised, and covertly militarised. The politicising of Jeanne, beginning in mid-1561 on the road to the colloquy at Poissy, will be described in section *c.* Before that, however, the following section will examine the reasons why, and the process by which, the relation between the rapidly growing Protestant communities in Guyenne, and the existing Catholic society in the region, became confrontational, violent, and destructive.

b. Issigeac, February-May 1561

Issigeac is a dormant, dusty little place, just off the beaten track from Bergerac on the Dordogne to Agen on the Garonne. In Roman times, it had been on the main road joining the two river-crossings.⁵

⁴ Calvin, *Letters* (ed. Bonnet), Calvin to Bullinger, 24 May 1561, vol.4, p.189.

⁵ The Roman *trajectus* crossing the Dordogne just east of Bergerac has been noted in chapter one, section *c.* An analysis of this north-south route passing through Issigeac is in Bryson, 'Labadie,' pp.44-53.

In the 1560s, it was still an important deaconate, the summer palace of the bishops of Sarlat, and a busy crossroads town in Jeanne's county of Périgord, at the epicentre of the Protestant implantation in Guyenne.⁶ After 1545, the populace had become divided into almost equal Protestant and Catholic parts.⁷ In 1560, the bishop of Sarlat is said to have agreed to a compromise whereby the grand collegiate church of Issigeac would, at different times, serve as the place of worship for both communities.⁸ Calvin's letter of 24 May 1561 quoted above indicates that such a compromise would have been exceptional, but also that the outright takeover by Protestants of an existing Catholic church ('they have usurped the temples') had become common practice. In localities where there was no dedicated Reformed temple, Reformed services were often held in converted market halls or barns. According to the account of Florimond de Raemon, an anti-Calvinist king's counsellor in the Parlement of Bordeaux, such simple Calvinist temples were then called 'auditoires' – a name that brings to mind the Quaker 'meeting house'.⁹

Despite the bishop's apparent agreement to peaceful co-existence, the town and its surrounding countryside soon erupted in violent conflict. On 24 February 1561, the Protestants occupied the church of Issigeac by force, and soon after, on 18 May, marauding Protestant bands attacked and pillaged the satellite parish churches of St Pardoux, Monsaguel, Montaut, and Monmarvès, breaking and burning altars, images and relics, books and habits.¹⁰ A letter dated November

⁶ Jean Tarde, *Chronique de Jean Tarde*, Marseille, Laffitte, 1981, pp.91, 148, 203, 228. (Reprint of Paris ed. of 1887. Jean Tarde, born in 1561 or 1562, was vicar-general of Sarlat.) Tarde (p.91) gives a date of 13 August 1317 for the bull *Salvator noster* by which Pope Jean XXII divided the old diocese of Périgueux in two by creating the diocese of Sarlat. The date given in *Reg. Jean XXII*, vol.1, p.108, no.471, is 13 August 1318. The Benedictine priory of Issigeac, which was secularised in 1488 (Tarde, p.203), became a deaconate within the archpresbytery of Bouniagues, diocese of Sarlat.

⁷ The population of Bordeaux, by comparison, was said to have been only about one-sixth Protestant at the same time. (Gaullieur, *Histoire*, vol.1, p.240, citing *Hist. ecclés.*, vol.1, p.785.)

⁸ J-J Escande, *Histoire de Sarlat*, Sarlat, Imp. Lafaysse, 1903, pp.114-117.

⁹ Florimond de Raemon, *L'Histoire de la Naissance, Progrez, et Decadence de l'Heresie de ce siecle*, Arras, Robert Maudhuy, 1611, book 8, pp.1495-1498.

¹⁰ The 24 February 1561 date is given in Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, vol.1, p.503. The date of 18 May is given by Jean Tarde, *Chronique*, p.228. Crouzet makes much of the point that the churches of St Pardoux and 'Monsaguel' [Monsaguel] were more than 50 km distant from Issigeac, indicating the extent of the destructive sweep of the 'iconoclasts of Issigeac', but in this he is mistaken. Those parishes adjoin Issigeac, and were within its immediate jurisdiction.

1560 of Armand de Gontaut, baron of Biron, to Burie, lieutenant-general of Guyenne, attests to the persistence of the troubles at Issigeac.¹¹ Similar attacks were made in succeeding years until, in 1574, the Protestant captain Jean de Panisseau besieged the Issigeac residence of the bishop of Sarlat, took him prisoner, partially demolished the building, and held the bishop for (it was said in the near-contemporary account of Jean Tarde, vicar-general of Sarlat) four thousand pounds ransom.¹²

Whatever the precision of the dates and details of these episodes, it can be said that they were not isolated incidents, but simply prominent examples of the collective iconoclastic violence that typified the interface between the Protestant and Catholic communities in Guyenne in the pre-war period after 1559. Was, as has been argued, such Protestant violence against the symbols of Catholicism the manifestation of a new revolutionary socio-political conscience formed by evangelical conversion?¹³ The argument is appealing, but should not divert attention from other, more directly demonstrable causes.

The use of Old Testament models to guide and justify the present was a central element of the ordering of Reformed conduct, and the image of the casting down of idols in the Temple was a powerful and compelling one indeed, as Jeanne's letters to Gourdon attest.¹⁴ Beza, in his letter to Jeanne of May 1562, states his disapproval of the breaking of images, but notes that God condemns idols and idolatry, and so there may be some hidden wisdom of God behind such acts.¹⁵ Biblical and secular authorities were, by 1560, employed in the cause of the Reformed churches in France, but now with a new factor: the paramilitary organisations that were created in 1561 to operate at the

¹¹ Baron de Biron, *The Letters and Documents of Armand de Gontaut, Baron de Biron, Marshal of France (1524-1592)*, ed. J.W. Thompson, vol.1, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1936, p.11 (BNF, Cinq Cents Colbert 27, fol.167, Périgueux, 12 [?] November 1560).

¹² Tarde, *Chronique*, pp.228 (incident of 1561), 256 (episode of 1574).

¹³ 'La réalité d'un rêve socio-politique.' (Crouzet, *Guerriers*, vol.1, p.508.) 'L'iconoclasme ne serait-il pas ... le signe d'une radicalité que l'on pourrait qualifier sans trop d'anachronisme de révolutionnaire?' (Ibid., p.509.)

¹⁴ As in Jeanne's fifth letter to Gourdon, 13 May 1562, section *d.* below, and, especially, her eighth letter, 1 September 1568, in chapter six, section *b.*, with its use of 1 Kings 18: 26, 40. Jesus' cleansing of the Temple (Matthew 21: 12-17; Mark 11: 15-19; Luke 19: 45-48; John 2: 13-17) might be seen as a New Testament parallel.

¹⁵ Beza to Jeanne d'Albret, Orléans, 23 May 1562 (corrected by the editor from 13 May 1561), *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.91. This letter is examined in further detail in section *c.* below.

local level of the Reformed communities in Guyenne. At this stage, did the Protestant military bands consist of men united solely by religion, or did village or other bonds also unite them? Was this unruly mob violence, or was it planned, organised, knowingly led and purposefully directed? These questions will be examined, before turning to Jeanne's northward move to Paris and Poissy.

Until the 1550s, the pure Word of the Gospel may have seemed to have provided sufficient direction for those of the Reformed churches in France, as it seems to have done for the Protestants of Germany and Switzerland a decade before.¹⁶ However, even if the severely repressive measures taken by Henry II of France before 1559 had not forced the Reformed churches to organise defensively (which they had), their sheer growth in numbers would have required organisation, planning, and leadership. In consequence, a fundamental tension was created between personal religious conviction, and an ecclesiastical institutional structure that necessarily became increasingly politicised.¹⁷ The Reformed religion, as the 'true church', had taken to itself, as I have said, the biblical powers of the 'keys of the kingdom' (the power of the church on earth as in heaven), and of 'binding' (forbidding) and 'loosing' (permitting), promised in, and legitimised by, Matthew 16: 19. These powers of the Reformed churches were made explicit by Calvin in the *Institutes* from 1537 onwards.¹⁸ That the powers granted by God to the churches could include legitimate resistance against an unjust ruler was expressed by Beza in *De haereticus* (1554), and later elaborated by him in *Du droit des magistrats* (1574). Thus when the French Reformed churches first set down the articles of their Confession of Faith and Ecclesiastical Discipline at the Paris synod, 26 April 1559, articles 39 and 40, while calling for obedience to the state and its officers, laws and statutes, also called for the faithful to oppose all that would

¹⁶ As Steven Ozment has observed, 'The original Protestant vision [until 1530-1540] was of a society of religiously enlightened laymen who were no longer burdened by traditional religious superstition and tyranny.' (*The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*, London, Yale University Press, 1975, p.164.)

¹⁷ Crouzet, in *Guerriers de Dieu*, vol.1, p.506, cites Garrisson in noting 'un "certain flottement" entre l'orthodoxie calviniste et le rêve collectif d'établissement d'un monde nouveau fondé sur la pure et la seule prédication de la Parole.' (The citation in n.65 is from Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p.141.)

¹⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, vol.2, Book IV, pp.1211-1214.

upset the order of justice.¹⁹ Such powers could be used against the Guises, and could justify the use of arms.²⁰ For the establishment of 'the Kingdom of Christ on earth,' the true church needed to be, and was, institutionalised, and given a coherent structure whereby God's commands could be carried out by each consistory at the local level. Inevitably, when the need arose for armed resistance against what was perceived as an oppressive and unjust state, this Reformed ecclesiastical structure could, and would, be used to create and maintain a parallel military organisation.

In May of 1560, the king of France had extended Antoine of Navarre's government of Guyenne to include Poitou.²¹ At that point, the territory of his government approximated that of Aquitaine at its apogee, in the time of Eleanor. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the following month Antoine, himself then the host of Theodore Beza, should have informed Francis II that all was well in the territory, and there was 'not a single man in all your land of Guyenne who would take arms against your authority.'²² In reality, such was not the case. Guyenne was in dangerous turmoil. Warnings of mass Protestant assemblies in the Bergeracois, Agenais, Condomois, and Rochelais were sent to the child-kings Francis II (until December 1560), and then Charles IX, to the queen mother directly, and to the duke of Guise, by the Parlement of Bordeaux.²³ In January 1561, De Pontac,

¹⁹ Quick, *Synodicon*, vol.1, pp.vi-xv, Confession of Faith, Paris, 1559; pp.xvi-xxvi, The Discipline. On the distinction between the Confession of Faith of the Reformed churches, and their Ecclesiastical Discipline, see Bornert, *La Réforme protestante*, pp.1, 285. On the institutionalising of the Reformed churches, see Maruyama, *The Ecclesiology of Theodore Beza*, pp.31, 37-55, 108, 125, 176, 232-242. For Maruyama's treatment of the resulting power struggles within the Reformed churches of France, the 'Morély affair' (1562-1572) in particular, see pp.80-105.

²⁰ See Gaullieur, *Histoire*, pp.179-180.

²¹ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.52, letter of Antoine, king of Navarre, p.47, of fol.37r, pièce no.22, Pau, 30 May 1560: 'le roy dernièrement que j'estoye à la Court me bailla le pays de Poitou pour accroissement du gouvernement de Guyenne.'

²² St-Pétersbourg LII, 25 June 1560, Antoine to Francis II, cited in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, pp.202-203.

²³ *Arch. Gir.*, p.122, BNF, fr 15873, np, 13 August 1560, Parlement of Bordeaux (as usual signed 'de Pontac') to Francis II, warning of assemblies at Mussidan. A second letter of 23 August advises of assemblies at Ste Foy and Bergerac, emptied prisons, Genevan baptisms, etc. In Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.2, 'Pièces justif.', 29 August 1560, BNF, fr 15873, letter from the Parlement of Bordeaux to the Cardinal of Lorraine calling for measures to save the [Roman Catholic] religion and the authority of the king in Guyenne. Ibid., p.130, BNF, VcC, XXVII, 14 October 1560, Parlement of Bordeaux to the king, on public preaching of the Reformed religion to 800-1,000 person gatherings at Ste Foy and the Agenais, Gensac, Montcaret, Condomois. *Arch.*

greffier of the Parlement, signed a letter to Charles IX calling for immediate action on the situation in Guyenne in the name of public safety: 'Nostre souverain seigneur, nous advertissons la royne bien au long des inconveniens, scismes et divisions qui surviennent journellement en voz pays et duche de Guyenne pour le faict de la religion, ausquelz vous plaira pour le repos de voz subjectz pourveoir au plus-tost.'²⁴ Other warnings were sounded by the king's lieutenant in Guyenne and acting governor in Antoine's absence, Charles de Coucy, lord of Burie,²⁵ and by the governor of La Rochelle.²⁶ By early 1561, the bishop of Agen was complaining to Catherine de Médicis of the impossibility of collecting the dime, and of Protestant sacrileges and destruction in the churches.²⁷ Soon after, it was the turn of the bishop of Montauban to write to Catherine de Médicis, 5 October 1561, saying that he had been coming to Poissy to tell her about the scandals and excesses against the church in the bishopric of Montauban, but fell ill on the road, and so is sending her the written report.²⁸ At the same time, the provincial of the Cordeliers (Franciscans) for Aquitaine advised Catherine that his order had found it nec-

Gir., p.150, 24 January 1561, Parlement of Bordeaux to the Queen Mother, on the growth of heresy at 'Villeneuve-sur-Lot, Eymet, Clairac, Bergerac, Monségur, Laverdac, Thonnenx, Ste Bazille, Milhac, Mussidan, Castillon, La Réole, Grateloup, St-Jean-d'Angely, Marrenes, Arvert [?], Oleron.'

²⁴ Lublinskaja, no.2, p.15, Parlement of Bordeaux to Charles IX, also 24 January 1561 (orig., signed De Pontac).

²⁵ *Arch. Gir.*, vol.13, p.163, BNF, fr 15875, p.93, 30 August 1561, Bury at Bordeaux to Antoine de Bourbon: 'vous pouvant bien assurer, Sire, que tout le mal de ceste Guyenne vient de ce costé la d'Agenois et quelque peu de Perigort.' BNF, fr 15875, fol.328, 8 October 1561, 'Articles de la resolution prise en la ville d'Agen.' Ordinance by the governor and lieutenant general of Guyenne Burie in the absence of the king of Navarre, about meetings in the Temples.

²⁶ Ruble, *Antoine de Bourdon*, pp.302-303, 19 Nov 1560, cites a letter from Jarnac, governor of La Rochelle, to the duke of Guise: 'J'ay entendu qu'il y a encores des fols en la Gascogne et qu'ils devoient, dimanche dernier, assembler toutes leurs églises pour prendre une résolution. J'ay envoyer gens pour en savoir des nouvelles, pour incontinent vous les mander.' (Quoted by Ruble from *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, 1866, p.359.)

²⁷ Lublinskaja, no.3, p.16, bishop of Agen to Catherine de Médicis, Agen, 7 February 1561 (orig., signed Janus Frogoso): 'impossibile pagar le dette decime per cagione della povertà loro et della calamità del tempo, pero que alcuni ministri venuti di Geneva predicano ordinariamente contra l'istituzione della chiesa, ritirando il popolo dalla ubidienza delli ministri di essa et di pagar loro quanto e dovuto, et che molte chiese si attrovano spoviste delli loro rettori, et altri pretti per administrare gli sacramenti et divini officii essendo stati scacciati et le immagini abbruscianti et gli ornamenti rubbati, si come con altre mie ne ho avvertita vostra magesta.'

²⁸ Lublinskaja, no.12, 5 October 1561, (orig.), p.33.

essary to abandon the country because of Protestant attacks.²⁹ In 1560, appeals had been made to governor Antoine, and in September Burie wrote to Jeanne urging her to tell Antoine to hurry back to Bordeaux from court at Paris to save Bordeaux for the Catholic religion (perhaps a fabricated reason), and – probably more cogently – to stop suspicions about their own allegiance to the Catholic church by being present in Bordeaux for the expected arrival in the city of the Cardinal of Lorraine and M. de Crussol.³⁰

During the period of the violent disorders at Issigeac already described (February-May 1561), the counterpoint of events and reactions to events continued to accelerate in frequency, and escalate in scale. At the second Reformed national synod held at Poitiers in March 1561, it was ruled that Catholics be forbidden admission to the Protestant eucharist. In Bordeaux on 15 April 1561, four or five hundred Protestants sung psalms in French in the courtyard of the Collège de Guyenne, and two days later the Parlement of Bordeaux forbade, on pain of death, synods or other gatherings 'in the form of Geneva.'³¹ Similar repressive measures were decreed on a national scale by the royal edict of 13 July 1561.³² Eventually, on Sunday 23 November 1561, an angry crowd seized and murdered François de Seguenville, baron of Fumel, in the valley of the river Lot.³³

Meantime, the Reformed churches in Guyenne were using the existing ecclesiastical structure of synods, colloquies, and consistories to build a military organisation for their communities. At a synod held at Clairac in November 1560, Guyenne was divided into seven colloquies, within which each church had its own captain.³⁴ According to Monluc, who had arrived in Bordeaux in December 1561 to share the royal lieutenancy of Guyenne with Burie, 'Boisnormand' (François Legay), Antoine and Jeanne's minister at Nérac, had been made cap-

²⁹ *Arch. Gir.*, vol.13, p.160, BNF, fr 15875, p.25, Bordeaux, 7 July 1561.

³⁰ *Arch. Gir.*, vol.13, p.125, BNF, fr 1573, 15 September 1560, Burie to Jeanne d'Albret.

³¹ Gaullieur, *Histoire*, pp.258, 261-263, 282.

³² Crouzet, *Guerriers de Dieu*, vol.1, 'Chronologie,' p.27.

³³ BNF, fr 15875, fol.411 (instruction from 'Le Roy', actually Catherine de Médicis, to the prince of Condé 'allant en Guyenne', December 1561). On the Fumel affair, see also Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.474, 487-488; Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.1, p.143; and Romier, *Le Royaume*, pp.291-292.

³⁴ Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.410. Courteault calls the process 'democratic', but does not show any evidence of direct congregational participation in the election of these officers. On the synod of Clairac, see also Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol.7, 'Le triomphe,' pp.360-1.

tain of the Reformed church of Nérac, and had, with the minister 'Barrelles' (Jean Cormère, of Ste Foy and Agen), offered him a bribe of 40,000 écus if he would not oppose them.³⁵ 'What the devil kind of churches are these,' Monluc exclaimed, 'that make captains?'³⁶

This Protestant paramilitary system was extended at the provincial synod of Agen (11 October 1561) and, most notably, the synod of Haute-Guyenne held at Ste Foy on the Dordogne, November 1561.³⁷ There, two 'protectors' or *chefs-général* were elected for the Haute-Guyenne (including Limousin), one for each of the areas or 'provinces' of the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse. Each province was to name a chief or 'colonel', and under them, 'captains' for each church.³⁸ At Ste Foy, the Sieur de Memy was elected chief of the Bordeaux province of Haute Guyenne.³⁹ Historians such as Paul Courteault and Lucien Romier have seen in this organisation a planned attempt to turn Guyenne into a republic on the Genevan model.⁴⁰ As Romier admits,⁴¹ however, and as Calvin's letter of 24 May 1561 (quoted above) indicates, those in Geneva were more cautious. Nevertheless, there were rumours and fears that the Protestants were indeed assembling in Guyenne in order to form cantons on the Genevan model, and, as Burie's letters and ordinances of 1561 attest, such rumours and fears were being taken seriously, and acted upon.⁴²

³⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.477-479.

³⁶ 'Et quelles diables d'églises sont cecy, qui font les capitaines?' (Ibid., p.478.)

³⁷ *Hist. ecclés.*, vol.1, pp.802-803. On the synod of Ste Foy, see also Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol.7, pp.361-2.

³⁸ There are many descriptions of the organisation agreed upon at the synod of Ste Foy. Notable among them are: Gaullieur, *Histoire*, vol.1, p.334; Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.410; Romier, *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: La France à la veille des guerres de religion*, pp.264-265, and *Catholiques et Huguenots*, p.255; Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars*, p.268. In most details, they conform to that given in *Hist. ecclés.*, vol.1, pp.802-803, already cited.

³⁹ *Hist. ecclés.*, vol.1, p.803.

⁴⁰ Courteault claims that Boisnormand 'avait véritablement tenté de créer en Guyenne, à la faveur de l'anarchie qui y régnait, un Etat à l'image de l'Etat-modèle constitué à Genève par son maître Calvin.' (*Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.410.)

⁴¹ 'Cependant, dans toute l'ancienne Aquitaine de Limoges aux Pyrénées, de toutes parts, les prêtres, les moines, les religieuses, effrayés, courent se réfugier à Toulouse, à Bordeaux, à Albi. C'est que le parti huguenot, en ces régions, malgré les conseils prudents de Genève et le désaveu des grands seigneurs de la Cour, tend à former une sorte de république militaire. Le Synode des églises de la Haute-Guyenne et du Languedoc, qui se réunira au mois de novembre [1561] à Sainte-Foy-en-Agenais, précisera cette tendance.' (Romier, *Catholiques et Huguenots*, p.255.)

⁴² Burie to Antoine, 30 August 1561, and Burie, ordinance of 8 October 1561, noted above. See also Gaullieur, *Histoire*, pp.306-307.

Essential to the effective operation of the Protestant paramilitary organisation in Guyenne was the ability of the Reformed cause to attract the support, leadership and military abilities of local landed nobles, who, in turn, were forming new associations with the Protestant legal and bourgeois classes of the nearby towns. Following the death of Henry II of France in 1559 and the consequent loss of royal authority, such regional ties were replacing the direct ties of Aquitanian nobles with the court of France based on obedience to the crown. In late 1560, Pedro d'Albret, bastard son of Jeanne's grandfather Jean d'Albret, wrote from Nérac to Philip II of Spain, warning him of the shift of loyalties by the Protestant nobles of Guyenne.⁴³ As I have outlined, the effort of the mission of pastors from Geneva was focused on these Protestant noble families, and their attachment to Antoine of Navarre as the (perceived) Protestant governor of Guyenne, or, after Antoine's defection to the Catholic side, to Jeanne of Navarre, who was not only a Protestant queen, but a (perceived) true native of the Aquitanian homeland. The fact that Jeanne had been born at the Paris court was immaterial; her blood and her *pays* were those of the Albret kings of Navarre and governors of Guyenne.⁴⁴

In the new Reformed paramilitary organisation, where each church was supported by a local lord, the line of support was sustained from the top down, beginning, in Guyenne, as Robert Kingdon has pointed out, from the Genevan tie with the Navarres.⁴⁵ In the Bergeracois, for instance, the line of support ran from Jeanne, as queen of Navarre and countess of Périgord, to the Protestant army chief in Guyenne Symphorien de Durfort, lord of Duras, to the captain Armand de Clermont, lord of Piles in the Bergeracois, to his lieutenant La Rivière, a young lawyer and family member of a long line of notable syndics and members of the town council of Bergerac.⁴⁶

⁴³ Pedro d'Albret to Philip II, Nérac, 16 Septembre 1560, cited as Simancas MS E.886 [?], no.170 (orig.), in Romier, *Le Royaume*, vol.1, p.258.

⁴⁴ On this shift in the network of noble loyalties, see Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, pp.38-46, and Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars*, p.166.

⁴⁵ 'The beginnings of the Huguenot party had been laid by the attachment of the Châtillon [Coligny]-Navarre political leadership to Calvinist intellectual leadership.' (Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars*, p.166.)

⁴⁶ On the Piles and La Rivières as consuls of Bergerac from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, see Bryson, 'Labadie,' Appendix VI, pp.211-214, based on La Roque, *Annales*, years 1371-1781. The successful Protestant recruitment of these 'men of the robe' and civic officials in southwestern France was, in my view, quite different from Henry Heller's proposition, that 'The establishment of Calvinism

The close cooperation between Piles, one of the old rural nobility and seigneur of the considerable castle of Piles on the banks of the Dordogne, and La Rivière, one of the 'new' gentry of the town and the robe in Bergerac, is emblematic of the way in which Protestantism was creating bonds of community between those of the country and the town.⁴⁷

Such a switch in loyalties did, however, create a major problem. As Imbart de la Tour wrote, 'All gentlemen carry the sword; that sword is at the service of the King and the Kingdom of France,' and so those of the military and landed class had to be won against their own most fundamental pledge of honour to the Most Catholic King of France.⁴⁸ Imbart de la Tour offers various reasons why, despite the implied abandonment of their pledge, so many of the Aquitanian nobility did in fact turn Protestant; among them, he cites the encouragement of their wives and other female family members, the loss of Catholic benefices for younger sons, and the advent of the child-kings.⁴⁹ The Protestant success in recruiting the nobles of Guyenne to its cause can, however, be more directly attributed to a strategy which would leave the honour of the sword intact; that is, the position that as Protestants they would be fighting for king and country against those evil counsellors of the king, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, and the pope of Rome. That such a strategy may seem transparently hypocritical would be irrelevant to its application in sixteenth-century France, provided honour were preserved. In the following section, the counter-strategy employed by the Catholic party will be introduced at the colloquy of Poissy.

meant the liberation of the town [Millau in 1563] from the tutelage of ecclesiastical-seigneurial domination.' (*Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991, p.50.)

⁴⁷ 'Noble Mathelin de Clermont, seigneur de Pilles' had been mayor of Bergerac in 1468. La Rivières were town consuls in most years from 1407 through 1630. (Bryson, 'Labadie,' pp.211-214.)

⁴⁸ Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, Tome IV (vol.3), *Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne*, p.486.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.494-495.

c. On the road to Poissy, 19 July 1561: 'all the heretics waiting expectantly, as if for the Messiah'

On 19 July 1561, soon after the violent events at Issigeac, and six days after the royal edict forbidding private or public assembly for the cause of the new Religion in France, Jeanne was at Nérac, having left Pau, on the road to Paris and the colloquy of the two religions to be held at Poissy. Not until after Jeanne's death, when her son Henry as king of Navarre, and Margot as his queen, were in residence in 1578, would the court, palace, pavilion and park of Nérac again be as Shakespeare portrayed them:

First, from the park let us conduct them thither;
Then, homeward, every man attach the hand
Of his fair mistress; in the afternoon
We will with some strange pastime solace them,
Such as the shortness of the time can shape:
For revels, dances, masks, and merry hours,
Forerun fair love, strewing her way with flowers.⁵⁰

In 1561, Jeanne's concern was with less romantic matters. We know she was at Nérac on 19 July by a letter of that date;⁵¹ but also by her ordinance of the same date, also addressed from Nérac, by which – provided Salefranque's copy is genuine – she decreed the Reformed to be the religion of the state of Béarn.⁵² If this dating is true, it was indeed a remarkable order by Jeanne alone, considering that King Antoine was then still alive and in Paris, awaiting her arrival. But there was yet another reason for Jeanne's presence on the road to Paris at that time.

Calvin's letter to Bullinger of 24 May 1561, from which the passage about the rampant growth of Protestantism in Guyenne has been quoted above, also says, of Antoine's activities during his absence in Paris, that

⁵⁰ *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV, Scene III, 'A Pavillion in the Park near the Palace' (ed. Johnson and Steevens, vol.2, p.423).

⁵¹ Letter of 19 July 1561, from Jeanne d'Albret at Nérac, BP MSS 433/2 Bearn II, 'Etats de Béarn et affaires de la religion 1527-1620,' fols.14-15r (copy made from original by order of the seigneur of [Fortignal?]; date '1561' added in a later hand; condition poor, apparently water damaged). See also *BSHPF*, 1895, 254-255.

⁵² Nérac, 19 July 1561, 'Ordonnance de Nerac par laquelle Jeanne d'Albret instaure le culte protestant en Béarn.' (Salefranque, *Histoire*, doc.38, pp.72-73.) See also Tucoc-Chala and Desplat, *Principatus*, p.164.

he is wholly taken up with amorous intrigues, and a woman versed in these arts has found among the ladies of the court wherewith completely to entrap him. This story has got wind, and is the theme of the conversation of all the young gallants.⁵³

Soon after, the gossip about Antoine appears to have reached Jeanne's ears by a tip-off letter from an anonymous informant, dated 2 July 1561.⁵⁴ After that, it would seem, Jeanne lost no time in leaving Pau for Paris. It might even be speculated that the timing and place of her ordinance of 19 July (if genuine) may have been a reaction to the informer's letter.

By mid-August, Jeanne and her entourage, which included her young son Henry and infant daughter Catherine,⁵⁵ were progressing up the valley of the Loire to Orléans, where, according to a report by the Spanish ambassador dated 23 August 1561, her ministers were said to be preaching to great crowds of followers, singing psalms in French, and waiting 'as if for the Messiah':

they say that there were untold thousands of people, all the heretics waiting expectantly, as if for the Messiah, confident that she will do miracles on their behalf⁵⁶

⁵³ Calvin, *Letters* (ed. Bonnet), vol.4, p.189. Calvin also wrote to Jeanne advising her on the education of Antoine's bastard son, Charles. Calvin regarded Charles's tutor Baudoin as an 'apostate'. (Ibid., vol.3, p.248, n.3, and vol.4, p.229, n.24.) In Père Anselme, *Histoire de la Maison Royale de France et des Grands Officiers de la Couronne*, Paris, Ed. du Palais Royale, 1967 (reprint of Paris, 1726), pp.143-145, Charles de Bourbon is listed as Antoine's natural son by Louise de la Béraudière. He was, according to this source, aged fifteen at the battle of Jarnac (13 March 1569), when he was taken prisoner by the Catholic royal army; therefore, he would have been born about 1553, making him approximately the same age as his brother Henry (b. 14 December 1553). Charles became archbishop of Rouen in 1594.

⁵⁴ ADPA, MS E.584, 2 July 1561, (orig.) is cited by Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.3, p.134. I did not find this letter in the E.584 file in 1995.

⁵⁵ Simancas MS K.1494, no.94, 31 August 1561, St Cloud, ambassador Chantonay to Philip II, fol.2r: 'viene Madama de Vandoma su hijo y hija.' Here and elsewhere, I have transcribed fragmentary portions of a number of Simancas K coded dispatches in support of my inferences drawn from them, but it should be noted that the accuracy of such transcriptions is limited by the unverifiable accuracy of the contemporary anonymous decipherment, and the poor present condition of some manuscripts. The decoded texts are not mine, but are as written onto the margins of the manuscripts. See *Illustrations*, below, for an example in good condition.

⁵⁶ Ibid.: 'dizen que avia infinitos millares de personas, assi la esperan todos los erjes, aca como al mesias, confiados, que hara maravillas en favor dellos.' Roelker translates this passage in part as: 'everywhere the heretics await her coming as if she were the Messiah, because they are certain that she will perform miracles on their behalf.' (*Queen of Navarre*, p.160.)

This report is clearly hearsay, and undoubtedly exaggerated for the attention of King Philip II of Spain. I have said that the Spanish diplomatic dispatches held in the archives of Simancas, series K, are a superb and underexploited contemporary resource, but one that should be interpreted with caution, in that the views expressed are those of the most vehemently opposing party, and the sources for those views are, in general, court gossip and speculation.

A report from the English ambassador Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth recounts that Jeanne solemnly professed the confession of her faith at a Protestant assembly in Orléans before her arrival in Paris,⁵⁷ and Beza, who would be Jeanne's own chaplain at the court of St Germain-en-Laye, and who had been awaiting her since August 22 or 25, describes her arrival on 29 August to great acclaim, with illuminations and fireworks.⁵⁸

On 9 September 1561, in the refectory of the Dominican nuns at Poissy, the colloquy began.⁵⁹ A virtual 'group photograph' of the two sides and their royal audience by the engravers Tortorel and Pérrissin is of particular interest for its display (see *Illustrations*)⁶⁰ of the order of the six places of highest honour in France: these were, A. King Charles IX; B. Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis; C. Prince Henry of Anjou ('Monsieur'); D. Princess Marguerite; E. King Antoine of Navarre; F. Queen Jeanne of Navarre. It is worth noting, however, that on the less ceremonial, more heated occasions when the colloquy moved from its general setting in the nuns' refectory to closed meetings in the prioress's room, only the strange triumvirate of Catherine, Antoine and Jeanne was present, without the boy-king and his brother and sister.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *CSP, For.*, vol.4, no.494, p.302, Paris, 11 September 1561, Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth I.

⁵⁸ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.3, pp.7, 137, 139 n.26, and 144 n.5 (29 August arrival). (Stated as 23 August in Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, p.139, when, he says, Jeanne held a Calvinist ceremony.)

⁵⁹ On the date and setting of the colloquy of Poissy, see, in addition to the Bèze *Correspondance*, vol.3, among many: Romier, *Catholiques et Huguenots*, p.211, and *Le Royaume*, vol.1, pp.177-179, 220-224; and Robert Stupperich, 'La Confession d'Augsbourg au Colloque de Poissy,' in *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny* (1972), p.122.

⁶⁰ 'Contemporary engraving by J. Tortorel and J. Pérrissin,' reproduced in Henry Martyn Baird, *Theodore Beza the Counsellor of the French Reformation 1519-1605*, New York, Burt Franklin, 1970, p.134 (facing), from Montfaucon, *Monuments de la Monarchie Française*, ed. of Paris, 1733, vol.5, p.106. Also reproduced in Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.3, frontispiece, attributed to 'Recueil de Tortorel et Pérrissin' (with date shown as December 1561).

⁶¹ Baird, *Theodore Beza*, p.194.

It is not my intention to enter into the detail of the religious debate at Poissy. An examination of the first and second 'harangues' of Beza for the Reformed side reveals a primary emphasis on the theological argument on the doctrine of transubstantiation, and an insistence on the Lord's Supper as practised by the Reformed churches. In his first harangue, Beza addresses his statement on the 'Sainte Cene', in which Christ's body is 'esloigné du pain et du vin', to Charles IX, 'luy representant comme la Majesté de Dieu visible'.⁶² His second harangue on transubstantiation is addressed to Catherine de Médicis.⁶³ In emphasising and insisting on doctrine, Beza may have misread the political purpose of the colloquy with regard to the Gallican Church.⁶⁴ In his harangue for the Catholic side, the cardinal of Lorraine, Charles de Guise, aimed his appeal directly at the king as the Most Catholic monarch and head of the Gallican Church.⁶⁵ Turning first to the Protestant representatives, the cardinal said, 'nous vous sommes tellement odieux.' Then, addressing the king, he stated: 'pour toute l'Eglise Gallicane, vouons à Dieu, et vous promettons solennellement de jamais ne nous departir de ceste sainte, vraye et catholique doctrine.' The double role of the French king provided the Catholic side with the strategy they needed in order to counter that of the Protestants: to oppose the Catholic church was, by definition, to oppose the king as its head in France, and was, therefore, 'lèse-majesté', treason against the state. As has already been said, this

⁶² 'La harangue faicte par M. Theodore de Beze,' Poissy, 23 September 1561 (New York, New York Public Library Microfilm 'French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648,' New Haven (Ct), Research Publications, Inc., Reel 3, No.220).

⁶³ 'Seconde harangue de M. Theodore de Besze,' Poissy, 26 September 1561 (Reel 3, No.221) on 'Transubstantiation, qui la est reprouvee [rejected] par le commun accord de toutes les Eglises reformees.' In his added statement of the Reformed confession on 30 September, Beza declares: 'Nous croyons qu'en la S. Cene, nostre Seigneur nous donne, presente et exhibe la substance de son corps et de son sang par l'operation du S. Esprit: Et que nous y mangeons, et recevons sacramentalemment, spirituellement et par foy, ce mesme corps qui est mort pour nous.'

⁶⁴ Maruyama discusses this in *Ecclesiology*, pp.37-55, concluding that 'the topic of the true presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist' plunged the delegates at Poissy into an unfruitful task that brought the colloquy to a failed end. On the political possibilities for the French Reformed churches as represented by Beza at Poissy, Paul Geisendorf speculates: 'Aurait-on vu naître, si ses propositions avaient été acceptées, une sorte d'anglicanisme français qui aurait changé le cours d'histoire?' (Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze*, p.175.)

⁶⁵ 'L'oraison de Monseigneur l'Illustrissime et reverendissime Cardinal de Lorraine,' 6 September 1561 ('French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648,' reel 4, no.248.1). A printed version is in *Hist. Ecclés.*, vol.1, pp.528-533.

unifying strategy eventually became embedded in the slogan, 'une foi, une loi, un roi.'⁶⁶ The Protestant position, on the other hand, would, unless it required the destruction of Catholicism, necessarily require division, as expressed in Psalm 101 of the Genevan Psalter, in which the Church has one head (Jesus Christ), but several limbs (Roman Catholic, Reformed, and, presumably, others): 'We are but several parts/ of the same broken bread;/ one body has its several limbs,/ but Jesus is the head.'⁶⁷

We have the testimony of Aubigné for the Protestant side, and the Spanish ambassador Chantonmay for their adversaries, that a state of euphoria prevailed among Protestants in the wake of Poissy, with the Reformed faithful chanting songs combining anti-Catholic slogans with praise for King Charles, while Jeanne was holding 6,000-person assemblies (so Chantonmay said) of Reformed followers in Paris. Aubigné tells of Protestants after Poissy sharing churches, preaching in halls, and singing songs such as 'Va chasser l'idole, chassa leur idole,' a double anagram for 'Charles de Valois, de Louis à Charles.' (In retrospect, it could be changed to 'de Charles à Louis.'⁶⁸ Jeanne, it was said, (as related by Chantonmay; but see the following cautionary note) apparently promised Antoine 'the crown of a great kingdom' if he would declare for the Reformed cause.⁶⁹ The royal edict of 17 January 1562 appeared to justify the euphoria, with its espousal, in principal, of liberty of conscience, and its order that those of the new religion be permitted to return to their temples.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ On this aspect of Poissy, see Romier, *Le Royaume*, vol.1, pp.220-224. The specific identification of the slogan 'une foi, une loi, un roi' with the colloquy of Poissy has been noted in the recent posthumous publication of Nancy Lyman Roelker's *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley (Ca.), University of California Press, 1996, p.257.

⁶⁷ *Australian Anglican Hymn Book*, Hymn 426, 'abridged from Psalm 101 in the Genevan Psalter of 1561,' verse 4.

⁶⁸ Aubigné, *Universelle*, vol.2, p.3.

⁶⁹ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.176, after discussing various Spanish offers to Antoine, cites (n.62) Simancas MS K.1494, no.115, Chantonmay to Philip II, 3 December 1561. Roelker adds that 'The kingdom of France is implied.' The 'great kingdom' item is in Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.3, p.215, with the same citation. However, Simancas MS K.1494, no.115, is actually dated 28 November 1561; it is no.116 that is dated 3 December 1561. I have not been able to identify the Spanish equivalent of the offer of 'the crown of a great kingdom' in my microfilm copies of either of these lengthy and complex dispatches, though speculations about 'Madama de Vandoma' and her husband abound in them.

⁷⁰ The Edict of January, 17 January 1562, is transcribed in Aubigné, *Universelle*, ed. Thierry, vol.1, pp.369-378. The principal concessions and restrictions of the edict

The euphoria did not last long. The edict of January, almost immediately attacked by the Parlement of Paris, was never applied, and in any case was full of contradictions and prohibitions.⁷¹ Antoine continued on his wayward path. Calvin and Beza collaborated in a long letter of 24 December 1561, berating Antoine for not following Jeanne's example, and for his disgraceful dealings with Rome. On the same date, Calvin also wrote to Jeanne, and on 22 March 1562, he wrote again to Jeanne about Antoine who 'arms himself against God and God's children. I speak as of a thing that is notorious.'⁷² Antoine had secret dealings of his own with the Spanish, who dangled other kingdoms as bait,⁷³ and, on 1 February 1562, to Beza's disgust (dubbing Antoine 'Miser ille' and 'Julian the Apostate'), Antoine abandoned Jeanne and joined the Catholic side.⁷⁴ On 1 March 1562, a troop under the command of duke François de Guise massacred an assembly of Protestant worshippers at Vassy, in the Haute-Marne, east of Paris. Beza is supposed to have said to the duke of Guise after Vassy, 'Sire, c'est à la vérité à l'église de Dieu, au nom de laquelle je parle, d'endurer les coups, et non d'en donner. Mais aussi vous plaira-t-il vous souvenir que c'est une enclume qui a usé beaucoup de marteaux.' This gave rise to the Huguenot motto, 'Plus a me frapper on s'amuse,/ tant plus de marteaux on y use,'

were, citing the Aubigné text: 1. that those of the 'new religion' were permitted to return to and use their temples as before, but could not build or use new ones (pp.371-372); 2. that they were permitted to hold meetings only outside designated towns, in the faubourgs; 3. that those of any religion were forbidden to carry arms to such meetings, except the daggers and swords [the rapier or *épée*] gentlemen ordinarily carried (pp.373-374).

⁷¹ Anon., *Remonstrances faictes au roy de France par messieurs de la Court de Parlement de Paris, sur la publication de l'edict du mois de Janvier*, Cambrai, Nicolas Coulard, 12 February 1562 (microfilm of original held in Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington [DC], 'French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648,' New Haven [Ct], Research Publications, Inc., Reel 3, No.230). The item is dated 10 January, a week before the edict, which seems unlikely. On the reaction to the edict of January, and the subsequent edict of 11 April, see Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, pp.73, 84-6, and n.30, pp.84-5.

⁷² Calvin, *Letters*, (ed. Bonnet), vol.4, 24 December 1561, to Antoine, pp.247-250; to Jeanne, p.245. Ibid., 22 March 1562, to Jeanne, pp.266-267.

⁷³ According to Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.110, Antoine was offered Mary Stuart in marriage if he would give up Navarre to Spain, and pursue Jeanne for divorce for heresy at the court of Rome; alternatively (p.113), he was offered Sardinia.

⁷⁴ 1 February 1562, letter of Beza to Calvin (Bèze, *Correspondance*, p.31, 'Miser ille jam prorsus est perditus, et omnia secum perdere constituit. Uxorem [Jeanne] amandat.' On 26 February, Bèze to Calvin (ibid., p.53), Antoine is 'Julian the Apostate'. This code name for Antoine was also used by Calvin, who calls him 'Juliani perfidia' in a letter to Peter Martyr of 16 March 1562 (*Opera Omnia*, no.3743).

illustrated on the title page of *Histoire ecclésiastique*. Beza's active participation in the war (and Jeanne's complicity) is symbolised in the image of him 'monté sur un petit "traquenart" prêté par la reine de Navarre, coiffé d'un morion, couvert d'un corps de cuirasse et l'épée au côté, tel qu'il s'était déjà rendu au temple de Jérusalem, près de Val-de-Grâce, pour y prêcher le 16 mars [1562].' Beza's 'battle prayer' of 1562 is recounted by Droz as follows: 'Delivre-nous, ô Seigneur tout puissant, de la rage des Saülites [Guise at Vassy] ... Ne permets ô Dieu des batailles, que Satan obtienne victoire contre ton peuple élu.'⁷⁵ The first War of Religion in France had begun, even if not officially declared until the Protestant attack on Orléans of 30 March.

Jeanne's fourth letter to Gourdon, and his reply, were written at about this time.⁷⁶ Their content is a litany of woes about the matters introduced above: the outcome of the edict of January, Antoine's foolishness and shame, Jeanne's grief at their parting ('partant le cuer bien navré'),⁷⁷ Roman and Spanish skulduggery, the Guises and the massacre of Vassy. Gourdon's reply is that of the prudent, fatherly counsellor, advising Jeanne not to act openly against her husband, but to return to the care of her own estates, and continue her wise and firm support of the Reformed party, which, Gourdon assures her, is sufficiently well-known as not to require furnishing her enemies with the evidence of overt acts or declarations against them. Prudent counsel though this is, it clearly portrays a politicised Jeanne, from whom 'the Reformed party will receive comfort and

⁷⁵ Droz, *Chemins de l'hérésie*, vol.1, p.398, and p.424, from Bèze, *Traicté de la Justice de Dieu*, Lyon, J. Faure, 1562. On Vassy and the reaction to it, see Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, pp.17-18, 18 n.38, 25, 30-31, and 30-31 n.73.

⁷⁶ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1, copy), fol.448, '4e Lettre de la Reine de Navarre,' 'escript a Pau le 25 Janvier 1562,' and fol.449, 'Reponse de Monsieur le Viscomte de Gourdon a la lettre precedente,' 'escript a Senevieres le 9 febvrier 1562.' The overall problem of incorrect dating is dealt with in the *Appendix*. In my estimation, which concurs with Roelker's, the internal evidence of these two letters is consistent with Jeanne's letter having been sent soon after 1 March 1562, and a date before 31 March for Gourdon's reply. Jeanne's letter mentions Vassy near its conclusion on fol.448v, and so must have been written after 1 March 1562. Gourdon's letter confirms having received Jeanne's 'en datte du 25 du passé' (fol.449r). A possible explanation is that Jeanne began and dated her letter on 25 February 1562, but did not finish and send it until after 1 March. Gourdon's letter concludes by saying that, 'Je ne fauldre auparavant partir pour me rendre a Orleans le mois d'avril venant'; therefore, it must have been written before 1 April. See also Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.461, nn.4, 7, 8.

⁷⁷ Fol.448r.

help.⁷⁸ This evidence of Jeanne's existing politicisation at the outbreak of war in March 1562, and the much greater evidence in section *d.* below of her direct involvement in the war during the remainder of 1562, justifies a view of Jeanne as having been substantially more politically involved at this time than appearances may have indicated.⁷⁹

During March 1562, Jeanne fled war-terrified Paris, and took temporary refuge with the court at Fontainebleau.⁸⁰ On 26 March, Antoine and the duke of Guise left Paris for Fontainebleau with a strong force, and took the king, the queen mother, and the court into their custody, to bring them back to Paris.⁸¹ Antoine, by Jeanne's testimony, ordered her to return alone to Pau, leaving behind young Henry.⁸² Having undergone the dismal humiliation of begging for 50,000 francs from Catherine de Médicis (for the purpose, it would appear, of

⁷⁸ 'au regard des voyes quil mapparait que doit tenir vostre Majesté en loccurance presente il mesemble advis questant soubz puissance de mary et despouillee de vos propres estats et en espoir dy rentrer que vous ne devez ouvertement faire choses quelconques contre les volonteiz diceluy mary. En fait de religion, chacun scait et se doulte bien que vostre Majesté tant esclairée et vertueusement ferme suit la reforme et la soustient, il nest mestier d'en fournir acte ny declaration à vos Ennemis, comme par cy devant le party de la reforme recebvera reconfort et ayde par les moyens tant sages quavez tenus et suivis en grande prudence et ardeur.' (Fols.449r-449v, 'Reponse de Monsieur le Viscomte de Gourdon a la lettre precedente.')

⁷⁹ S. Amanda Eurich, in *The Economics of Power*, 1994, states (p.92) that, 'Although Jeanne had not actively cooperated with the Huguenot party when the religious war first broke out in 1562, she was still considered a potential threat by the established powers and a possible ally by the Huguenots.' Roelker, while terming Jeanne's strategy during this period as one of 'strategic neutrality', attributes it, correctly, not to an absence of active cooperation with the Huguenot party, but to 'her skill at dissimulation'. (*Queen of Navarre*, 1968, p.187.)

⁸⁰ Dates given for Jeanne's departure from Paris vary from 6 March (Ruble, *Antoine*, vol.4, p.94), to after 22 March. (In Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.95, n.5, the editor notes that Jeanne left Paris in the last days of March, but that date is taken from Ruble, and is questionable. It would appear, in *ibid.*, p.70, that Jeanne was still in Paris on 9 March. Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, p.85, n.31, citing Pierre de Paschal, 'Journal de ce qui s'est passé en France durant l'année 1562, principalement dans Paris et à la cour,' 84 (ed. François, 6), notes the attendance of Antoine, Jeanne, and Condé at Popincourt, near the Porte Saint-Antoine, during March. This must have been before 23 March, the date of Condé's departure from Paris (noted below). It is possible to infer from a letter of Beza to Calvin of 22 March, *ibid.*, p.74, that 'Juliani uxor' (Jeanne) could still have been in Paris on 22 March.

⁸¹ On the movements of Condé, Antoine, Guise and the court during March-April 1562, see Linda L. Taber, 'Royal Policy and Religious Dissent within the Parlement of Paris, 1559-1562,' PhD thesis, Stanford University, June 1982, pp.243-247. See also Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, pp.18-19, 26-27, 83.

⁸² *Mémoires*, p.25.

paying for an armed escort),⁸³ Jeanne left Fontainebleau before the end of March, heading for Antoine's ducal town of Vendôme, where, as duchess, she expected to take temporary refuge.⁸⁴

There is a tradition, stated by Ruble, and by Baum, and repeated, with a caution, by Roelker, that after leaving Fontainebleau, probably on 28 March, and before going to Vendôme, Jeanne first went north to Meaux, where she conferred on military strategy with Antoine's brother Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé, who had assembled a Protestant army there.⁸⁵ Condé and Coligny had, based on the Spanish ambassador's evidence, left the court on or before 23 December, the ambassador adding, sardonically, 'no avia memoria de predicas herejes enella.'⁸⁶ Beza was also in Meaux on 28 March.⁸⁷ It is possible that Jeanne did make this rendezvous with Condé, but if so, only just: Meaux is 73 kilometres north of Fontainebleau, and Condé and his mounted force left Meaux on 29 March. Passing around Paris to the north and east at St Cloud, Condé's cavalry turned south through Longjumeau, and, in a remarkable burst of speed, arrived before the northwest gate of Orléans on Easter Monday 2 April 1562, entered without encountering military resistance,

⁸³ BNF, n.a.f. 2163 (copies), no.53, fol.68, Jeanne d'Albret to Catherine de Médicis (undated; question marked 1561-1562?). Having written that 'je ne trouve point de faveur au roy mon mary,' Jeanne asks of Catherine: 'je vous supplie tres humblement me faire donner cinquante mille frans.'

⁸⁴ In *Mémoires*, p.23, Jeanne states that she left Fontainebleau for Vendôme, via Olivet (Loiret) in March 1562. Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.184, citing [n.90] Johann Wilhelm Baum, *Theodor Beza nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt*, Leipzig, 1843-1851, vol.2, 'Preuves,' pp.176-177, dates this departure 27-28 March, but for Meaux as destination (see below).

⁸⁵ Ruble, in *Jeanne d'Albret*, v1, p.185-186, says Jeanne left Meaux, where Condé was, for Vendôme on 29 March. Roelker writes, 'On March 27 or 28 Jeanne fled Fontainebleau as secretly as possible. She went first to Meaux, but remained only long enough for an interview with her brother-in-law before continuing her flight southward.' (Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.184, citing [n.90] Baum, *Theodor Beza*, vol.2, 'Preuves,' pp.176-177.) Roelker, cautioning about Ruble's lack of evidence, repeats his declaration that 'it was she [Jeanne] who worked out the plan for the seizure of Orléans by Condé on April 1 – within forty-eight hours of Jeanne's interview with him, and that, "It was to the Queen of Navarre that the Huguenot party owed this act of boldness, even of genius, the only one in the First Civil War."' (Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.187, quoting Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.188.)

⁸⁶ Simancas MS K.1495, no.106, Poissy, 23 December 1561 [orig., decoded], Chantonnay to Philip II, fol.3r). Condé left Paris on 23 March. (Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, p.19, n.42, citing Pierre de Paschal, 'Journal de ce qui s'est passé en France durant l'année 1562, principalement dans Paris et à la cour,' 88 [ed. François, 12]). See also Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, p.83, and p.83, n.26.

⁸⁷ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.76, letter dated at Meaux, 28 March 1562.

and occupied the city, which had already been mobilised by Protestants.⁸⁸ The first War of Religion had begun.

The battle-line was thus drawn along the Loire, but what did that mean? Did Condé intend to cross the river and use its natural line of defense to hold a Protestant south of France against a Catholic north? On the contrary: the gates of Orléans were north of the river; the forces within Orléans, turning to look northwards, backs to the river, expressed the Protestant aspiration in 1562, led by Condé and Coligny, to become the religion of royal France north of the Loire, with its centre at the court of Paris. That Paris was still the principal Protestant target would be demonstrated later in the year, at the battle of Dreux.

On 8 April 1562, Condé declared himself leader of the Protestant cause in France.⁸⁹ The very title of his declaration is a statement of the French Protestant strategy whereby they presented themselves as the defenders of the king and the realm: *Declaration faite par monsieur le prince de Condé, pour monstrier les raisons qui l'ont contrainct d'entreprendre la defence de l'autorité du roy, du gouvernement de la roynne, & du repos de ce royaume*. On the same day, Antoine was confirmed in his appointment as lieutenant-general of France by Catherine de Médicis, and so the two brothers were ranged at the head of the opposing sides of the conflict.⁹⁰

Jeanne travelled to Vendôme via Olivet, five kilometres south of

⁸⁸ Condé's sweep from Meaux to Orléans is described in James Westfall Thompson, *The Wars of Religion in France 1559-1576*, New York, F. Unger, 1957 (reprint of ed. of 1909), pp.137-139, and especially the map, 'Huguenot March to Orléans, March 29 - April 2 1562,' citing La Noue, *Mémoires*, chapter 2, p.554. According to Garrison (*History*, p.340, citing (n.7) her own *Protestants du Midi*, p.260), Orléans had, since 1561, 'been taken over by the Huguenots and turned into a headquarters of the princely and Protestant cause. Nearly 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry were there at the beginning of April 1562.' On the Reformed establishment in Orléans, see Christopher Stocker, 'The Calvinist Notables of Orléans,' in *Proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 6 (1979), 21-33. On Condé's seizure and occupation of Orléans, see also Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, p.25, n.59, and p.32.

⁸⁹ Louis I de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1530-1569), *Declaration faite par monsieur le prince de Condé, pour monstrier les raisons qui l'ont contrainct d'entreprendre la defence de l'autorité du roy, du gouvernement de la roynne, & du repos de ce royaume. Avec la protestation sur ce requise*, Orléans, 8 April 1562, original manuscript signed 'Loys de Bourbon,' Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin, Madison (Wisc). (Microfilm MIC/o 4733, 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648,' reel 4, no.261, Woodbridge [Ct], Research Publications, 1978.) Also, *Sommaire declaration et confession de foy, faite par monseigneur le prince de Condé, contre les calomnies & impostures des ennemis de Dieu, du roy, et de luy*, 1562. (Microfilm MIC/o 4733, reel 4, no.270.) See also Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, pp.27-34.

⁹⁰ Ruble, *Antoine*, 'Pièces justificatives,' citing ADPA, MS E.584, 8 April 1562.

Orléans, where, on 5 April, she appears to have met with Beza, who was himself in danger of a trap said to have been planned by Antoine.⁹¹ By the beginning of May, Jeanne had taken refuge in Vendôme.⁹² There, in the earlier and lesser of the two most controversial episodes of Jeanne's perceived direct involvement in the Wars of Religion,⁹³ her followers or 'troops'⁹⁴ sacked the collegiate church of St Georges, broke the images in the chapel, and, it would seem, looted the tombs of Antoine's family – the very tombs in which, in one of a series of twists of irony, she would herself be buried.⁹⁵ Some of the reported details may be exaggerated, and the degree of Jeanne's direct responsibility is uncertain, but the evidence of her correspondence with Beza is that the incident took place, and Jeanne's concern about the rightness of the act – and possibly her own guilt – was sufficient to cause her to seek Beza's opinion and advice. As I have already noted, Beza was firm in his disapproval of the breaking of images, but, he added, because God condemns idols and idolatry, His wisdom may lie behind such acts.⁹⁶

Jeanne's letters and actions at this time leave no room for doubt that her conversion to the Reformed religion was accompanied by her politicisation in the Reformed cause. The section that follows will

⁹¹ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.239. See also Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.189. As already noted, Beza had been at Meaux on 28 March. On Beza in Condé's camp at Orléans, see Brown, *Jean du Tillet*, p.32, and p.32, n.77.

⁹² Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.94, n.2, states that Jeanne had been at Vendôme since at least 3 May.

⁹³ The other being the 'massacres' of Navarrenx and Orthez (chapter six).

⁹⁴ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.66, undated [question marked 1561-1562?] appears to mention Jeanne's 'prisoners' [manuscript unclear] in Vendôme, after she fled south from Paris, leaving Antoine and Henry behind. Paul Wagret (under the direction of), *Histoire de Vendôme et du Vendômois*, Toulouse, Privat, 1984, p.96, on the sack of the church of St George and the Bourbon tombs by Jeanne's 'troops', giving a date of 19 May 1562, expresses doubt, but does not comment on the evidence of Beza's letter of 23 May (see below). See also Abbé Charles Metais, *Jeanne d'Albret et Vendôme*, Lemerrier et fils, 1882, and 'Jeanne d'Albret et la spoliation de l'église Saint-Georges de Vendôme le 19 mai 1562: inventaire des bijoux et reliquaires spoliés par Jeanne d'Albret à la Collegiale,' *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois*, 1882. Ruble, in *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.4, pp.94-97, states that gold and silver melted down from the Vendôme pillage brought 30,000 pounds for the Reformed war effort.

⁹⁵ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.223, 234 n.1.

⁹⁶ Beza to Jeanne d'Albret, Orléans, 23 May 1562 (corrected by the editor from 13 May 1561), *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.91-96. The correction to 1562 is obvious, but no convincing reason is given for the change of day from 13 to 23. The historical necessity is that the letter be dated at least a few days after the indicated date (19 May) of the sack of the church.

begin with her own statement of her commitment to that cause, and will show the carrying-out of that commitment through her actions during the war itself.

d. War and desolation: 'The cause is so just', 13 May 1562

On 13 May 1562, in a situation of danger and violence, and in a state of extreme religious and political fervour, Jeanne again, apparently, took up her pen to write to the viscount of Gourdon. This time and hereafter, however, by the internal evidence of the letter, and by the evidence of other published letters,⁹⁷ this viscount of Gourdon must be Antoine, Flotard's son and successor. Jeanne writes:

I have no doubt that by your example and call, all those of your region, family, friends, and your companies of infantry and light cavalry, will comport themselves with ardour as brave men,⁹⁸ just as they did before under your father the deceased viscount, and as they learned to do under your first calls to arms, in the reigns of kings Francis and Henry, my much honoured uncle and cousin of happy memory.⁹⁹

Lacoste, in his monumental *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, says that Flotard de Gourdon died in 1559 at his castle of Cénevières.¹⁰⁰ If

⁹⁷ Cabié, *Guerres de religion*, pp.201, 208 n.3, *et passim*, cited in chapter three.

⁹⁸ 'Gens de bien', which I translated as 'people of good standing' in Jeanne's first letter of 1555 (chapter three), is here translated by me as 'brave men' in its military context of 1562 (*Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*). An alternative might be 'stout-hearted men'.

⁹⁹ 'Je ne fais doute aulcun qua vostre Exemple et Semonce tous ceulx de vos quartiers parens amys et vos Compagnies dhombres darmes Argolets et Chevaux Legiers ne se comportent animeusement en gens de bien comme par cy devant et dont parties diceula sous le defunct viscomte vostre Pere et dans vos premieres armes ont appris de bonne voye le mestier es Regnes des Roys François et Henry mes tres honnorez Oncle et Cousin dheureuse Memoire.' BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1), fol.450 (copy), '5e lettre de la Reine de Navarre,' Pau, 13 May 1562. On 13 May 1562, Jeanne was at Vendôme, not Pau. Her reference to Gourdon's letter of 12 April cannot be to his previous letter, fol.449, which was written before the end of March, and before the assembly at Orléans; the reference must be to a letter missing in the Vallant collection. On these problems of dating, see *Appendix*.

¹⁰⁰ Lacoste, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, vol.4, p.119 (1559). Here, Lacoste names Flotard de Gourdon, viscount of Gaiffier, at Cénevières, captain of light cavalry, and Antoine as his heir. But, in vol.3, p.363, he names Flotard viscount of Gourdon-Cénevières, son of François, father of Antoine; and in vol.2, he speaks of Antoine as Gaiffier, viscount of Gourdon. There are similar confusions in Haag, *France protestante* (1846-1859), vol.5, p.119.

that is correct, it is indeed Antoine, who would live until 1616, to whom Jeanne writes in this letter, and to whom Jeanne and then her son Henry write in subsequent letters, and it is Flotard to whom she refers as 'your father the deceased viscount.' But, can we be certain? The Gourdon family is very complex, and Lacoste's descriptions of Flotard and Antoine are confusing. Other surer sources omit Flotard's death date, or the date on which Antoine inherited the title, but a manuscript held at the Bibliothèque nationale calls Antoine viscount at the date of his marriage in 1562.¹⁰¹ The reigns of the French monarchs named by Jeanne in the letter – Francis I (1515-1547) and Henry II (1547-1559) – are consistent with the adult lifetimes of Flotard (b.1509?-d.1559?) and Antoine (d.1616) up to the year 1562. Further, the absence of any reference to Louis XII's reign (1498-1515) is consistent with the 'deceased father' not having been Flotard's father, viscount François. The notable omission in the letter of any reference to the then current king, Charles IX, is, surely, a tacit statement that he is, in Jeanne's eyes in wartime 1562, the enemy.¹⁰²

It is in the context of the turmoil and violence of that time and place, only six days before the given date of the sacking of the Bourbon tombs in Vendôme, that the fiercely defiant tone of Jeanne's message can be understood. A private letter, perhaps, but a militant political message, a rallying-call to the Reformed cause in time of war. The full text of the letter is given in the *Appendix*. Jeanne continues:

The cause is so just and good that I believe God will support and strengthen it by his powerful force; and although I may not speak loudly and openly I will conduct myself so skilfully and ardently that by my own efforts I will help the common cause to achieve Eternal glory and public peace; because the time has come to go out of Egypt across the red sea, and raise up the humble Church of Christ on the ruins of the Throne of Pure Pride of vile Babylon.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ BNF, fr 20227, fols.220-227, 'Extrait d'un manuscrit d'Antoine de Gourdon en Quercy,' fol.220v, marriage of 'Flotard vicomte de Gourdon,' who was living in 1509, son of viscount François; fol.227v, marriage in 1562 of 'Antoine vicomte de Gourdon fils du vicomte Flotard et de Marguerite de Cardhaillac.'

¹⁰² Ibid., fol.220v.

¹⁰³ 'la cause est tant juste et bonne que je crois que Dieu la portera et fortifiera de sa force puissante et partant bien que je ne parle hault et clair je me comporteray tant dextrement et animeusement que je aideray par mes besoignes la cause commune a la gloire de l'Eternel et concorde publique car il est temps de sortir d'Egypte a travers la mer rouge et d'eslever Lhumble Eglise de Christ sur les ruynes du Throne de Tout orgueil de limmonde Babylone.' (BNF, fr 17044, fol. 450.)

In this strong private statement, Jeanne has cast her lot with the Reformed political/military cause, but not openly, as when at Christmas of 1560 she declared for the Reformed religious confession. Although there is no suggestion here of neutrality, there is an admission of her need to maintain, in public, a covert approach.¹⁰⁴ The biblical analogy through which the message is expressed may owe more to Psalm 114 of the Clément Marot/Theodore Beza psalter of 1561, the words of which I have used to begin my introduction, than to Exodus directly.¹⁰⁵ The 'humble Church of Christ' is the Reformed churches of France, and the 'Throne of Pure Pride' is the Roman Catholic church, and the throne of the pope in Rome, 'vile Babylon', but there is another analogy. The 'Throne of Pure Pride' is also the throne of France and the Gallican Catholic church, and 'vile Babylon' is also the court of France, presided over by Catherine de Médicis. That this second analogy applies can be shown by looking ahead to the text of Jeanne's important eighth letter to Gourdon, written 1 September 1568, on the eve of her escape from Nérac to La Rochelle (chapter five). In that context, where the Red Sea is the river Loire, 'Egypt' is France north of the Loire, and 'vile Babylon' is Paris and the Catholic court of France.¹⁰⁶

In 1562, however (as compared to 1568), Jeanne's caution, and her indebtedness to Catherine de Médicis, may have prevailed, to some extent, over her feelings of antagonism towards Catherine. It can be argued, nevertheless, that strategic, rather than emotional or self-serving, reasons lay behind the message of this letter. As the full text shows, Jeanne deflected any criticism of the king or the queen mother, placing the blame on their 'captors', the Guises, who had taken advantage of Condé's absence to bring Catherine and Charles back from Fontainebleau to Paris. Jeanne's statement that the prince of Condé was elected chief of the Reformed cause 'pour le maintient de l'Esdict de janvier et pour liberer Monsieur le jeune Roy et Madame la Royne mere dettenus en captivité desprit et de puissance et pour procurer la liberté des consciences' is simply another statement of the Protestant strategy of assuming for themselves the role of loyal sup-

¹⁰⁴ On the question of Jeanne's 'neutrality' in 1562, see footnote 79 above on the views of Roelker (in 1968), and Eurich (in 1994).

¹⁰⁵ Marot/Bèze, *Pseaumes de David* (ed. of 1561), CXIII, verse 1.

¹⁰⁶ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1), fol.454 (copy), Jeanne d'Albret to Gourdon, Nérac, 1 September 1568.

porters of the king and saviours of the realm. Why should Jeanne have taken this 'artificial' line in a private letter to her trusted confidant Gourdon? One reason might have been that, as she herself suggests ('Je ne fais doulte aulcun qua vostre Exemple et Semonce tous ceulx de vos quartiers'), Gourdon could use her argument for military recruiting purposes; as to the other, Jeanne would have been fully aware that Gourdon himself, as a noble of the sword, owed his allegiance to the crown of France, as did the other nobles of Guyenne who had aligned themselves with the Reformed cause.

Jeanne travelled south from Vendôme with an armed escort,¹⁰⁷ and, by late June, had reached the secure Protestant haven of the castle fort of the Caumont-La Force family, at Caumont in the Entre-Deux-Mers, 70 kilometres east of Bordeaux.¹⁰⁸ From that position, whether by accident or design, Jeanne found herself embroiled in the first Protestant attempt to take Bordeaux. In this bungled comic-opera production, Symphorien de Durfort, lord of Duras, in command of the Protestant forces in Guyenne, brought the cream of his force down the river Garonne in boats from Cadillac to Bordeaux to wait in darkness under the city wall on the night of 26-27 June 1562, while the following plan was executed: a group of nobles of Bordeaux in the king's service, but who had secretly turned to the Protestant side, including the captain of the guard of Burie, the king's lieutenant in Guyenne, would enter the Château-Trompette, the main fortification in the city wall, and unlock its access door on the river side, through which Duras's crack troops would enter the city.¹⁰⁹ That was the plan, but it began unravelling as soon as it was begun. In the course of the attempt, Vaillac, the commander of the Château-Trompette and a member of one of the Gourdon families,¹¹⁰ recog-

¹⁰⁷ Jeanne's son Henry, left behind in Paris, on 26 September 1562 (year not stated) wrote to the lord of Larchant, a member of Jeanne's escort, asking for word of her safety. (*Recueil de Lettres Missives de Henry IV*, ed. Berger de Xivrey, vol.1 (1562-1584), Paris, Imp. Royale, 1843, p.3, copy of original held at château of La Force.

¹⁰⁸ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.26; Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.529. See also Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, pp.196-199.

¹⁰⁹ The fortress Château-Trompette was built in 1467 to defend the entry-way to Bordeaux through the northern wall of the city, along the left bank of the river Garonne. (Charles Higounet [under the direction of], *Histoire de Bordeaux*, Toulouse, E. Privat, 1980, p.114.)

¹¹⁰ Jean Ricard Gourdon de Genouillac, sieur de Vaillac (Monluc, *Commentaires*, n.9, p.1210) was governor of the Château-Trompette from 1557 to 1578. The Gourdon and Pardaillan families were related by marriage.

nised his Protestant brother-in-law, the Puch de Pardaillan, among the group of turncoat nobles, access was refused, and the attempt failed.¹¹¹ Joachim de Ségur, known as 'le Puch de Pardaillan' was later to seize control, by another ruse, of the strategic Gironde fortress of Blaye on the north shore of the Gironde at the ferry crossing to Bordeaux, as its Protestant governor in 1568.¹¹² De Pontac, on behalf of the Parlement of Bordeaux, wrote to Antoine with the embarrassing news that 'we have discovered an execrable trick against his majesty and the lives of all good subjects of the king in this town, and therefore in all the land of the duchy of Guyenne.' This letter also records the Protestant seizure of the fortress town of Bourq on the north bank of the Gironde, 'which we take for a complete certainty as having been done to cut off the route of food supplies to this town [of Bordeaux].'¹¹³ The one Catholic prominent noble who was taken prisoner during the attempt on Bordeaux, Henri de Foix-Candale, count of Candale, was taken to Queen Jeanne at Caumont for questioning.¹¹⁴

In her *Mémoires*, Jeanne defends her role in the affair, insisting that she was attempting to reach an agreement with Burie and Monluc in order to bring peace to Guyenne. Her statement, the wording of which repeats motifs to be found in the text, above, of her private letter to Gourdon of the preceding month, stands as another declaration of the Protestant political strategy which would justify taking arms against the king's army in defence of the king: 'Il y a encores en la dicte Guyenne qui sçavent, et Monsieur de Caumont mesme, de quel zèle pour la gloire de Dieu et le service du Roy, joint à icelluy, j'estoy menée.'¹¹⁵

Whatever its comical aspects, the Protestant failure to take Bordeaux remained a serious weakness in the position of the Reformed cause in France; in Guyenne, it was potentially fatal.¹¹⁶ Failing its

¹¹¹ Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.514.

¹¹² Ibid., n.3, p.1209. See also Berard de Segur, chapter six, below.

¹¹³ Lublinskaja, pp.78-80, St Petersburg, MS no.31, Parlement of Bordeaux to Antoine de Bourbon, 4 July 1562 (orig.), signed De Pontac.

¹¹⁴ Candale was to be made lieutenant-general of Bordeaux and the Bordelais in 1567. (Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.515, 610, and n.3, p.1211.)

¹¹⁵ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, pp.26-27.

¹¹⁶ Tadataka Maruyama's view is that 'Dès 1560, en effet, à Nérac, Théodore de Bèze, Antoine de Bourbon, roi de Navarre, et le prince de Condé avaient envisagé de faire du Sud-Ouest une citadelle protestante. Toulouse et Bordeaux en constitueraient les principaux centres.' In this, Maruyama argues, Bordeaux would have played the historical role that passed, by default, to La Rochelle. (Maruyama, *Ecclesiology*, p.103.)

hold on Bordeaux, Protestantism would become isolated from the centre of power, and concentrated in the seigneurial lands and rural towns and villages of the area from the middle Dordogne to the junction of the Lot and Garonne rivers.¹¹⁷

e. Death and resurrection: 'Christ is risen again in Aquitaine,' 1562

A memoir from Charles IX to his commanders Burie and Monluc in Guyenne shows that as early as May 1562, the Catholic strategy was to prevent the Protestant army of the south, some 8,000 men under Duras at Bergerac, from joining forces with the army of the north at Orléans.¹¹⁸ On 9 October 1562, Monluc's army, reinforced by Spanish troops, caught up with, and defeated, Duras's Protestant army at Vergt, midway between Bergerac and Périgueux.¹¹⁹ As an immediate result, the Protestant army of the south was dispersed, breaking into guerrilla fragments which lacked both cannon and military cohesion. These small surviving forces were able to raid Catholic-held small towns in the valleys of the Dordogne, Dropt, and Lot, and harass their garrisons; but they were no longer capable of mounting a full-scale offensive. After the battle of Vergt, therefore, Monluc was able to represent himself as the saviour of Guyenne.¹²⁰ A longer-term offsetting effect of the victory was that Burie, not having shared in its glory, was diminished in the perceived effectiveness of his role as lieutenant-general, and Catholic military leadership in Guyenne became divided. The military government of Guyenne thereafter consisted of two parts; the first, under Burie, included the Bordelais and all the seneschallies above the Garonne; the second, under Monluc, was

¹¹⁷ On the concentration and isolation of Protestant communities in the area between the Dordogne and the Garonne from Ste Foy/Bergerac to Agen/Nérac, see Anne-Marie Cocula, 'Châteaux et Seigneuries: des îles et îlots de Réforme en terre Aquitaine (XVIe-XVIIe s.),' in Robert Sauzet (under the direction of, with Alain Ducellier and Janine Garrisson), *Les Frontières religieuses en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, Lib. J. Vrin, 1992, pp.186-187. Professor Cocula has pointed out in her thesis, *Les Gens de la Rivière de Dordogne 1750 à 1850* (University of Bordeaux III, 5 February 1977), 2 vols., Paris, H. Champion, 1979, that even in the eighteenth century, the time required to travel by river downstream from Bergerac to Bordeaux was 4-10 days, and upstream from Bordeaux to Bergerac, 10-12 days.

¹¹⁸ Lublinskaja, St Petersburg, no.21, Charles IX to Burie and Monluc, Paris, May 1562, memoir (orig., page unmarked). See also Gaullieur, *Histoire*, p.457.

¹¹⁹ Monluc's description of the battle of Vergt is in *Commentaires*, pp.563-571.

¹²⁰ *Commentaires*, p.581.

composed of the Haute Garonne from Languedoc to Béarn, and north to Périgord ¹²¹

More importantly (or so it appeared in relation to Catholic strategy, and so it was claimed), by preventing Duras's army from reaching Orléans intact, and by permitting elements of Monluc's army, including the Spaniards, to reinforce the royal army in the north, the Catholics were able to win the battle for Paris at Dreux on 19 December 1562, at which Condé was taken prisoner.¹²² In a neat, if not wholly convincing, conditional series of 'ifs' and 'would haves', the Bordeaux historian Gaullieur abandoned his customary scholarly caution to assert that if the Protestants had won at Vergt, they would have won the battle of Dreux, all of France would have become Protestant, and in Guyenne all high functionaries, nobles and bourgeois would have declared for Protestantism.¹²³

The splintering of the Reformed military effort into hit-and-run guerilla actions was the reality in Guyenne in late 1562. Typical of these in its small-scale localisation, but atypical in its wider symbolic perception, was the following strange episode recounted in the *Histoire ecclésiastique*, published in 1580, and traditionally attributed to Beza:

On the night of 7-8 December 1562, at Ste Foy-la-Grande on the Dordogne, the Protestant captain La Rivière¹²⁴ led a raid on the town, slaughtered its Catholic garrison, and released their Protestant prisoners. Prevented by royal troops from withdrawing across the bridge at Bergerac, La Rivière's small mounted force gained the high ground to the south, where a skirmish occurred,¹²⁵ during which La Rivière was wounded in the groin. Taken prisoner, he escaped by diving into the icy river Dropt. Reaching the nearby town of Eymet,

¹²¹ Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.347.

¹²² Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.570.

¹²³ Gaullieur, *Histoire*, p.457.

¹²⁴ The family background of the young lawyer La Rivière has been described above. Such is the mystery surrounding this shadowy figure, that his first name is uncertain. It may be that his father was 'Elie de la Rivière, seigneur de la forge de la Faurelie', *syndic* of Bergerac in 1563, as Gaullieur states (*Histoire de la réformation à Bordeaux*, vol.1, p.515). If the La Rivière of the incident of 1562 survived the first three wars, he could have been the 'Jean de la Rivière, avocat' listed as *syndic* in 1571. (La Roque, *Annales*, pp.131, 139, in Bryson, 'Labadie,' p.213.)

¹²⁵ The location of this 'battle' is recorded as 'Gardères', possibly the 'lieu-dit' Gaillardet, on the heights around the source of the Gardonnette, between the village of Labadie (Colombier) and the bourg of Bouniagues.

La Rivière rejoined his leader, captain Piles (Armand de Clermont, lord of Piles), who arranged a mock public funeral for the 'dead' La Rivière, during which a dummy was substituted for the body.¹²⁶ The two then escaped at nightfall on Piles' horse to the safety of the Par-dailhon castle of Bridoire.¹²⁷

Piles, later killed in the St Bartholomew's massacre, was charged with murder *in absentia*, to be decapitated in a public place if caught, or else in effigy.¹²⁸ It is not clear what direct connection, if any, Queen Jeanne had with Piles and La Rivière at the time of the episode of 1562, although in his account of it, Alphonse de Ruble calls them 'her hardy captains in Périgord.'¹²⁹ In Gaullier's account, they were acting under orders from Antoine of Gramont, who was in Orléans at the time; but in 1563 Jeanne made Gramont her lieutenant-general in Béarn.¹³⁰ Jeanne had been under suspicion for at least two months; a few days before the battle of Vergt, Burie wrote to the king, advising him that for six or seven months he had been employing a spy, general Portal, to keep Jeanne under close surveillance.¹³¹ By 1568, as chapter five will show, Piles was a commander in Jeanne's military service.

The 'resurrection' symbolism of this episode was not lost on Theodore Beza. Having signalled the safe arrival of Queen Jeanne at Pau in a letter to Calvin from Orléans on 12 January 1563, Beza

¹²⁶ The principal primary source for the incident is *Hist. ecclés.* (1580), vol.2, pp.950-962. Among the various other contemporary, or near-contemporary sources, Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, ed. Ruble, vol.2, p.129, gives some details of Rivière's battle with the troops and cavalry of the royal Catholic captains La Salle and Moncassin two days after the attack on Ste Foy. A synopsis and annotated historiography is given in Bryson, 'Labadie,' pp.162-176, 221-225, where fifteen distinct versions of the episode are listed as having been published between 1573 and 1966. Bryson includes a map (p.161), as well as a detailed description (Appendix X, pp.219-220). On perceived anagrams on the incident in the works of Cyrano de Bergerac (1619-1655), see also Bryson, 'Cyrano de Bergerac et la bataille "fantôme" de Labadie (Colombier) de décembre 1562: fait réel ou imaginaire?', *BSHAP*, CXXI (1994), pp.521-534.

¹²⁷ Gaullieur, *Histoire*, vol.1, p.525.

¹²⁸ *Arch. Gir.*, vol.17, p.303, Burie at Bergerac to Charles IX, 26 November 1564, warrant for Piles' arrest; *ibid.*, p.174, (BNF, fr 15881, p.162, 1 June 1565, when referred to the court of the Parlement of Bordeaux; BNF, *Périgord 10*, VIIe cahier, fol.23, 23 February 1566, 'Arret contre Arnaud [sic: Armand] de Clermont, Ecuyer Seigneur de Piles, et autres, constaineus du meurtre et homicide.'

¹²⁹ Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret et la Guerre Civile*, vol.1, p.330.

¹³⁰ Gaullier, *Histoire*, vol.1, p.515.

¹³¹ Lublinskaja, *St Petersburg*, no.61, 6 October 1562, Burie to Charles IX, camp de Bellever (orig.), pp.161-162.

wrote again to Calvin on 31 January (perhaps having meantime heard the news of the episode of Piles and La Rivière), saying, 'Meanwhile Christ is risen again in Aquitaine.'¹³² From the Protestant point of view, the incident provided a ray of hope in an otherwise dismal situation. For the Catholics, it sent a shock-wave of fear through Bordeaux far out of proportion to its insignificant real danger.¹³³ Monluc, who had failed to react, lost some of the lustre he had gained since Vergt; uncharacteristically, he omitted the whole matter from his *Commentaires*.¹³⁴

Jeanne, meanwhile, having left Caumont, went south to Nérac, then by boat down the Garonne to Bordeaux, and overland from there to Pau, where she had arrived before the end of August 1562. There, on 25 August, succumbing briefly to pressure, illness and fatigue, she signed a procuration by which she would agree to negotiate compensation for the transfer of the kingdom of Navarre to the French crown.¹³⁵ Soon after, she retracted her agreement. On 16 October, Antoine was wounded during the Catholic siege of Rouen. On 17 November, at Andelys on the Seine, he died of his wound, aged 44, and was buried in the Bourbon family chapel of the collegiate church of St Georges in Vendôme, which earlier had been sacked by Jeanne's followers.¹³⁶

Jeanne d'Albret was now sole sovereign queen of Navarre, and sole sovereign dame of Béarn. Her minor son Henry, now governor of Guyenne by inheritance, was made lieutenant-general of Guyenne, 26 December 1562, and admiral of Guyenne, 1 January 1563. Thus,

¹³² Beza to Calvin 12 January 1563: 'Navarrenna fortiter pergit', Jeanne having arrived safely in Pau (*Correspondance*, vol.4, p.124). Beza to Calvin 31 January 1563: 'Interea Christus in Aquitania rursus emergit.' (Ibid., p.124.) The connection of this statement with Piles' action in the episode is made by the editors of the Beza *Correspondance* (ibid., p.126, n.8).

¹³³ Letters from Antoine de Noailles, mayor of Bordeaux, to Catherine de Médicis, 11 December 1562 (in P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Antoine de Noailles à Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, C. Lefebvre, 1878, p.80, and 25 December 1562 (*Arch. Gir.*, vol.17, p.285). Letters from the baron of Lauzon to Charles IX, 11 December 1562, and from Monluc to Catherine de Médicis, 28 December 1562 (in Tamizey de Larroque, *Documents Inédits Pour Servir à l'Histoire de l'Agenais*, Bordeaux, C. Lefebvre, 1874, p.101).

¹³⁴ Courteault comments at length on this 'lacune volontaire', in *Blaise de Monluc historien*, pp.466-471.

¹³⁵ ADPA, MS E.585, Pau, 25 Aug 1562, cited by Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.4.

¹³⁶ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.iii; Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.4, p.97. Beza wrote to Calvin of Antoine's death on 14 December 1562. (*Correspondance*, vol.4, p.113, p.114 n.10.)

in theory, the king's Catholic forces in wartime Guyenne were to be led by his Protestant opponents.¹³⁷ On 23 February, François, duke of Guise, was assassinated; on 19 March 1563, the first War of Religion was ended by the Edict of Amboise. These incidents were recounted by Jeanne in her brief sixth letter to the viscount of Gourdon, dated 28 March 1563. Jeanne's formal expression of sorrow at her husband's death seems less convincing than the vivid expression in the same letter of her first – and perhaps only – conflict with her trusted friend and adviser Gourdon. Jeanne disapproved of Gourdon's falling-out with Coligny over the matter of Coligny's perceived blame for the murder of Guise.¹³⁸

Unsatisfactory though the edict of 1563 was, it was followed by four years of relative peace.¹³⁹ The roll of places in the suburbs of which the new religion was to be allowed by the edict confirms that the 'Government of Guyenne' then included Poitou (Fontenay, Châtellerault, Montmorillon), and so approximated Eleanor's Aquitaine, as already stated. In the following section, I will examine the ways in which Jeanne used her new sovereign authority to impose the Reformed religion in Béarn and Navarre, and, during the peace, attempted to extend her authority, and the Reformed religion, into other areas of Guyenne.

f. 'In Béarn I recognise only God': Jeanne sovereign, 1563-1567

On 20 January 1563, Calvin wrote to Jeanne, urging her to make the Reformed religion compulsory in her realm:

¹³⁷ Arch. Gir. MS 1B9, fol.27, cited in Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.305 (the lieutenant-generalcy); and *ibid.*, fol.28, (the admiralty, for which final approval was not confirmed until 3 August 1563).

¹³⁸ On Antoine's death: 'la mort arrivée au siege de Rouan a deffunct de bonne memoire Monsieur le Roy de Navarre mon tres honnoré seigneur et mary que Dieu tienne en gloire.' On Gourdon's fault: 'j'entends que vous departez damitie de Monsieur L'admiral du depuis la mort du Duc de Guise qui ne peult estre partie ny conseillée de luy et a tort est il villipendé et accusé.' BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1), fol.451 (copy), 'Escript a Nerac le 28 mars 1563.'

¹³⁹ BNF, n.a.f. 7177 (Brienne 206), II, 'Edicts et autres actes touchant ceux de la religion depuis l'an 1562 jusques en 1572,' fols. 187-190, 7 April 1563, Edict of Pacification. For the Government of Guyenne (fol.190), 14 places are listed: St Macaire, Dax, Bergerac, Montint [or Montême?], Fontenay, Villefranche, Châtellerault, St Jean d'Angély, Aulnay, Montmorillon, Jarnac, La Réole, Agen, La Rochelle. See also Condé, *Mémoires*, vol.4, p.137.

Wherefore, Madame, since the government is now come into your hands, know that God wishes to prove more and more the zeal and solicitude you have to acquit yourself faithfully in giving the pre-eminence to the true service which he demands. There are several reasons which prevent me from pushing this argument any farther. For all who have any dominion are also enjoined to purge their territories of every kind of idolatry and corruption, by which the purity of true religion is defiled.¹⁴⁰

Calvin's recognition of Jeanne's sovereign authority here contrasts with John Knox's vehement contrary view, but accords with Aubigné's later acceptance of her as 'our Deborah', taking his model from the Old Testament 'Song of Deborah':¹⁴¹

The peasantry ceased in Israel, they
 ceased
 until you arose, Deborah,
 arose as a mother in Israel.
 When new gods were chosen,
 then war was in the gates.
 Was shield or spear to be seen
 among forty thousand in Israel?
 My heart goes out to the
 commanders of Israel
 who offered themselves willingly
 among the people.
 Bless the Lord.

Tell of it, you who ride on tawny
 asses,
 you who sit on rich carpets
 and you who walk by the way.¹⁴²

It is only necessary to substitute 'Guyenne' for 'Israel', and 'Jeanne' for 'Deborah' in the above, to make the analogy to the Reformed of France at the end of 1562. But, in 1563, Jeanne's first concern was to rid herself of Monluc's conflicting authority in Guyenne. In Febru-

¹⁴⁰ Calvin to the queen of Navarre, 20 January 1563, *Letters*, vol.4, p.291-292.

¹⁴¹ Whereas Aubigné said of Queen Jeanne, 'she is our Deborah', Knox wrote that 'Deborah ruled in Israel by God's will and authority, not by birth, blood, or inheritance.' (*First Blast*, p.65 [microfilm, p.42].)

¹⁴² Judges 5: 7-10 (*NOAB*).

ary, she wrote to Catherine de Médicis, demanding of her the urgent replacement of Monluc and the 'return to us' (Henry and her) of Guyenne.¹⁴³ It will be recalled that in 1562, Burie assigned a spy to keep Jeanne under surveillance, and this was continued by Monluc, as Calvin had warned in his letter of 20 January:

I know, Madame, how you are watched by your neighbour, who will not fail, if he can, to take an opportunity of raising disturbances, but while you fear God you need not fear him. It will not be zeal which will actuate him, though he makes of that a false pretext. Seeing then that he is lying in wait for you, fortify yourself with the best defence you can have.¹⁴⁴

In March 1563, Monluc moved from Bordeaux to establish his headquarters as the king's lieutenant in Guyenne at Agen, adjacent to his own castle at Estillac, only 22 kilometres from Jeanne's palace of Nérac, in order to be, in his own words, 'at the heart of Guyenne'.¹⁴⁵ Jeanne hastened to write a long, indignant letter to Catherine de Médicis, urging Monluc's replacement.¹⁴⁶ In it, she asks Catherine to grant her minor son Henry, 'this young plant' whom Catherine holds in her custody at the Paris court,¹⁴⁷ a lieutenant in Guyenne whom Jeanne does not deem an enemy.¹⁴⁸ The importance to Jeanne of the government of Guyenne is emphasised by her as the source of her son's greatness, as opposed to her own little sovereignty of Béarn.¹⁴⁹ You, Catherine, will need my help,

¹⁴³ Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, p.347, cites Jeanne's letter to Catherine de Médicis of February 1563 [possibly 1564?], St Pétersbourg MS, vol.53, fols.60-63.

¹⁴⁴ Calvin, *Letters*, p.293. It is in this letter that Calvin urges Jeanne to 'arm yourself with [God's] promises', a phrase muddled in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.153, into 'take arms and do battle', in a letter of 1561, as I have already noted in chapter three.

¹⁴⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.575, 'pour estre au coeur de la Guyenne, où aborde ordinairement toute la noblesse. C'est là où doit estre le siège d'un lieutenant de roy, et non à Bourdeaux, encore que ce soit la ville capitale; car elle est trop esloignée, et puis il y a un Parlement qui se mesle de tout.'

¹⁴⁶ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.60, letter of Jeanne d'Albret to Catherine de Médicis, undated, but after Antoine's death; probably 1563.

¹⁴⁷ 'Ceste juine plante, qui est de vostre terroir.'

¹⁴⁸ Jeanne writing, 'qu'il plust lui [Henry] donner ung lieutenant au gouvernement que lui aviés baillé de ceste Guienne ... qui ne fust de la facture de nul de ceus que j'ay estimés ennemis du feu roy mon mary.'

¹⁴⁹ 'Qu'en cella fist la grandeur de mon filz, le soulagement des terres que nous tenons soubz vostre obeissance,' [as opposed to] 'ce petit pays de Bearn où Dieu me faict la grace d'y voir ses benedictions.'

Jeanne suggests, 'when you restore this so desolated Guyenne.'¹⁵⁰

Catherine de Médicis can not have found Jeanne's tone agreeable ('I being obliged to kiss the places where your feet have trod'),¹⁵¹ and her letter appears to have been only partially effective. Jeanne's eventual success in having Monluc replaced as lieutenant-general in peacetime Béarn by the Protestant Gramont may have been due in part to Monluc's boasting after the battle of Vergt;¹⁵² but when Burie died in June 1565, Monluc became sole lieutenant-general and vice-admiral of Guyenne, under the nominal authority of the eleven-year-old Henry of Navarre.¹⁵³ In her letter, Jeanne asserts her anger at having had a lieutenant (Monluc, unstated) in Guyenne who has made 'bravades' towards her. The matter of Monluc's insolences towards Jeanne may have been inflated by its historiography into obscene advances. Roelker quotes, from the Ruble edition of Monluc's *Commentaires et Lettres*, that Monluc said in public that he hoped to be sent to Béarn because he was 'very eager to find out if it was as much fun to sleep with queens as with other women.'¹⁵⁴ The translated quotation is, however, actually from Ruble's own *Jeanne d'Albret*, where he in turn has taken the attribution from the Protestant *Histoire ecclésiastique*,¹⁵⁵ in which the words have been put into Monluc's mouth with intent to defame him. In this portrayal, in 1562, after his victory over Duras, Monluc,

Having forgotten that he was a small mushroom that had sprung up overnight, dared to say publicly what he hoped, that having succeeded in Guyenne, the king would send him to Béarn, where he had a great

¹⁵⁰ [The help of] 'moy et mes moyens; qui ne vous sera pas peu, Madame, quand vous restaurerés ceste Guienne tant desollée.'

¹⁵¹ 'M'obligens à baiser les pas par où vous passez.'

¹⁵² On Gramont's appointment as lieutenant general in Béarn in 1563, see also the guide booklet 'Itinéraires protestants en Béarn,' Pau, CEPB, 1993, p.16. The importance of Gramont's role in Jeanne's government of Béarn is evident in the archives through 1572. For example: ADPA, MSS C.684, tome 6, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1555-1571,' fols.189-191, October 1565; C.1230, 22 May 1566, 'Monsieur de Gramont, Corteusir-general' of the 'Syndics du pays'; C.692, 'Délibérations des Etats de Béarn 1558-1574,' fol.298, 28 [?] February 1572.

¹⁵³ Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.24.

¹⁵⁴ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.196; citing for this, in n.32, *Commentaires*, ed. Ruble, IV, 180. There is, however, no such statement in Monluc, *Commentaires et Lettres de Blaise de Monluc*, ed. Alphonse de Ruble, Paris, J. Renouard, 1864-, vol.IV, p.180, letter of Monluc to the queen [mother], Agen, 25 November 1562.

¹⁵⁵ Ruble in *Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.1, p.294, notes the scandalous remark attributed to Monluc in *Hist. Ecclés.*

desire to see if it would be as good to sleep with queens as with other women.¹⁵⁶

These lines also appear, word-for-word, in the 1619 Simon Goulart edition of the Jean Crespin *Histoire des Martyrs*.¹⁵⁷ The story must, therefore, be regarded as an aspect of the Monluc myth as portrayed in the Protestant historiography.

As part of the 'defence' Calvin advocated in his letter to Jeanne of 20 January 1563, above (including the advice that Jeanne obtain the support of the German Lutheran princes), Calvin sent Jeanne one of his Genevan ministers, Raymond Merlin, who played an instrumental part in the effective establishment of the Reformed religion throughout Béarn.¹⁵⁸ Soon after, a Protestant minister from Clairac complained to the consistory of Geneva that Jeanne was hiring new ministers from Geneva for Béarn at great cost, while those who did not speak Béarnais were unemployed, and temples in Guyenne were in a state of abandonment.¹⁵⁹

In 1563 and 1564, Jeanne published various ordinances on 'liberty of conscience' at Pau,¹⁶⁰ and the Estates General asked her to send Protestant pastors throughout the land, to which she replied in the affirmative.¹⁶¹ At a synod held at Pau in September 1563, presided-over by Merlin, the first *Discipline ecclésiastique du pays de Béarn* was drawn-up, consecrating the incorporation of Jeanne's sovereign realm as Reformed.

¹⁵⁶ Bèze, *Hist. Eccles.*, vol.2, p.949, 'ayant oublié qu'il estoit un petit champignon acreu en peu de temps, osa bien dire publiquement qu'il esperoit, qu'ayant achevé en Guienne, le Roy luy commanderoit d'aller en Bearn, où il avoit fort grand envie d'essayer s'il faisoit aussi bon coucher avec les Roynes qu'avec les autres femmes.'

¹⁵⁷ Jean Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis à mort pour la verité de l'evangile, depuis le temps des apostres iusques à present*, (Simon Goulart ed. of 1619), ed. Daniel Benoit, 3 vols., Toulouse, Soc. Des Livres Religieux, 1885-1889, vol.3, p.340. This identical wording lends support to the view that Goulart was the principal author of the 'Bèze' *Histoire ecclésiastique*.

¹⁵⁸ Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.1, pp.193-194.

¹⁵⁹ *Hist. Languedoc*, vol.2, p.436-437, n.4, 12 July 1563, letter from P. Grenade in Nîmes, minister of Clairac in Agenois, to the Consistory of Geneva on the state of the Protestant church in Languedoc and Guyenne after the first War of Religion. (*Bibliothèque de Genève MSS fr.197, AA.*, in De Vic, *Hist. Languedoc*, 'Preuves,' vol.12, p.695, n.267.)

¹⁶⁰ ADPA, MSS C.684, vol.6, fols.119, 129-133, June 1563, 'libertat et gtumoy [custom] de ladite Religion.' See also Dartigue, *Jeanne d'Albret*, pp.lxiii-lxiv, 61-70.

¹⁶¹ ADPA, MSS C.684, vol.6, fols.177-179, 1563 revised to 1564, Supplication of Estates of Pau on Religion and liberty of conscience; that the queen send Protestant pastors throughout the realm, and, fol.179, Jeanne's favourable reply of 1564.

Although liberty of Catholic practice was to be allowed, Jeanne is said to have had images broken in the cathedral of Lescar and the parish church of Pau (St Martin; probably the church in which she publicly converted at Christmas of 1560).¹⁶² If so, she would seem to have put aside the qualms she expressed to Beza in early 1562 – as seems to be confirmed by her irate letter to the cardinal of Armagnac in August 1563. It would appear that the Reformed Discipline of Béarn was proclaimed as an Edict at various dates between February (as revised from old calendar 1563) and June 1564. To royal France, Jeanne claimed her Edict was justified under the terms of the royal Edict of Pacification of the Peace of Amboise (April-May 1563). In June of 1563, a sick Calvin confirmed that he was sending Jeanne another dozen ministers from Geneva, and asked for the return of Merlin.¹⁶³

As a further step, Jeanne then immediately began the process of extending her Reformed discipline into regions of Guyenne which she claimed were under her authority, but which were not, strictly speaking, within the territories of Béarn and Navarre, such as her duchy of Albret and viscounty of Marsan.¹⁶⁴ Those regions being almost at the doorstep of the capital of Guyenne, and within the jurisdiction of its Parlement, Jeanne's sovereign claims and actions were vigorously disputed by the Parlement of Bordeaux, which, through Pontac, protested to the king that Jeanne, 'usant de ses mots "car tel est nostre plaisir", qui sont termes de souverainete et n'appartiennent que au roy seul d'en user ... Toutesfois, ladicte dame royne de Navarre par sesdictes lettres permect indifferement en tout son duche d'Albret faire exercisse de ladicte religion.'¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Bordenave, *Histoire*, pp.116-117. See also Tucoc-Chala, *Histoire de Pau*, p.41.

¹⁶³ Calvin to Jeanne, 1 June 1563, *Letters*, vol.4, pp.318-320.

¹⁶⁴ BNF, Périgord 10, VII, fol.28, April 1563, 'Lettres patentes de Jeanne de Navarre par lesquelles elle permet le libre exercice de la Religion Reformée dans les terres dépendantes de son Duché d'Albret.' She cites that she is acting in conformation with the Edict of Pacification of Amboise, 19 May 1562, as justification for proclaiming 'liberté de leurs consciences et exercice de la religion reformée.'

¹⁶⁵ Lublinskaja, St Petersburg, no.94, 19 May 1563, 'Remonstrance du parlement de Bordeaux (de Pontac) à Charles IX' (orig.), p.240. On the issue of the power of the parlement of Bordeaux over Guyenne vs. the power of Jeanne over her lands within the territory of the government of Guyenne, see also Lublinskaja, St Petersburg, 16 May 1563, Bordeaux, 22 June 1563, Vincennes, nos. 91-92, 'Requête de la noblesse de Guyenne (copie),' p.228; and on 24 April 1563, letters patent of Jeanne d'Albret, giving her exclusive control over the two religions in her duchy of Albret, based on her office of high justicier. ('Remonstrances du Parlement de Bordeaux,' 19 May 1563, BNF, n.a.f. 20598, fol.87, orig., cited in Courteault, *Blaise de Montluc historien*, p.478 and n.3.)

Other regions such as Jeanne's counties of Périgord, and Rodez in Rouergue, were to follow.¹⁶⁶ Her strategy was seen as an attempt to impose a Protestant Guyenne. Charles IX reacted by writing to Monluc to declare his opposition to Jeanne's claim of sovereignty over religion, and the conflict between her claim and the articles of the Edict of Pacification limiting the Reformed to one place in each bailiage and seneschally.¹⁶⁷ Charles, acting under advice from Catherine de Médicis, no doubt as a result of Jeanne's letter (above, undated, 'probably 1563'), tells Monluc to handle his prickly 'aunt' Jeanne with kid gloves:

Et pource que le principal point contenu en vostre instruction est de ce que faict la royne de Navarre pour augmenter sa religion ... je luy ay nommement coupe la broche d'avoir ny presche, ny exercice de sa religion en ses terres, que en chasque seneschauce un lieu, comme il est porte par l'eedict [sic] ... vous priant au demeurant, monsieur de Montluc, aux aultres choses vous entretenir doucement avec la royne de Navarre sans l'offencer, ny l'irriter de parolles, ny d'aultres choses, d'autant que cela ne vous scauroit servir, ny a mes affayres.¹⁶⁸

Although Blaise de Monluc wrote a letter of humble apology to Jeanne in 1563,¹⁶⁹ he was still the king's lieutenant in 1565, and was taking measures to check Jeanne's efforts on behalf of the Reformed cause in such far corners of Guyenne as Rouergue.¹⁷⁰ Jeanne's ambitions for expansion in Guyenne were backed up by outright purchases of strate-

¹⁶⁶ BNF, Doat 238, fol.8, 21 Sept 1565, letter of Jeanne to captains of her lands to take up residence, duties, and strongly administer justice at Rodez (Rouergue), Thiviers and region (Périgord), Terrason (Périgord).

¹⁶⁷ Lublinskaja, St Petersburg, no.97, 9 May 1563, Charles IX to Monluc, pp.248-249.

¹⁶⁸ Lublinskaja, St Petersburg, June 1563, no.107, 'Charles IX, Bois de Vincennes, à Monluc,' pp.276-277.

¹⁶⁹ Letter of 12 July 1563 at Agen, Monluc to Jeanne d'Albret, *Commentaires et Lettres de Blaise de Monluc*, ed. Alphonse de Ruble, vol.IV, pp.263-266. See also Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, pp.748-749.

¹⁷⁰ BNF, Doat 238, fol.74, 28 Dec 1565, Blaise de Monluc 'Chevalier de l'Ordre du Roy et Lieutenant general en Guienne en la absence du Prince de Navarre sur la police et entretenement de la paix entre les habitans de l'une et l'autre Religion en la Senechaucée de Rouergue.' His orders prohibit Protestants to sing psalms in public, assemble more than twenty persons, baptise in groups of more than four or five, or perform unauthorised marriages, on pain of death and loss of belongings (under the Edict of Pacification of 1563).

gic lands such as the bishopric of Lectoure.¹⁷¹ As Jeanne said herself to the constable of France Montmorency, she was in greater fear of a reaction, whether by Monluc or by Spain, against her own realm of Béarn and Navarre than against the lands she held in homage to the French crown.¹⁷² In due course, her fears would be justified.

On 28 September 1563, the axe fell. Pope Pius IV issued an admonition and citation summoning Jeanne to appear before the court of the Inquisition in Rome within six months, to answer charges of heresy, under threat of excommunication. Failure to appear would incur the loss of all her possessions, titles, lands, vassalages and allods to the first occupant, or at the discretion of the pope.¹⁷³ The consequences of the threat must have seemed particularly onerous to Jeanne, since the threatened excommunication of her grandparents Jean and Catherine of Navarre by Julius II in 1512 had been followed by the loss to them of Spanish Navarre.¹⁷⁴

The circumstances of the papal citation of 1563 were these: In August, Jeanne received a letter from her 'cousin' Georges, cardinal of Armagnac, who was papal legate to Béarn and Navarre.¹⁷⁵ In it, the cardinal serves notice on Jeanne that she will not be allowed to make of the Reformed the established religion in her realm: 'de planter en vostre Païs de Bearn et de la Basse Navarre, une nouvelle

¹⁷¹ BNF, Doat 237, fols.312-337, 26 May 1563: Jeanne buys the properties of the bishopric of Lectoure, including Talence, Calyan and Goutz in Guyenne (fol.323) as 'Duchesse d'Albret' and 'Countess of Armagnac' (fol.324). About Jeanne's holding of Lectoure, see also *ibid.*, fol.225 (12 Jan 1572), and BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fols.28-29 (undated, probably 1571), and 48-49 (12 Dec 1571).

¹⁷² BNF, fr 3152, fol.25 (autographe), November 1563 (but undated), Jeanne to Montmorency, as transcribed in Communay, *Les Huguenots dans le Bearn et Navarre*, pp.9-10: 'c'est que j'ay des pays de ceste Guienne que je tienz soubz l'obeissance de mon roy, Cominge, Foys, Albret, Armaignac, Bigorre et aultres,' where the troubles were great, and easy to rekindle. She has pacified them, but 'c'est au pays de la roynne de Navarre' where she most fears trouble in her absence.

¹⁷³ 'Monitorium et citatio officii sancte Inquisitionis contra illustrissimam et serenissimam dominam Joannam Albretiam, reginam Navarrae.' Copy published in French in Louis Ier de Condé, *Mémoires de Condé*, London, Claude du Bosc & Guillaume Darrés, 1743, vol.4, pp.669-684, 28 September 1563. Latin and French transcriptions are also in Vauvilliers, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.3, pp.221-262. On the accusations against Jeanne, see also Odorico Raynaldi and Jac. Laderchi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol.4 (1557-1565), Paris, Bloud et Barral, 1879, pp.281-282, 296-297, 401-402, 429.

¹⁷⁴ See chapter two, section c., above.

¹⁷⁵ Letter of Cardinal of Armagnac to Jeanne, from Belleperche, dioc. Montauban, 18 August 1563, published in Condé, *Mémoires*, p.594-595.

Religion, cela ne succedera jamais.' In addition to a variety of biblical arguments, the cardinal gives practical reasons: the Spanish will not allow it; you cannot hide beyond the channel like England; think of your children, and their heritage.

Jeanne's famous reply was immediate, and intemperate.¹⁷⁶ Calling the cardinal a 'bastard', and moving quickly to the attack, she rebukes him for his 'malign', 'pernicious' and 'seditious' letter to the bishop of Lescar over the breaking of images in the cathedral. Her bishop of Lescar, she reminds the cardinal, replied by comparing the breaking of images in the cathedral of Lescar to the breaking of graven images in the Temple of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁷ Making the biblical analogy of the Israelites and Egyptians, Jeanne tells the cardinal, 'C'est vous qui troublez Israël,'¹⁷⁸ drawing a comparison between Jerusalem and the town of Toulouse, and invoking the contest between Satan and St Paul, St Peter, and Jesus.¹⁷⁹ Jeanne pledges to continue her fight, reminding the cardinal that 'Vous savez la conséquence de ce Pays pour la France,' capping her argument with the exultantly defiant, if hubristic, assertion that 'In Béarn I only recognise God.'¹⁸⁰ Nor, according to Vauvilliers, was Jeanne's letter meant for the cardinal of Armagnac alone: she had it published, and read before the Synod of Pau.¹⁸¹

Jeanne's defiant actions did not go unnoticed by either the Vatican or the Paris court, which had its own messengers in Pau. In a letter dated 24 September 1563 at Pau, Guyon de Gout, lord of St-Germier, reported to Catherine de Médicis that acting on her instructions he had delivered her message to Queen Jeanne, to the effect that the king feared a great war if Jeanne would not conduct the government of her country ('pays'), subjects and house as the king would have them governed.¹⁸² Jeanne replied that she was able

¹⁷⁶ Letter of Jeanne d'Albret to 'my cousin' Georges, cardinal of Armagnac, apparently dated 18 August 1563 (in Condé, *Mémoires*, vol.4, pp.600-632). Also to be found in: Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes*, pp.179-185, and Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.387, where it is cited from Olhagary, *Histoire*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.632.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.612-614.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.628.

¹⁸⁰ 'Je ne connais, en Béarn, que Dieu.'

¹⁸¹ Vauvilliers, vol.1, p.362.

¹⁸² Letter of Guyon de Gout, lord of St-Germier, to Catherine de Médicis, Pau, 24 September 1563, cited as BNF, fr 1578, fol.1471, in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.7.

to maintain her subjects in peace, and with complete justice.¹⁸³ Unfortunately, however, the threat of excommunication, with its penalties of the seizure of her lands and titles, was soon to cause her the humiliation of yet again begging for help from Catherine de Médicis. In a letter to Catherine at this time, Jeanne sought her intervention with the pope:

Je me rentz du tout entre les bras de vostre puissante protection pour y estre conservée comme celle qui n'a jamays faict estat de grandeur que soubz icelle et à laquelle l'on n'aspire point de nuire seullement, car sy mes estatz sy petits es neantmoins sy prejudisiables à ceus du Roy ... [je] vous aller baiser les piedz de meilleure affection qu'au Pape.¹⁸⁴

Despite – or possibly because of – her extreme vulnerability, Jeanne could not resist a sly dig at Catherine de Médicis in the guise of humility. That she would kiss Catherine's feet 'with greater affection than she would the pope's' was surely less than high praise, coming from Jeanne. Nevertheless, in early 1564, Catherine wrote a letter to the bishop of Rennes asking that the papal procedure against Jeanne be revoked.¹⁸⁵ The excommunication citation was soon annulled, after a French royal appeal which cited, as factors in Jeanne's favour, that she was a queen descended from Philip the Fair, and that her deceased husband the king had been descended from Saint Louis. More practically, the French defence argued that Jeanne was a subject and vassal of the king of France, and that her realm was a friend and neighbour of the realm of France. While such arguments seem, in part at least, insincere and rhetorical, they also importantly reflect the strengthening Gallican claim of independence from Rome, particularly in matters of national politics.¹⁸⁶ Further, they show the con-

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.8. Jeanne's intention appears to be to dispel royal insinuations that her justice in Béarn is only for Protestants.

¹⁸⁴ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.58 (undated, but clearly at the time of Jeanne's abortive excommunication in 1563).

¹⁸⁵ Letter of Catherine de Médicis to the bishop of Rennes, 7 June 1564, BNF, Cinq cents Colbert, no.390, fol.295, cited in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. la Ferrière, vol.2 (1563-1566), pp.186-187.

¹⁸⁶ 'Protestation et remonstrance du roy de France, au pape, sur la citation, & monitoire faicts à Romme contre la royne de Navarre,' 1563. (Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648: A Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, no.348, p.27.) On this, see also Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.243, letter of Beza to Jeanne, 'before December 1563?'; also, Vauvilliers, p.17.

tinuing French royal claim not only to the government and territory of Guyenne, but, in the feudal sense, to the realm and territories of Béarn and Navarre. In this instance, the resistance of Catherine de Médicis and Charles IX to the papal citation may also have been stiffened by the fact that the similar process which threatened the excommunication of Jeanne's grandparents in 1512 had been accompanied by the excommunication of the French king Louis XII himself.¹⁸⁷

Jeanne, despite illness, did go to 'kiss the hands' of Catherine de Médicis at Roussillon, a bourg just south of Lyons, at the start of the royal 'grand tour' of France in July 1564.¹⁸⁸ Her principal purpose in so doing seems to have been to accuse Monluc of treason, and so have him removed from the lieutenant-generalship of Guyenne. The accusation was based on a Spanish plot, in which Monluc was alleged to have been involved, to invade Pau via Eaux Chaudes and remove Jeanne to Spain for trial as a heretic before the Inquisition there.¹⁸⁹ Jeanne's accusation seems to have been to some degree accurate, and seems also to have had a successful outcome. Monluc grumbled, but apologised.¹⁹⁰ Although Monluc remained lieutenant-general in Guyenne,¹⁹¹ the Protestant Antoine d'Aure, lord of Gramont, was appointed lieutenant-general for Béarn. In peacetime Béarn, Gramont's term of government was assisted by Jeanne's chancellor and minister of finance and justice Jacques Spifame,¹⁹² and her capable secretary Enecot de Sponde. Spifame was later beheaded in Geneva on 23 March 1566 for adultery and calumny in a scandalous affair during which Jeanne was obliged to give evidence against Spifame's apparent allegation that Henry was not her son by Antoine, but by

¹⁸⁷ Tucoc-Chala and Desplat, *Principatus Beneamiae*, p.149.

¹⁸⁸ BNF, n.a.f. 21603, no.53, fols.56, 64, letters of Jeanne d'Albret to Catherine de Médicis; also Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.5, pp.129, 176. On the royal tour of 1564-1566, see Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries 1564-6*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979. (Includes an edition of Abel Jouan, *Receuil et discours du voyage du Roy Charles IX*, Paris, Jean Bonfons, 1566.)

¹⁸⁹ Aubigné, *Universelle*, ed. Thierry, vol.2, pp.306-307.

¹⁹⁰ Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.466, and 1173, n.2. Also, Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, pp.748-749.

¹⁹¹ Lestrade, *Les Huguenots en Comminges (Nouvelle Série). Documents inédits ...*, Paris, H. Champion, 1910 (*Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*, II, vol.14, p.42, 'monsieur de Monluc, lieutenant par le Roy à la duché de Guyenne', 21 January 1564.)

¹⁹² Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.5, p.33, n.22.

the Protestant minister Merlin.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, the Reformed establishment flourished in peacetime Béarn through 1566.

The approval of Gramont's appointment as lieutenant-general in Béarn by Catherine de Médicis and Charles IX has been perceived as having been the result of their judgement that he would put the welfare of France first over that of the Huguenot cause.¹⁹⁴ In February 1564, Gramont was able to report to Catherine that all was well in Queen Jeanne's realm, 'including the state of religion.'¹⁹⁵ Bordenave wrote that, 'The Reformed religion in Béarn grew a lot during his [Gramont's] government, and the Reformed churches there were in as great security and liberty as in any other province of Europe.'¹⁹⁶

That the death of Calvin on 27 May 1564 seemed not to interrupt the establishment of Jeanne's realm as a Protestant theocracy may be attributable both to the strength of her independent spirit, and the fact that Jeanne's working association with Geneva had since 1560 been much more directly with Beza rather than Calvin. In any case, she maintained her close ties with Geneva.¹⁹⁷ The surviving records of her administration of Béarn during this period present an impression of orderliness and scrupulous attention to detail; an item in Jeanne's accounts, to cite a famous example, shows her ordering herself to pay a fine of 100 pounds for having once neglected to say her prayers.¹⁹⁸ Calvinist education was assured through the establishment in 1566 of a *collège* in Orthez on the Genevan model, funded in

¹⁹³ On Jeanne and the Spifame affair, see Communay, *Huguenots*, pp.16-17, 17 n.1, 19; also James K. Farge, *Le Parti Conservateur au XVI^e siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme*, Collège de France, 1992, p.152, n.5; and A. Delmas, 'Le procès et la mort de Jacques Spifame,' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 5 (1944), 105-137.

¹⁹⁴ BNF, fr 15879, fol.34 (original), 4 February 1564, cited in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.10; see also the editor's footnote no.2.

¹⁹⁵ BNF, fr 15879, fol.139, Gramont to Catherine de Médicis, 'mesmement pour le fait de la religion'; fol.86, February 1564, Catherine to Gramont; in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.2 (1563-1566), pp.145-146.

¹⁹⁶ 'La religion réformée accreut beaucoup en Béarn durant son [Gramont's] gouvernement et les églises réformées y estoient en aussi grande securité et liberté qu'en aucune autre province de l'Europe.' (Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.123.)

¹⁹⁷ Etienne Autour, lord of Beauregard, living in Geneva, was both chargé d'affaires of Jeanne and messenger to Coligny in 1566. (Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.7, 1566, p.358, n.11.)

¹⁹⁸ The account books of Jeanne's administration at this time are in ADPA, MSS B.11 (1563, including the prayer fine item), B.12 (1563, household servants), B.13 (1564-5), B.14 (1565, arranged by territory), C.1230 (1566, including the report of the *syndics* of Béarn on the 'libertatz et privileges' under the administration of Monsieur de Gramont, 'Corteusir-general' to the *syndics* of the country).

Béarn.¹⁹⁹ Generous grants were made to the widows of Reformed ministers and counsellors who died during the first war of religion,²⁰⁰ and outstanding claims were still being honoured by Jeanne's son Henry long after her death.²⁰¹ Most importantly, the first Reformed ecclesiastical ordinance of 1563-4 in Béarn was extended and strengthened by new ordinances in 1565-6, on vagrancy and loose living ('paillardise'), marriage, illegitimacy of preceding laws, public dancing, illegal trading, and public prostitution. In these regulations and punishments, the 'Puritanical' aspect was more than ever apparent.²⁰²

Despite the orderliness displayed in the accounts of her administration at this time, Jeanne's long seventh letter to the viscount of Gourdon dated at Pau, 12 July 1565, appears to show a mind become more fanatical, less calmly rational than that displayed in any of her previous letters. All that has occurred in the war, Jeanne rants, has been the fault of Rome, led by the pope as Antichrist, and assisted in his excessive power and tyranny by the kings of France, though only through their weakness and tolerance. (In this, we see the first direct suggestion that Jeanne was edging towards dropping the facade of strategy and conceding that Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis were the enemies of the Reformed cause.) All power, whether spiritual or temporal, Jeanne writes, comes only from God through Christ to maintain justice, widows, orphans, and the Christian poor. The Roman church has been prostituted by pride, avarice, vanity and the Devil. The only solution is that which Jeanne is carrying out by her ordinances in Béarn: give the wealth of the bishops to the poor; liberate monks and nuns from the cloister by force; choose ministers honourably by assemblies; and eliminate concubinage, adultery, blasphemy, and indulgences.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ ADPA, MS C.1230, 19 July 1566 (as listed in the *Inventaire Sommaire*, vol.3, pp.147-8; missing), Jeanne founds the Collège at Orthez; 17 February 1568 she moves it to Lescar (listed as witnessed by Pierre Viret); 26 November 1571 she moves it back to Orthez.

²⁰⁰ ADPA, MS B.2275, fol.2, 23 [?] November 1563 (countersigned copy of original), gift from Queen Jeanne of 750 pounds of Tours to Françoise de Candau, widow.

²⁰¹ ADPA, MS B.2275, fol.1, April [?] 1576, 2 sheets, sealed originals, Henry le Roy de Navarre to Darros and Michel Baringer to pay the sum of a gift made in 1563 by Jeanne, as above.

²⁰² Simancas MS K.1517, no.1, fol.1r, 'Ordonnance de Jeanne d'Albret, Duchesse de Vendome, Princesse de Béarn,' Paris, [26?] July 1566 (copy in very bad condition).

²⁰³ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1, copies), fols.452-453, Pau, 12 July 1565. (Freer, V.2, Chapter 2, cites for this BNF, MS Vallant fol.295, 12 July 1567, but the manuscript is clearly dated 1565. This letter is not cited in Roelker.)

g. 'A fatal necessity': the isolating of Protestant Guyenne, 1567

Important to Jeanne as was the securing of a Reformed establishment in her sovereign territories of Béarn and Navarre, the surviving evidence shows that she was using the period of relative peace to extend that establishment throughout those areas of greater Guyenne – and even into Languedoc²⁰⁴ – over which she had varying degrees of authority. Outright purchases, such as Jeanne's acquisition of the strategically important bishopric of Lectoure south-east of Bordeaux in 1563 (already noted above), are a significant demonstration of Jeanne's wider territorial ambitions in Guyenne, but aggressive policies pursued within her existing areas of power were a more important aspect of her strategy. A new *collège*, which still exists, was begun at Bergerac in 1563.²⁰⁵ In this same period following the Edict of Pacification, Jeanne complained to Montmorency-Damville that Monluc was interfering with the exercise of her proper authority in Nérac, Mont-de-Marsan, Lectoure, Casteljalous, and 'other of her houses.'²⁰⁶

Jeanne, having permitted the exercise of the Reformed religion throughout her duchy of Albret, in the government of the Parlement of Bordeaux, opened the prospect of extending her sovereignty in favour of Protestantism from Béarn and Navarre over all her other lands in Guyenne. This prospect had been recognised and objected to by the Parlement of Bordeaux as early as 1563, as in this 'remonstrance', already cited, concerning the tiny Albret territory of Castelmoron, near Caumont in the Entre-deux-Mers, where Jeanne had, in the exercise of her power, used the term 'such is our pleasure' used by the monarch:

Remonstrances tres humbles ordonnees par la cour de parlement de Bourdeaux estre faictes au roy, leur souverain seigneur, sur certaines lettres en forme de patentes, octroiees par la royne de Navarre a Pau le

²⁰⁴ BNF, Périgord 10, cahier VI, p.272, 21 November 1563, letter of Jeanne from Pau to Henry of Montmorency-Damville about her viscounty of Lautrec in his area of governorship.

²⁰⁵ BNF, Périgord 10, VIIe cahier, fol.16: Collège of Bergerac established August 1563, re-established 1577, when it became 'Collège Henri IV'. See also Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, and Collège d'Agen, noted above, as breeding grounds of the new Protestantism.

²⁰⁶ BNF, Clairambault 354 (copy), letter of Jeanne d'Albret to Montmorency, Pau, 15 February 1564, cited in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.13.

vingt quatriesme avril dernier, leues, publiees et enregistrees a Castelmoron, qui est ung des sieges du duche d'Albret estant de la seneschaucee de Bazadois ... la dicte dame, royne de Navarre, ce nonobstant en attribue punition et jurisdiction a ses officiers, mandant en outre par lesdictes lettres adjouster foy au vidimus d'icelles comme au vray original usant de ses mots "car tel est nostre plaisir", qui sont termes de souverainete et n'appartiennent que au roy seul d'en user ... Toutesfois, ladicte dame royne de Navarre par sesdictes lettres permect indifferement en tout son duche d'Albret faire exercisse de ladicte religion.²⁰⁷

Of such small urban and agricultural territories stretching across rural Guyenne both north and south of the Garonne, Mont-de-Marsan, the north-western border of whose land area, of which Jeanne was viscountess, lay within 50 kilometres of Bordeaux.²⁰⁸ It presents a particularly striking example of Jeanne's use of her regional authority to extend and establish the Reformed religion as a political institution in Guyenne. On 30 September 1567, when the second war had begun, the mayor of the town of Mont-de-Marsan declared it a 'republic' which the inhabitants, whether Catholic or Protestant, were obliged to hold for the 'king of Navarre' (Jeanne here being given the authority of 'king'), 'pour l'obeissance de la Royne de Navarre, comme Dame vicomtesse de Marsan,' against those who were unsatisfied with the terms of the Edict of Pacification of 1562 [1563].²⁰⁹ Presumably, those unsatisfied persons were the Catholic authorities of the Parlement of Bordeaux, and Monluc, whose interpretation of the Edict was in direct opposition to that of 'king/queen' Jeanne and the Protestant mayor of the 'republic' of Mont-de-Marsan.²¹⁰

Although the debate, beginning in 1566, over 'democratic' elements within the French Reformed churches, as exemplified by the 'Morély affair',²¹¹ was of enormous contemporary concern, it is the

²⁰⁷ Lublinskaja, 19 May 1563, No. 94, 'Remonstrance du parlement de Bordeaux (signed, 'de Pontac') à Charles IX,' p.240.

²⁰⁸ Map, 'Les domaines de la maison de Bourbon-Navarre,' Tucoo-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon*, p.5. See *Illustrations*, below.

²⁰⁹ BNF, Doat 238, fol.96, 30 Sept 1567.

²¹⁰ Monluc saw his duty as requiring him to swear all inhabitants as good and loyal subjects of the king of France, 'ceux de la religion ancienne sur les Saints Evangiles, et ceux de la Religion nouvelle par le Dieu vivant.' (Ibid., fol.174.)

²¹¹ Nearly all the references to Jeanne d'Albret in the Bèze *Correspondance*, vol.7, 1566, are in connection with the Morély affair. Jean Morély, lord of Villiers, is called 'Democraticus' by Beza. In an undated original letter allocated to the end of 1566, Beza writes of Morély, 'De illo insano Democratico quid dicam?' (*Correspondance*, vol.8, p.286.)

idea of the Protestant urban republics forming within the territory of Guyenne that concerns us here. In her nineteenth-century biography of Jeanne, Vauvilliers, citing an unspecified 'modern historian', wrote that 'a fatal necessity forced them [the French Protestants] to form a sort of "isolated republic" within the State; they had leaders more sacred to them than the monarch.'²¹² Vauvilliers goes on to quote Montmorency as having said, 'the Catholics have their religion from God, and the Protestants only have theirs by the king's grace.'²¹³ The king of France could forbid them the exercise of their religion just as he could permit it. The form that royal permission took in the edicts of pacification following the first and second wars of religion was restricted to a small number of widely-separated urban areas of very modest dimension. Under this 'fatal necessity', it was therefore necessary for the Protestants in France to form isolated autonomous communities on the Genevan – or, in Guyenne, the Rochellean – model; a model for which the Reformed thinkers and leaders could find precedent and inspiration in the Old Testament, with Geneva as 'the New Jerusalem', and in the contemporary conception of idealised city-state sanctuaries in the works of Bernard Palissy. The limitations of this political policy of containment and exclusion thus forced a fundamental social problem upon the Protestants of France.²¹⁴

French Protestant leaders had been attempting, without success, to resolve this problem by the creation of a refuge in America. These failed attempts included the idea of an 'Antarctic France' with the establishment of Fort Coligny in the bay of Rio de Janeiro in 1555-1560, and Coligny's 'great Atlantic plan' for Huguenot settlement in Florida, and possibly Canada, in 1562-1565.²¹⁵ A decoded message of

²¹² Vauvilliers, *Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.2, p.122.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.125.

²¹⁴ This view has recently been expressed by Janine Garrisson: 'En Suisse, la religion autant que la politique et l'histoire fabrique les villes et les plats-pays aux contours fixes qui s'apparentent en modèle réduit à l'Etat-nation ... Où passe la frontière religieuse ici, et existe-t-il seulement une frontière?' The social result, in Garrisson's view, was the 'idée de refus de l'autre, de son exclusion.' (Janine Garrisson, 'Leçon Inaugurale,' in Sauzet, *Les Frontières religieuses en Europe du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle*, pp.11-13.)

²¹⁵ On this, see Frank Lestringant (trans. Ann Blair), 'Geneva and America in the Renaissance: The Dream of the Huguenot Refuge 1555-1600,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXVI, 2 (Summer 1995), 285-295; also, Lestringant's monograph, *Le Huguenot et le Sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1990, pp.110-114, 152, 287-294. On p.271, n.17, Lestringant refers to a letter of the leader of the Brazilian expedition, Villegagnon, to Calvin, dated 'De Coligny en la France Antarctique, 31 mars 1557.'

1561 from the Spanish ambassador to Philip II reports on an expedition of two or three merchant ships to be backed by the potentially worrisome combination, for the Catholic cause, of Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis, 'Vandoma' (the name usually reserved for Queen Jeanne, here perhaps meaning Antoine), Admiral Coligny, and the prince of Condé, bound for Brazil, Florida, and Canada.²¹⁶ As has recently been observed, 'one notices that the Refuge haunted the policies of the Protestant party.'²¹⁷ The only solution remaining for the avoidance of an eventually disastrous Huguenot diaspora, therefore, seemed to be the protection and maintenance of the existing sanctuaries in provincial France; in particular, those in Guyenne and Languedoc.

During the grand tour of France, Catherine de Médicis and the court did not come to Pau, but the royal entourage did visit Nérac in August 1565, before returning to Paris in 1566. In January 1567, Jeanne and Henry left Paris, arriving at Pau in February. The bare facts do not reveal the momentous change. At last, five years after fleeing the court at Fontainebleau in March 1562, Queen Jeanne had been able to remove her son Henry from the guardianship of Catherine de Médicis, leaving Jeanne free to act without having to consider the consequences for Henry as hostage.²¹⁸ This new freedom made Jeanne more dangerous in the eyes of others, and put her in a position of greater personal danger, as Beza warned her in March 1567. At this time, Jeanne wrote to Beza, asking him how to deal with the practical problems of the conversion of her realm to Protestantism; in particular, the iconoclastic violence which accompanied the takeover of the Catholic churches. Beza's advice was to close, lock and keep under guard all the Roman Catholic churches, and win over the nobles by persuasion.²¹⁹ But Beza, always the experienced counsellor,

²¹⁶ Simancas MSS K.1495, no.99, Poissy, 15 December 1561, Chantonnay to Philip II, (orig.), and K.1495, no.107, 29 December 1561, fol.5r.

²¹⁷ Lestringant, 'Geneva and America,' 285. The author adds that the Protestant Refuge was most often European.

²¹⁸ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.45. Jeanne's ironic statements about king Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis are on pp.47-8, where Jeanne refers to herself as the 'aunt' of Charles IX 'in the Breton sense', as the daughter of Charles's grandfather's sister.

²¹⁹ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.8, letter to Jeanne d'Albret, 15 January 1567. See also Alain Dufour, 'La réformation en Béarn d'après la lettre de Théodore de Bèze à Jeanne d'Albret de janvier 1567,' in *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps*

warned Jeanne of the dangers: 'vous aurés de plus en plus pour ennemis ceux qui servent à Sathan et à son organe, qui est l'Antechrist de Romme.'²²⁰ The image used here by Beza of the pope and the Roman Catholic church as the instruments of the devil, the enemies of Christ, and the Antichrist, is strikingly similar to that used by Jeanne in her seventh letter to Gourdon of this period.²²¹

If Beza was the wise counsellor of precaution, Jeanne was the realistic practitioner of readiness, carrying on her father's upkeep of the fortress Navarrenx,²²² and appointing Darros as its captain-general.²²³ Beza's fears, and Jeanne's precautions, were justified. In September 1567, Jeanne's Catholic nobles of Navarre, led by the baron de Luxe, broke into armed revolt. Catherine de Médicis and Charles IX sent, as mediator, Bertrand de Salignac, lord of la Mothe Fénelon, later French ambassador to England. In her *Mémoires*, Jeanne wrote of her meeting with la Mothe, making of it another statement of the 'Protestant strategy', repeating the phrase she had used in her letter to Gourdon of 13 May 1562,²²⁴ that she was committed to 'this just cause':

Et le sieur de la Motte Fénelon, lorsqu'il a pleu à leurs Majestés me l'envoyer pour negotier la réconciliation d'entre moy et mes dicts subjects, sçait si je luy ay dissimulé ce que j'avoy dans le coeur de tout ce qui s'estoit passé, luy rabattant tous jours ces mots de rebelles et séditionieux, qu'il avoit assez fréquents en la bouche, en parlant de ceux qui avoyent les armes en main pour le service de Dieu et du Roy. Je ne me suis jamais masquée à lui que je ne luy aye assuré que, de coeur et de bouche, j'estoy jointe à ceste juste cause ...²²⁵

The second war of religion began 26 September 1567. The level of violence in Guyenne escalated on both sides. In 1567, Protestants devastated the abbey of La Sauve-Majeure east of Bordeaux in the Entre-deux-Mers; it was never rebuilt. In 1568, Protestants sacked the Albret town of Casteljaloux, crucified two priests, and, in a stroke

(*Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972*), Paris, Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, 1974, pp.313-322; on p.316, there is a reference to Jeanne's preceding letter of enquiry to Beza.

²²⁰ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.8, p.76, letter from Geneva to Jeanne, 1 March 1567.

²²¹ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1), fols.452-453, Pau, 12 July 1565 (see commentary on this letter above).

²²² ADPA, MS C.682, fol.98: before 1567, repairs to Navarrenx.

²²³ Ibid., fol.121, 1568.

²²⁴ Section d., above.

²²⁵ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, pp.54-55.

of irony recalling the profanation of the Bourbon family tombs by Jeanne's followers at Vendôme, profaned the Albret family tombs in Casteljalous.²²⁶ In Bordeaux, on 27 November 1567, Monluc gave the order for the raising of troops for the conservation of 'nostre pays et duché' of Guyenne,²²⁷ and on 9 January 1568, the Reformed party seized La Rochelle.²²⁸

When Jeanne left Nérac on 19 July 1561, she had only recently made the perilous leap to become a zealous open convert to evangelical Protestantism. One year later, when she returned to Pau in August of 1562, her evangelism had become overtly political, and, to a degree, covertly military. The violent confrontation of Protestant communities and their Catholic neighbours in isolated places such as Issigeac had turned to civil war. After the failure of Poissy and the massacre of Vassy, Jeanne was directly or indirectly associated with iconoclastic violence at Vendôme, the battles of armies at the gates of Bordeaux, and the terror of the guerilla tactics of Piles and La Rivière south of the Dordogne where, in Beza's words, 'Christ rose again.' Of particular importance was Jeanne's active participation in the Protestant attempt to take Bordeaux (and hence Guyenne) by military force in 1562; the first and least, I will argue, of two such attempts.²²⁹

With Antoine's death, Queen Jeanne had assumed the sole sovereignty of Béarn and Navarre, and set about making of them a Protestant theocracy in which the Reformed was not only the established religion, but the institution within which the government operated and the people lived their daily lives. From that base, she also set about creating similar Reformed establishments, such as the 'republic' of Mont-de-Marsan, in urban areas throughout the rural Guyenne of her counties and duchies, and the area of Henry's provincial government of Guyenne.

At the end of the 'phoney war' of 1567, the 'phoney peace' of 1568

²²⁶ Guillemain, *Diocèse de Bordeaux*, p.104.

²²⁷ Lestrade, *Nouvelle*, p.54.

²²⁸ On the Reformed takeover of La Rochelle, 9 January 1568, by the Protestant captain Ste-Hermaine, lord of Fa, and the election of the Protestant François Pontard, lord of Trueil-Charays, as mayor, see Aubigné, *Universelle*, vol.2, p.252. See also Judith Pugh Meyer, 'La Rochelle and the Failure of the French Reformation,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15, 2 (1984), 172-180.

²²⁹ The argument that there was a second, and more ambitious, attempt is made in chapter six, below.

began the process whereby the already fanaticised and politicised Queen Jeanne would be openly militarised, and, totally committed to the 'just cause' at any risk, would put to the test the Reformed strategy of sanctuary. That process will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROAD TO LA ROCHELLE: 'THE GOD OF ARMIES WILL SUSTAIN HIS SO JUST AND GOOD CAUSE': JEANNE MILITANT, 1568

a. Navarre, 24 March 1568

On 23 March 1568, the second war was officially declared ended by the Peace of Longjumeau. The next day, Charles de Luxe and six other Catholic barons of Jeanne's realm signed and published a manifesto called, 'Manifeste des Gentilhommes de la Basse Navarre ... contre l'establisement de la religion prétendue réformée faict par la Reine de Navarre.'¹

The barons' manifesto claimed – as stated by Jeanne in her *Mémoires* – that Queen Jeanne, by her *Ordonnances* of July 1566, intended to carry out the extermination of the Roman Catholic religion in her realm. At the height of the violence, when the de Luxe party had taken prisoner Jeanne's governor of Navarre, Queen Jeanne, with young Henry and Catherine, took refuge in her well-prepared and virtually impregnable fortress of Navarrenx. She thus escaped (so the story goes) a Jesuit plot whereby a Spanish force would enter Béarn via Eaux-Chaudes, arrest Jeanne and the children, and bring them back to face the Inquisition in Spain, after which Spain would have taken over Basse Navarre and Béarn.²

Although the existence of the 'Spanish plot' was without proof, the situation in Béarn, Navarre, and Guyenne had become so unstable that it was seen as a threat to royal France. On 2 June 1568, the young King Charles IX issued orders to Monluc, requiring him to form armed garrisons of 'good Catholic men of quality' in towns throughout Guyenne south of the Garonne, at Bigorre, Rivière-Basse, Nébousan, Pardiac, Comminges, Astarac, Magnoac, Marsan, Tursan, and Gabaudan; but especially at Bordeaux, where the armed force was to include boats to

¹ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, pp.50, 50 n.1, 149-164.

² Aubigné, *Universelle*, vol.2, year 1568, pp.294-5. The incident and the 'plot' are also related by Bordenave, Monluc, Olhagaray, and De Thou.

patrol the Gironde and the rivers Garonne and Dordogne, be overseen during Monluc's absences, and be paid for by the 'richest and easiest' of the town.³ Ostensibly, these garrisons were to maintain the Edict of Pacification, allow those of the 'Religion Prétendue Réformée' to return to the towns from which they had been expelled, and keep them peaceful. In reality, it could be conjectured, their purpose would have been to prevent any action by Jeanne and her Reformed followers against the Catholic resurgents in Béarn and Navarre, while at the same time keeping a close watch on Spanish opportunistic ambitions in the area. A Spanish dispatch of this time reports Jeanne ('La Duquesa de Vandoma') as having raised an army of three thousand Gascons to oppose the rebel forces of de Luxe, and describes the menacing situation posed by the Huguenot leaders in Burgundy and Saintonge.⁴

The previous chapter described the process by which, from her open conversion to the Reformed religion in 1560 until the end of the second War of Religion of 1567, Queen Jeanne had become an active leader in the Huguenot political cause, and had established the Reformed churches as the state religion of her realm. Now, within the single year 1568, Jeanne's political activism would evolve into direct military action, and her assumption of co-leadership in open war in wider Guyenne. It was to be a rapid evolution through the events of her daring escape from Nérac and her 'heroic march'⁵ to La Rochelle, particularly as displayed, declared and analysed in three of her four most important written works: the eighth, and for this book the most significant (assuming it is genuine – and, to a degree, even if it is not), of her letters to the viscount of Gourdon (Nérac, 1 September 1568); her *Lettres* from Bergerac (16 September 1568) and La Rochelle (15 October 1568); and her *Mémoires*, originally titled *Ample déclaration sur la junction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568*. (The fourth of her major works would be the *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, Pau, 26 November 1571, to be introduced in chapter seven.)⁶

³ 2 June 1568, Charles IX to Monluc, in Salefranque, *Histoire*, vol. XLV, pp. 72–76.

⁴ Simancas MS K.1511, no. 38, Alava to Alba, Paris, 23 June 1568, transcribed and published in *Archivo documental Español*, vol. 14, *Negociaciones con Francia*, 21 October 1567–30 June 1568, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1959, pp. 472–474.

⁵ The term 'la marche héroïque' was used by Bernard Nabonne to describe Jeanne's escape, in his biography *Jeanne d'Albret, Reine des Huguenots*, Paris, Lib. Hachette, 1945.

⁶ Full bibliographical details on these works are given where they are cited and analysed, in this chapter for the first three, and in chapter seven for the fourth.

Using the findings from my examination of Jeanne's own contemporary writings, and other accounts by eyewitnesses or contemporaries on both sides, including Alava, Aubigné, Bordenave, La Mothe-Fénelon, La Noue, La Popelinière, Monluc and Syruelil, I will further explore the question of whether, or the degree to which, Jeanne was extending her ambitions for the establishment of the Reformed religion beyond her realm of Béarn and Navarre; if not throughout France, then to encompass the whole territory of the government of Guyenne.

One month after King Charles's orders to Monluc, Jeanne wrote letters to Charles dated 7 and 31 July 1568, complaining about the non-compliance of towns in Guyenne with those articles of the Edict of Pacification that permitted the return of Protestant residents, and, most pointedly, complaining about Monluc's obstructive interference within the territory of the government of Guyenne, where, Jeanne states, most of the lands are located that she holds from the king, as well as her duchy of Albret, counties of Armagnac, Rodez and Périgord, viscounty of Limoges and others.⁷ Our judgement of Jeanne's complaints about Monluc's 'interference' in her lands at this time should, however, be tempered by the evidence that his actions may well have been provoked by Protestant violence, or fear of Protestant violence. The journal of François de Syruelil, a Catholic canon of Bordeaux whose testimony must be viewed with reservation, describes 'Huguenaux' assembling in August 1568 to pillage, burn, sack and demolish churches, and to murder priests in the Saintonge.⁸

On the same day as Jeanne's first letter, 7 July, the young Prince Henry (perhaps put up to it by Jeanne) also wrote to his 'cousin' Charles IX. Henry states in his letter that while Charles has seen fit to honour him with the governorship, lieutenant-generalcy, and

⁷ 31 July 1568, BNF, Cinq cents Colbert 24, fol.167, p.389, Jeanne to Charles IX about the observation of the Edict of Pacification in Guyenne; the king's reply is BNF, Colbert 24, fol.172 (in Rochambeau, *Lettres d'Antoine et de Jehanne d'Albret*, p.180). Also, Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.167, 7 and 31 July 1568, 'Articles envoiez par la royne Jeanne de Navarre au Roy tant sur l'observation de l'Edit de Pacification que pour le gouvernement de Guyenne.' It will be recalled that King Henry II of France, by Letters of 25 May 1558, had given the king of Navarre (then Antoine) 'les confiscations et amendes aux pays et duché de la Guyenne, Angoumois, poitou et ville et gouvernement de La Rochelle.' (BNF, Périgord 10, VIIe cahier, fol.30.)

⁸ François de Syruelil, *Journal*, in *Arch. Gir.*, vol.13 (1871-72), CIII (1568-1585), p.247.

admiralty of Guyenne, others have not allowed him to exercise these offices, arguing his young age, but really because they do not like him.⁹ Jeanne's position on the same problem, as posited by her in her letter to King Charles, and later in her own *Mémoires*, is that the reason why these opponents did not want Henry to exercise his governorship of Guyenne is that they thought he would 'deprive one party [the Catholic] in order to advance the other [the Protestant].'¹⁰ There are those who believed, she writes, that because he was of the Reformed Religion, he would, if he commanded Guyenne, eventually impose Protestantism over the whole of the province. In effect, her argument is a 'negative proof' that there was a perception that her ambition was, through Henry, to make all of Guyenne a Reformed territory. Henry's rightful powers in Guyenne, she recounts in the *Mémoires*, were for this reason being wrongly exercised by Monluc.¹¹ To correct that injustice, Jeanne says, she proposed to the king that, as preparation, Henry should travel around the province until 1569 and his coming of age, and then assume the duties of the office of governor.¹² To assist in that transition of power, she recalls, she advanced to the king the names of six prominent noblemen of Guyenne, the majority of whom were Roman Catholic, who could act as Henry's counsellors.¹³ The failure of this initiative could have been blamed directly on the king and the queen mother, but, still adhering to the 'Protestant strategy', Jeanne deflects the blame onto the royal go-between, La Mothe-Fénelon.¹⁴ Her continuing reluctance to place the blame squarely on the French monarchs is the

⁹ Letter of Henry of Navarre to Charles IX, indicated by the editor to be dated 7 July 1568, 'at Nérac or Tonneins', Collection Feuillet de Conches (orig.), in Xivrey, ed., *Lettres Missives de Henry IV*, p.5. The date and place indicated for this letter by the editor do not agree with the likelihood that Jeanne and Henry did not arrive at Nérac until some time between 8 and 21 August 1568 (*Mémoires*, ed. Ruble, p.70, fn.1).

¹⁰ '... que mon fils, pour estre de la Religion reformée, s'il commandoit, fouleroit un parti pour soulager l'autre.' (*Mémoires*, p.62.)

¹¹ The powers of lieutenant-general in Guyenne had been granted by Charles IX to Monluc 'in the absence of ... the prince of Navarre' on 28 October 1567. (BNF, fr 20462, p.171 [orig.], in Lestrade, *Nouvelle*, pp.53-54. Also cited in Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.503, n.5.)

¹² Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.62. Prince Henry would reach his majority at the age of fifteen on 14 December 1568. This was, presumably, counted near enough to 1569 by Jeanne.

¹³ *Mémoires*, pp.62-63. The Roman Catholic nobles named by Jeanne could be judged nevertheless friendly to her and/or Protestantism.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.64.

more remarkable for the fact that, her *Mémoires* having been written after October 1568 at the earliest, Jeanne would have been fully aware that, by the royal letters patent of October 1568, she, Henry, and all officers of the Protestant religion had been officially deprived of office, and their properties confiscated. But, in the real time of the present chronology of events – in this case, Jeanne's letter of July 7 – that royal order was yet to come.

According to Monluc's account,¹⁵ on 26 July 1568, when he was at Cassaigne,¹⁶ not far from Nérac, while Jeanne and Henry were still in Béarn, he learned that Jeanne had left Pau to go to Foix. On the way, at Vic-Bigorre (or at St Gaudens by Jeanne's own account),¹⁷ she received a messenger who told her of Condé's and Coligny's plan to escape to La Rochelle from their 'house arrest' north of the Loire. Monluc, by then at his own castle of Estillac, only 22 kilometres from Jeanne's palace at Nérac, received a report that on Thursday 26 August Jeanne had left in great haste for Nérac, where she arrived Sunday morning 29 August. There, on 31 August,¹⁸ Jeanne appointed Darros to be her lieutenant-general in charge of Béarn and Navarre, and on Wednesday 1 September (or Friday 3 September according to her own *Mémoires*), Jeanne learned that, on 23 August, Condé and Coligny had successfully escaped, and were following a route to La Rochelle.¹⁹

The preceding timetable as recounted by Monluc of the exodus of Jeanne and Henry from Béarn to Nérac does not conform to that given by Jeanne in her *Mémoires*, in which she states that she spent fifteen or twenty days in Nérac attempting to make peaceful overtures to Monluc and others, while they in turn asked her to prevent those of the Reformed religion taking up arms in Guyenne.²⁰ If true, it seems

¹⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.635-636.

¹⁶ Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.512.

¹⁷ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.51.

¹⁸ August 30 in the account by Salefranque, XLV, p.80.

¹⁹ According to Jeanne's *Mémoires* (p.107), she got the news of Condé's escape, and his route, on 3 September 1568. See also Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, pp.512, 512 fn.8, 513. If Jeanne did not learn of Condé and Coligny's escape until Friday 3 September, as she herself recollects in *Mémoires* (as Courteault points out), and not on Wednesday 1 September as Monluc recounts in *Commentaires*, then the 1 September 1568 date of her letter to Gourdon (see below) must be questioned.

²⁰ Ruble estimates, as already noted above, that Jeanne and Henry arrived at Nérac some time between 8 and 21 August 1568; most likely the 15th (*Mémoires*, ed. Ruble, p.70, n.1).

remarkable that they would assume Jeanne had such power; if not true, it seems equally remarkable that she would imagine she had.²¹

At the Nérac palace, then, Jeanne and Henry were in the bizarre situation of being, effectively, held under house arrest by the very man, Monluc, whose power as lieutenant-general in Guyenne had been given him by the king 'in the absence of the governor, Henry'.²² In that precarious situation, having prepared for her exodus from her own realm by appointing Darros to govern and defend it in her indefinite absence, and having learned of Condé and Coligny's escape from the north, Jeanne once more took up her pen – and again, the pen will be assumed to have been hers – to write to her trusted confidant, Gourdon.

b. Nérac, 1 September 1568: 'The Children of Abraham now having gone out of Egypt'

Jeanne's eighth letter to the viscount of Gourdon, dated at Nérac 1 September 1568, the penultimate in the series, is, along with the first letter of 1555, one of the most important. Unaccountably, it is not cited by Roelker in *Queen of Navarre*. Where the 1555 letter begins the recording and celebration of Jeanne's personal evangelisation, this letter of 1568 is, or purports to be, the declaration of her commitment to war for the sake of the Reformed cause, when, on the verge of her own moment of total risk-taking, as already quoted in part in my introduction, she declares:

The God of Armies will sustain his so just and good cause and will bless the arms and labours of his servants. The Prince of Condé my brother-in-law demands and receives aid and support from the Princes of Germany, and the Queen of England, who actively follows a faith, will soon secure men and money for me and the faithful who no longer kneel before Baal. In the past, too great tardiness and too little resistance have always kept the Children of Abraham from the right path, but now, having gone out of Egypt, they must make the whole leap to surge forth to the promised land and leave vile Babylon. You and the other Viscounts, unyielding like me, will make strong and enduring examples. The Eternal does not want the lukewarm and cowardly any-

²¹ *Mémoires*, p.74.

²² Letters of Charles IX to Monluc of 28 October 1567, cited above.

where, and nevertheless the blessed hour is coming and shows clearly that the children of Israel must regardless of the risks and the sacrifice of their belongings and lives, firmly establish a religious cult and build temples in which God will be adored in spirit and truth, withdrawing in heart and body from where abominable idols are seen before a mighty and jealous God.²³

This letter is also the essential introduction to the *Mémoires*, and, especially, the four letters written from Bergerac on 16 September 1568. These letters, incontestably genuine (although Raymond Ritter appears to doubt Jeanne's authorship of her own *Mémoires*),²⁴ following as they do just fifteen days after the date given on the copy of this letter from Nérac, provide a unique opportunity for testing the validity of the Gourdon letters – or, at the least, of this particular letter to Gourdon. (Always bearing in mind, however, that the 'forger', if there was one, could have made use of the models provided by the Bergerac letters, which were printed in the published *Mémoires* of 1570.) A key phrase in this letter, 'The God of Armies', and other phrases, were also used by Jeanne in her *Mémoires*, and in her letters from Bergerac which, as I have noted, were written by her shortly after the date of this letter.²⁵ Given, then, the letter's potential importance both from the point of view of its portrayal of Jeanne's militarisation, and from that of the question of the authenticity of the Gourdon correspondence as represented in the Vallant copies, I have tran-

²³ 'Le Dieu des armées soustiendra sa tant juste et bonne cause et benira les armes et labours des siens serviteur[s]. Le Prince de Condé mon mon[sic] beau frere reclame et recoit ayde et reconfort des Princes d'Allemagne, et La Royne d'Angleterre quy suyt animeusement une croyance en bref temps me secourra dhommes et de deniers et les fidelles quy ne sagenouillent plus devant Baal. Par le passé trop de tardineté et tant peu de resistance ont du tout devoyé les Enfans d'Abraham mais de presens sourdis d Egypte il fault faire le sault entier pour surgir a la terre promise et sortir de Limmonde Babylone. Vous et les autres Viscomtes roides comme moy apporteriez exemples forts et suyvis. L'Eternel ne veult tiedes et couards ainfin que nestes aulcunement et partant lheure benoite sapproche et monstre appertement quil fault que les enfans d'Israel es risques et despends de biens et vies etablissent fermement un culte et dressent des temples ou Dieu soit adoré en esprit et verité et se retirent de cuer et de corps de ceulx ou se voyent idoles abominables devant le Dieu fort et jaloux.' (BNF, fr 17044 [Vallant vol.1, copies], fol.454r, Jeanne d'Albret to the viscount of Gourdon, Nérac, 1 September 1568.)

²⁴ 'cette Jeanne d'Albret qui à écrit – ou à qui l'on a fait dire – de si forte manière: 'Je n'eus pas seulement à combattre les ennemis étrangers, j'eus la guerre en mes entrailles.' (Ritter, *Catherine de Bourbon*, vol.1, p.41.)

²⁵ 'Dieu des Armées', *Mémoires*, pp.104, and 220 (*Lettres*). Other phrases and spellings in this letter, such as 'la juste cause', 'le Prince mon beau frere', 'de cuer', and 'pere Celeste', are also repeated in the *Mémoires* and *Lettres*.

scribed and translated the text of this manuscript letter in full, in the *Appendix*.

Jeanne has begun her letter, after a brief opening statement of her own total commitment to the Reformed cause, with a declaration of war, a holy war in which the Protestant side will be God's: 'The God of Armies will sustain his so just and good cause and will bless the arms and labours of his servants.' In order to demonstrate that proposition, Jeanne has then made a number of analogies between Old Testament texts, and the present situation of the French Protestants. The specific application of these analogies to the escape of the leaders Condé and Coligny and their families from house arrest north of the Loire, their crossing of the Loire, and passage into Guyenne, of which La Rochelle was the northern outpost and sanctuary, is implied in the context of the letter, but not stated directly. I will here make the direct analogies which, in my view, are justified as being those Jeanne most probably intended.

The first biblical text invoked, 'the faithful who no longer kneel before Baal' is from 1 Kings, the success of Elijah in exposing the false god Baal to the people of Israel: "'O Baal, answer us!" But there was no voice, and no one answered ... And Elijah said to them, "Seize the prophets of Baal; let not one of them escape,"'²⁶ the analogy being between those representing the papacy at the royal court of France as the false 'prophets of Baal', and the true servants of God, Elijah and the people of Israel, the prince of Condé, his allies, and the Reformed faithful.

The second, and more important, biblical reference, 'the Children of Abraham ... now, having gone out of Egypt' is to Exodus 15: 21-30. A number of analogies can be made: the Children of Abraham (Condé, Coligny, and their Protestant followers) go out from their bondage in Egypt (royal Catholic France) by the double miracle of the withdrawal of the waters ('And the people of Israel went into the sea on dry ground')²⁷ of the Red (or Reed) sea (the crossing of the river Loire on foot or horseback), and the return of the water ('the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen and all the host of Pharaoh')²⁸ at the approach of the enemy (the pursuing royal Catholic cavalry on the north bank of the Loire).

²⁶ 1 Kings 18: 26, 40 (*NOAB*).

²⁷ Exodus 15: 22 (*NOAB*).

²⁸ Exodus 15: 28 (*NOAB*).

There is a third, parallel, and yet more important, reference: the Children of Abraham (Condé and the French Protestants), having made their escape from Egypt (Roman Catholic royal France), 'must make the whole leap to surge forth to the promised land [Protestant France, or part of it, Guyenne] and leave vile Babylon [Roman Catholic royal France as exemplified by the Paris court].' In this instance, the biblical reference is taken from Joshua 3: 7-17, the equally miraculous crossing of the river Jordan (Loire) by the people of Israel (Condé and the Protestants) on dry ground. The analogy between the Jordan and the Loire is particularly apt. The Jordan, as the Old Testament author takes care to explain, 'overflows all its banks throughout the time of harvest' (Joshua 3: 15). The Loire, especially in the stretch crossed by Condé and his followers in the summer of 1568, is notable for a similar tendency to irregularity of flow; in midsummer, its waters often become extremely shallow, diminishing to form separate meandering channels between sandbanks. In the *Geneva Bible* of 1560, the translators of the above-cited line from Joshua 3: 15 added, in a marginal note, that 'Because the river [Jordan] was accustomed at this time [of harvest] to be full the miracle is so much the greater.' While it seems likely that the Loire was seasonally low at the time of Condé's crossing, the end of August could, nevertheless, be identified with 'the time of harvest' in the Loire valley.²⁹ The analogy continues with the entry into the land of Judah or Judea (Protestant France, or Guyenne) which had been promised to them by the Lord, and which by conquest they would make their homeland: 'I will give it to you for a possession.' (Exodus 6: 7-8.) Of course, just as the Israelites, having crossed to the west bank of the Jordan, still had Jericho ahead of them, and were a long way from Jerusalem, so the Huguenots on the south bank of the Loire were still a long way from La Rochelle, let alone Bordeaux. The northern border of Guyenne, where they could enter the relative safety of Jeanne's duchy of Limousin, lay, however, not far to the west.³⁰

In order to assist the reader in deciding whether the argument for these analogies is justified, I will narrate here the story of Condé and

²⁹ Michelin Green Guide, *Burgundy* (English ed., 1963), 'La Loire,' p.112.; *Geneva Bible* (facsimile of ed. of 1560), Madison (Wisc.), University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, p.97, note.

³⁰ On the Albret acquisition of the duchy of Limoges, and the proximity of its territory to the royal lands of the Loire, see above, chapter 2, sections *c.* and *d.*

Coligny's crossing of the Loire. For the most part, I have relied on the telling by Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617) in his *Histoire universelle* (published 1604-1608). In due course, the embellishments and variations of other sources would modify the following basic resume of de Thou's discourse:

On or possibly before 23 August 1568, Condé escaped with all his family from his fortress of Noyers, north of Avallon in Burgundy. Coligny, who was at his family castle of Tanlay, not far from Noyers, followed with his family.³¹ Arriving at the Loire downstream of Sancerre, they, along with two hundred cavalry who had joined them, forded the river (a great deal wider than the Jordan), and lodged on the south bank at Bonny-sur-Loire. Soon thereafter, a large pursuing royal force appeared on the opposite bank of the river, but was unable to cross (possibly making the foiled attempt at St Godon, a little farther downstream), because the Loire waters had meantime risen. Condé and his entourage regarded this as a sign of Providence. Along with reinforcements picked up along the way, Condé and Coligny arrived safely at La Rochelle on 18 September 1568.³²

There have been several retellings of this incident. As recently as the early twentieth century, it was described as follows:

Condé led the way, carrying his youngest son before him, and singing the 114th Psalm, 'When Israel came out of Egypt,' in which all joined as they waded across, and before nightfall reached the opposite bank. The whole party then knelt down and solemnly thanked God for their rescue. A miracle similar to that of which they sang seemed to them to have been wrought in their favour. For at daylight on the following morning, when the royalist troops reached the Loire, the banks of the river were flooded, and the swollen stream was rushing impetuously onward in a foaming torrent. To ford it was impossible.³³

Are the more dramatic elements of the story later accumulations? The 'miracle' of the waters in particular, and the psalm-singing? The evidence suggests, on the contrary, that these elements were observed

³¹ On the supposed royal plan to arrest and hold as prisoners Condé at Noyers, and Coligny at Tanlay, see Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, pp.66-67, n.5, p.66, and n.1, p.67.

³² Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle*, Basel, J.L. Brandmuller, 1742 (ed. of 1604-1608), vol.4 (1567-1573), pp.138-139.

³³ Catherine Charlotte Jackson, *The Last of the Valois and the Accession of Henry of Navarre*, 2 vols., Paris-Boston, The Grolier Society, 19- (unstated), 'Crossing the Loire,' vol.1, p.269 (no source cited).

at the time by the participants, and reported in a like fashion by their contemporaries on both sides of the conflict. First among these was Jeanne herself, who, while at Nérac, as I have already noted, had received the news of the incident within a few days of its happening, and, if the copy of the letter to Gourdon dated 1 September is not a fake, was able to recount the 'miraculous' nature of the crossing by biblical analogy. That such was her understanding of the incident is borne out by her *Mémoires*, in which she recounts:

Et parce que d'autres ont escript les dangers qu'a eschapper Monsieur le Prince mon beau-frère, et Monsieur l'Admiral en leur voyage, les passages des guez incogneuz, la faveur de ce père céleste qu'a sentie en pareil cas Monsieur d'Andelot au passage de la rivière Loyre, qui, à l'exemple de la mer Rouge, a donné chemin aux enfans de Dieu ... non pour vanter leur gloire mais pour recongnoistre ce bien de ce grand Dieu des armées, font retentir les bois et les plaines de psalmes et actions de grâces, nous tairons-nous, mon fils et moy,³⁴

The above passage confirms Jeanne's intention that her allusions to the miraculous crossings of the Red Sea and the Jordan be interpreted as analogous to the crossing of the Loire by Condé and his followers. It also makes reference to the singing of psalms during the crossing. That gives rise to the probability that her reference to the exit from Egypt across the Red Sea was not only taken from Exodus, as noted, but also and particularly from Psalm 114, especially as then published in French rhymed verse, with musical notation, in the Marot-Beza edition of the Psalms of David. The singing of psalms was from the beginning, and remains, a central aspect of the Reformed churches of France.³⁵ Would Condé and Coligny, and their family and company crossing the Loire in 1568, be carrying a psalter? Quite probably, but also not necessarily. They, or their leaders, almost certainly would have known the words and music of Psalm 114 by heart. Calvin, in his commentary on Psalm 119, for

³⁴ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, pp.103-104. Note that Jeanne also attributes to divine intervention a similar passage of the Loire by the Protestant d'Andelot, brother of Coligny, on 16 September 1568 (as Ruble states in fn.2, p.103, citing La Noue, *Mémoires*, ch. XIX).

³⁵ Charles H. Parker, in his article 'French Calvinists as the Children of Israel: An Old Testament Self-Consciousness in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* before the Wars of Religion,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXIV/2 (1993), 227-247, says (227) that the early French Protestant martyr at Ste Foy, Antoine de la Voye, chanted Psalm 114 as he was taken to the stake in 1541.

instance, points out that it was structured alphabetically in the Hebrew as an aid to memorisation.³⁶ I will return, below, to the matter of the psalms. Further, the passage in the *Mémoires* contains intriguing echoes, as already noted, of the letter to Gourdon in such phrases as, for example, 'ce grand Dieu des armées', 'le Prince mon beau-frère', and 'ce père céleste'. The differences in accents and hyphenation are attributable to Ruble's nineteenth-century edition of the *Mémoires*. Of course, as I have said, anyone wanting to forge the letter manuscript could have consulted the *Mémoires* as a model. The reader will also note words and phrases that seem to echo those in other letters to Gourdon.

It is also apparent that this eighth letter to Gourdon contains strong echoes of Jeanne's fifth letter to the viscount, written at the outbreak of the first war, in 1562.³⁷ The key words and phrases in that fifth letter, 'de presens sourdis d Egypte', and 'sortir de Limmonde Babylone', are reproduced identically in this eighth letter, dated six years later. Such precise repetition could be used to argue either case – that the letters are both authentically Jeanne's, because only Jeanne would have used those particular phrases in precisely the same way; or that one or each of the letters is forged, because only a forger would have copied those phrases without variation. But, if only one is a forgery, where did the forger get the genuine letter? And, if both are forged, would not a clever forger (and, if there was one, he must surely have been clever) have taken the trouble to plant minor variations in the copied phrases? In sum, the evidence seems to remain on the side of basic authenticity – leaving aside the matter of the discrepancy in possible dating, already noted above, between 1 September 1568 according to the manuscript copy, which conforms to the evidence of Monluc's *Commentaires*, and 3 September by the evidence of Jeanne's own *Mémoires*. While granting that Jeanne's evidence on the matter ought to be given precedence over Monluc's, I have, however, already taken the position that the dating of the letters is in most cases unreliable, and is assumed to have been interpolated by the copyist.

Not long after the arrival of Condé and Coligny at La Rochelle, an account of their escape from Noyers and Tanlay, and passage of the

³⁶ Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ed. Anderson, vol. iv, Psalm 119, p. 399.

³⁷ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol. 1, copies), fol. 450, '5e lettre de la Reine de Navarre,' '13 May 1562'. (See chapter four, above.)

Loire, was conveyed to Paris from La Rochelle by a royal agent on 5 December 1568. This dispatch is included in the published diplomatic correspondence of the French ambassador to England, Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon. In it, Condé and his followers are reported as having crossed the Loire

par un guay qui n'avoit jamais esté remarqué ny visité par les habitans mesmes du pays ... Cest mesme faveur de Dieu s'est veue aussi au passage de la Royne de Navarre et de Mr le Prince, son filz, qui ont traversé tout le pays de Gascoigne, passé la Garonne et Dordogne, et aultres rivières, gayz et destroictz périlleux, quoy qu'ilz eussent sur lrs bras les Sr. de Monluc, Tarride, d'Escars et Losse, avec grandz forces, sans avoir néantmoins peu estre empeschez.³⁸

What seems extraordinary about the dispatch quoted above is that, having been written by an agent of the royal Catholic cause to a recipient of the same persuasion, it nonetheless attributes the safe passage of Condé and his Protestants to God's favour, and, moreover, the same divine assistance is understood as having been given to Queen Jeanne and Henry during their subsequent escape to La Rochelle and passage of the Garonne and Dordogne. Why would the Catholic enemies of Condé, Coligny, Jeanne of Navarre, and the Reformed cause, have accepted the reality of their 'miraculous' passage, and attributed to them the intervention of Divine Providence? The reason may have been the same as that which caused the Spanish ambassador in Paris to send the king of Spain what appear to have been grossly exaggerated reports of Jeanne's power and following on the way to, and at, the colloquy of Poissy: namely, to raise the level of perceived danger, and hence sustain and increase the interest of, and favours from, the royal patron.³⁹

A letter referring to Condé and his party in the same vein, apparently dated 28 August 1568 – that is, not more than a few days after their crossing of the Loire, and so showing that the Red Sea analogy may have been made more or less simultaneously with the event – is quoted in Barbot's monumental *Histoire de La Rochelle*: 'l'adistance et

³⁸ *Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon*, ed. Charles Purton Cooper, 7 vols., Paris and London, Panckoucke, 1838-1840, vol.1 (1568 and 1569), p.137: Dispatch from La Rochelle, 5 December 1568.

³⁹ See, for example, Simancas MSS K.1494 and 1495, chapter four, above, and further examples cited in chapter six, below.

faveur de Dieu s'estant si miraculeusement pour vostre conservation que la delliverance des enfans d'Israël par la mer Rouge,' adding the detail of a sandbar that disappeared beneath the river's waters a few hours later.⁴⁰

The first verse of the Clément Marot 1561 setting in French of Psalm 114, 'Quand Israël hors d'Egypte sortit,' which Condé and his followers are believed to have sung during the crossing of the Loire, has already been quoted at the beginning of the introduction, above. I will nevertheless repeat it here in order to comment further on it in the present context, especially with reference to Jeanne's letter to Gourdon, the exodus to La Rochelle, and the Protestant military strategy at the beginning of the third War of Religion in 1568:

Quand Israël hors d'Egypte sortit,
Et la maison de Jacob se partit
D'entre le peuple estrange.
Juda fut fait la grande gloire de Dieu,
Et Dieu se feit Prince du peuple Hebreu,
Prince de grand'louange.⁴¹

The last three lines of the Marot version in French, above, are given in the English language (Kirk of Scotland) example footnoted on the opening page of my introduction as

He Judah did his Sanctuary,
His Kingdome Israel make.⁴²

That interpretation, it seems to me, is a closer description of the situation in which Condé's Protestants saw themselves, crossing the Loire in 1568. The title page engraving of the 1560 edition of the *Geneva Bible* illustrates the Red Sea episode, with a surrounding text from Exodus 14: 13-14, 'Feare ye not, stand stil, and beholde the salvation of the Lord, which he wil shewe to you this day. The Lord shall fight for you: therefore holde you your peace.'⁴³ The belief by Condé and the others of his party that just as Judea was the sanctuary and promised land of the Israelites, so La Rochelle and, if not France,

⁴⁰ The quotation is in Amos Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, vol.2 (1199-1575), Paris, A. Picard, 1889, p.314.

⁴¹ Clement Marot and Theodore de Bèze, *Pseaumes de David*, ed. of 1561, CXIII, C.M., 'In exitu Israël de Aegypto,' verse 1.

⁴² *The Psalms of David in Meeter newly translated*, Kirk of Scotland, 1650, p.64.

⁴³ *Geneva Bible* (facsimile of 1560 edition), p.260.

then Guyenne, would be a sanctuary and promised land for the Huguenots, is strongly suggested by the correspondence of the words they sang, and the circumstances in which they found themselves. Calvin, who had died four years earlier, commented, about the Israelites of Psalm 114, that God 'gave them the countries of the nations they now possessed as it were by right of inheritance,' a biblical theme that came to be applied by the Reformed with reference to their right to Béarn and Navarre, and potentially to Guyenne.⁴⁴ Bernard Palissy's imaginary vision of a Reformed sanctuary, published in La Rochelle in 1563, seemed to take that fortress city as, at least in part, its real-life model.⁴⁵ For Condé, Coligny, Jeanne of Navarre, and their followers in 1568, the only clear present achievement was new hope. Political strategies and military tactics remained to be planned and put into action.

The remaining verses of Psalm 114 refer, not to the Red Sea crossing, but to the parallel miraculous crossing of the Jordan, the transition having been made explicit in the second verse:

La mer le vid, qui s'enfuit soudain:
Et contremont l'eau du fleuve Jourdain
Retourner fut contrainte.
Comme moutons, montagnes ont failly:
Et si en ont les costaux tressailly,
Comme agnelets, en crainte.⁴⁶

The link between the Red Sea crossing of Exodus, and the Jordan crossing of Joshua, was already apparent to the Old Testament author of the psalm. In this militant early Protestant setting, the corresponding link is between taking leave of the 'idolatry' of the Roman

⁴⁴ Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ed. and trans. Anderson, vol. iv, p. 336. Did Calvin mean, by 'right of inheritance', simply divine right as God's chosen people? Or was this right something to be earned, such as is expressed in Psalm 105: 'So he led forth his people with joy,/ His chosen ones with singing,/ And he gave them the lands of the nations;/ and they took possession of the fruit of the peoples' toil,/ to the end that they should keep his statutes,/ and observe his laws'? The biblical example of the Israelites' 'right of possession' given in Judges 11: 12-28 was cited in 1607 by the sieur de Beloy as justification for excluding Béarn and Navarre from unification with France. In the passage from Judges, 'right of possession' of a land is granted to a people whose God gives it to them in war. Further comment on this is made below, in chapter six, section c., 'The land of the Amorites.'

⁴⁵ Palissy, *Recepte véritable* (see chapter one above).

⁴⁶ Marot, *Pseaumes de David* (ed. 1561), verse 2.

church and its social and political community in France, and entering the 'true' church of the Reformed communities of France. The added Christian link with, and continuity from, the Red Sea exit and the Jordan entry is the sacrament of baptism. The Red Sea-River Jordan link with Christ's baptism was recognised by the early Christian fathers, as, for example, in the writings of Origen.⁴⁷ That recognition has been continued by many churches in the wording of the baptismal ceremony, as, for example, in the Church of England: 'Almighty and everlasting God, who of thy great mercy didst save Noah and his family in the ark from perishing by water; and also didst safely lead the children of Israel thy people through the Red Sea, figuring thereby thy Holy Baptism; and by the Baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, didst sanctify Water to the mystical washing away of sin.'⁴⁸ The wording of the 1997 order of service for baptism of the Anglican Church of Australia is still more relevant in its use of the term 'promised land': 'We give you thanks that through the waters of the Red Sea you led your people out of slavery into freedom. (Response: Blessed be God.) We give you thanks that you brought your people over the River Jordan to new life in the land of promise.' It is – remarkably, in view of the importance historically attached to the sacrament of baptism in the French Reformed tradition⁴⁹ – absent from the baptismal service of the Reformed churches of France.⁵⁰

The Loire crossing, it could be argued, was taken to be not only the geographic and political entry of the Reformed leaders, by God's legitimising grace, into the sanctuary and 'promised land' of Aquitaine/Guyenne; it was also symbolic of their spiritual regeneration, and rededication to the New Religion. This point is explicit in Jeanne's let-

⁴⁷ Origen, c.185-255: 'Union with Christ [A parallel between Joshua (in Greek 'Jesus') – the crossing of the Jordan being his exaltation (Jos. iii 7), and Jesus Christ – his baptism of death being his exaltation (Phil. ii 9, 10).] Jesus [Joshua] is not exalted before the mystery of baptism [i.e., the crossing of Jordan], but his exaltation, an exaltation in the sight of the people, thence takes its beginning.' (Origen, *Homiliae in Librum Iesu Nave*, iv, 2, in Henry Bettenson, ed. and trans., *The Early Christian Fathers*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1956, ch. XI., 'The Sacraments' (baptism), p.248.)

⁴⁸ *Book of Common Prayer*, Sydney, Random House Australia, 1992, 'Publick Baptism of Infants,' p.268.

⁴⁹ The Church Discipline set out at the first Synod of the Reformed churches of France (Paris, 1559) contained 19 Canons on baptism, compared with 14 on the Lord's Supper. (Quick, *Synodicon*, vol.1, pp.xxvi-xxvii.)

⁵⁰ For this, I am indebted to Suzanne Tucoc-Chala, president of the Centre d'étude du protestantisme béarnais (CEPB), Pau, letter of 13 March 1997.

ter, where the true purpose of the acquisition of such a refuge and homeland is to 'firmly establish a religious cult and build temples in which God will be adored in spirit and truth.'⁵¹ This view of the Reformed homeland corresponds with that of Psalm 105, 'O give thanks to the Lord,' one of the bases of Bernard Palissy's imagined sanctuary:

So he led forth his people with joy,
His chosen ones with singing,
And he gave them the lands of the nations;
and they took possession of the fruit of the peoples' toil,
to the end that they should keep his statutes,
and observe his laws.

As I have shown, the Red Sea-River Jordan link was made in Jeanne's letters to Gourdon of both 1562 and 1568. In her *Mémoires*, written not long after the letter of 1568, the further link to the crossing of the Loire was made explicit, but it is probable that in the letter of 1 September (or 3 September) 1568 she was indirectly referring to the Loire crossing, because she had just then received the report of it at Nérac from Condé's messenger. Whether or not Condé's report contained his request that Jeanne join him at La Rochelle, she was resolved to do so.

As Jeanne states in her letter of 1 (or 3) September, 'at the end of the present month [of September 1568] I will take action to join them all and go to La Rochelle.'⁵² That was her expressed intention. Or was it? Perhaps it was only meant to deceive. On Sunday 5 September, Jeanne, with her son Henry and her daughter Catherine, attended the Lord's Supper at her palace of Nérac. On Monday the sixth, they were gone.

c. Nérac, 6 September 1568: 'They must make the whole leap to surge forth to the promised land.'

Queen Jeanne's escape from Nérac and 'heroic march' to La Rochelle is a fascinating story in its own right. In this section, the nar-

⁵¹ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol. 1, copies), fol. 454, translated in *Appendix*.

⁵² *Ibid.*

rative will be used to illustrate several key points. Its telling will show Jeanne's increasing militarisation, and lessening reluctance to make use of violent means. Evidence will be presented of Jeanne's intimate knowledge of the landscapes and riverscapes of her Guyennean territories of Albret and Périgord, and, in particular, her ability to take advantage of local skills and loyalties through her close relations with the Protestant gentry of those lands. Some interim observations will also be made about the development of a Protestant 'safe route' composed of the diagonal from La Rochelle to Nérac-Montauban, with particular reference to the bridge over the Dordogne at Bergerac; and, overall, the 'Protestant crescent' from La Rochelle to Geneva. Finally, I will comment on the way in which Jeanne's escape may stand for her broadening goals for the Reformed cause, not only in Béarn-Navarre, but in all Guyenne.

As was said at the beginning of this chapter, reliance will be placed primarily on Jeanne's own telling of the story in her *Mémoires*, with an occasional counterpoint from her opponent and erstwhile 'jailkeeper', Blaise de Monluc, whose telling in his *Commentaires* does not, on the whole, contradict Jeanne's.⁵³ The following account of the escape from Nérac to Bergerac is based, except as noted, on Jeanne's *Mémoires*.

Early on Monday 6 September 1568,⁵⁴ Jeanne, together with her two children and the usual entourage of some fifty household staff, left her palace at Nérac, taking the road to the nearby town of Casteljalous south of the Garonne, in her duchy of Albret, where she maintained a house. She left instructions for one of her servants who had remained behind at Nérac to go to Monluc's castle at Estillac (only 22 kilometres distant from her own palace, it will be recalled), and inform Monluc of her necessary departure for Casteljalous, with her regrets to Madame Monluc that the children's party planned for that day at Nérac, to which the Monluc children had been invited, could

⁵³ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires et Poésies*, ed. Ruble (Paris, 1893; first published at La Rochelle in 1570 as *Histoire de nostre temps, contient cinq lettres de la reine de Navarre avec une ample déclaration sur la junction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568*), Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1970, pp.80-121. The account by Blaise de Monluc is in *Commentaires* (ed. Courteault), pp.635-649. Further corrections and analysis of Monluc's text are in Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, pp.512-516.

⁵⁴ It was on Sunday morning, according to Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.637; the Monday stated by Jeanne seems more likely to be correct.

not take place. Monluc, having already sent his wife and children to Nérac, left for Agen to organise his captains in order to prevent Jeanne's escape north across the line of the rivers Garonne and Lot.⁵⁵ It was this line of defence that defined the saying that Nérac was only 'eighteen leagues from the border of France.'⁵⁶

Jeanne, having arrived within the walls of Casteljalous, sent back to Nérac the wives, daughters – except her own daughter Catherine – and sick among her escape party.⁵⁷ Then she, the boy Henry aged fourteen, the child Catherine aged nine, and their small band, stayed at Casteljalous the whole of Tuesday 7 September, only leaving on the eighth. Why did Monluc not catch Jeanne and her party at Casteljalous? The reasons were both practical and political. Casteljalous was a fortified walled town within Jeanne's own duchy. She was in her own house on the land of which she and Henry were the highest representatives of the French crown, with every right to be there, Jeanne having advised Monluc of their destination. The queen mother had previously cautioned Monluc 'not to do things to upset and anger Jeanne, which would undo the quiet they have established in her lands' in the wake of the uprising of the Catholic barons.⁵⁸

The only strategy available to Monluc was to take Jeanne and Henry into his protective custody in time of war, while crossing, or after having crossed, the 'border' of the Garonne and Lot rivers. Monluc therefore ordered the relatively light forces at his disposal to take up positions along that border by which they could either block Jeanne's crossing from the south, or prevent armed assistance from reaching her from the north, 'Monluc knowing,' Jeanne said, 'that some persons were assembled at Tonneins to guard the passage to those coming from Guyenne.'⁵⁹ To no avail. On the night of Wednesday 8 September, Jeanne and her small party entered the town of Tonneins, on the north bank of the Garonne downstream of its junction with the Lot, having escaped, in the words of her 'official' historian Bordenave, 'that old fox Monluc.'⁶⁰

At Tonneins, Jeanne was met by a lightly-armed but mobile pro-

⁵⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.637. See also Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc*, p.513.

⁵⁶ Ruble, *Antoine de Bourbon*, vol.2, p.313.

⁵⁷ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.109.

⁵⁸ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.3, p.136, letter to Monluc, 14 April 1568, BNF, fr 15545, fol.148.

⁵⁹ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.105.

⁶⁰ Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.156.

tective force led by her own Protestant captains: a 'cornette' of cavalry – probably fewer than 300 horses and men – under Michel d'Asstarac, baron of Fontarailles and seneschal of Armagnac, and a 'regiment' of Gascon infantry – perhaps from 500 to 1,000 men – commanded by the seneschal's brother Bernard, baron of Montamat, later to be one of the 'tigers' of Montgomery's Protestant army of the south.⁶¹

Also at Tonneins on Thursday and Friday the ninth and tenth, Jeanne received another visitor: the royal negotiator, La Mothe-Fénelon. That La Mothe was able to find her, while Monluc was not, seems a remarkable wartime circumstance; the assumption must be made that La Mothe was given a safe conduct by both sides. He was, Jeanne remarks, sent by King Charles and Catherine de Médicis 'with false promises.'⁶² It is La Mothe, it will be recalled, whose collected letters contain a dispatch from La Rochelle comparing Jeanne's crossing of the Garonne and evasion of the Catholic forces ranged against her with the 'miraculous' passage of the Loire by Condé and Coligny, attributing both episodes to 'God's favour'.⁶³ The perception that God was on their side was, as Jeanne's letter to Gourdon and her *Mémoires* attest, a core element of the Huguenot pursuit of the wars, the element that made them, above all else, 'wars of religion'. Such a belief would not necessarily be inconsistent with the fact that, just as local knowledge of the Loire's midsummer fords was no doubt critical to the successful outcome of Condé's escape, so knowledge of the hidden byways of the land and passages of the river must have been vital in Jeanne's escape across the Garonne. Important as was such local knowledge, however, I would argue that the key to Jeanne's success was her ability to gain and hold the fierce loyalties of such regional gentry and minor nobles as Piles, Rivière, Montamat, and their followers.

On Saturday 11 September, Jeanne and her little army, having heard the news that Condé and his party had reached Saintes on their way to La Rochelle, left Tonneins and headed north, avoiding

⁶¹ Reliable works on the composition of the Reformed armies are lacking; on the French royal army between 1559 and 1574, see James B. Wood, *The king's army: Warfare, soldiers, and society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁶² *Mémoires*, p. 110.

⁶³ La Mothe Fénelon, *Correspondance Diplomatique*, vol. 1, p. 137: dispatch from La Rochelle, 5 December 1568.

the crossing of the Lot at Villeneuve, where they believed Monluc to be. That night, they camped at La Sauvetat, near the bastide of Eymet. On Sunday the twelfth, having been fired on by the town garrison while passing near the walls of Eymet, they wheeled around and, in the first combat of the third war, took the town by frontal assault.

Continuing northwards, on Sunday 12 September 1568, Jeanne, her son and daughter Henry and Catherine, the barons of Fontarailles and of Montamat, the king's messenger La Mothe-Fénelon, and the cavalry of their escort, were joined before Bergerac by the advance guard of the Bergeracois captain Armand de Clermont, lord of the castle of Piles just upstream from the bridge of Bergerac, already a Huguenot hero and 'master of his own territory and perfect connoisseur of its pathways and river-crossings.'⁶⁴ Together, they passed through the open gates of the defensive wall of the barbican surrounding the southern entrance to the bridge, trotted in splendour across the bridge spanning the Dordogne, clattered over the drawbridge lowered to span the open gap separating the north end of the bridge from the town, and passed beneath the raised portcullis of the main gate in the town's walls. They rode, Jeanne in the lead with young Henry and Catherine, into the sanctuary of the town of Bergerac. There, in Jeanne's own words in her *Mémoires*, 'I found most of the nobility of Périgord ready and willing to risk life and belongings for the general cause'⁶⁵ of the Reformed party; a statement the wording of which echoes that of her preceding letter to Gourdon.⁶⁶

At this point in Jeanne's 'heroic march', we may pause to consider two questions which arise from the narrative: Why was Jeanne's

⁶⁴ A. Higounet-Nadal (under the direction of), *Histoire du Périgord*, Toulouse, Privat, 1983, p.172.

⁶⁵ 'Et m'en allay coucher à la Sauvetat, le lendemain à Bergerac; où je trouvay la plus part de la noblesse du Périgord en bonne volonté d'exposer vie et biens pour la cause générale.' (*Mémoires*, p.116.) On the defences of the bridge and the town, see the Higounet, Marquette and Wolff *Atlas historique des villes de France: Bergerac* [unpaginated]), and Bryson, 'Labadie,' p.146. The date of Jeanne's arrival at Bergerac, based on her statement in *Mémoires*, p.116, that she left Tonneins on Saturday 11 September 1568, stayed overnight at La Sauvetat, and arrived at Bergerac 'the next day,' is Sunday the 12th.

⁶⁶ 'quil fault que les enfans d'Israel es risques et despends de biens et vies.' (BNF, fr 17044, fol. 454r, 1 September 1568, text in *Appendix*.)

tough and experienced opponent Monluc so ineffectual in this instance, and why was the Dordogne bridge at Bergerac so important to the Protestant strategy in Guyenne?

As to the first question, Monluc himself has offered a number of excuses, some of which, such as his illness, are not very convincing.⁶⁷ I have already noted the instruction Monluc had received from Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis in April 1568, not to interfere in Jeanne's affairs or do anything to anger or upset her.⁶⁸ On 4 September, King Charles issued an order to Monluc instructing him to assemble all his forces for the security of the land, to prevent any uprising among his subjects, and to take rigorous measures against the Reformed. This order, which Bordenave interpreted as a commission for Jeanne's arrest, did not reach Monluc until after her escape to La Rochelle.⁶⁹ Thus, when the kid gloves did finally come off, it was far too late. Monluc returned, empty-handed, to Agen.⁷⁰

On the same day as Charles's order to Monluc, 4 September 1568, the Spanish ambassador Alava at Paris sent a coded message to King Philip II, confirming Condé's successful escape, and reporting court talk (which would prove accurate) that 'the duchess of Vendôme' (Jeanne's title 'queen of Navarre' then being anathema to the Spanish) would join her forces with Condé's, in order to take Limoges (an inaccurate prediction).⁷¹ By 10 September, Alava had correctly advised the king of Spain that the meeting-place and sanctuary of the combined Reformed leadership and their forces, including those of 'la duquesa de Vandoma' (Queen Jeanne), the prince of Condé, and admiral Coligny, was to be La Rochelle.⁷²

The bridge over the Dordogne at Bergerac, and the walls and fortifications of the town itself, were, as the preceding paragraph suggests, in themselves obstacles that Monluc's royal forces, lacking siege can-

⁶⁷ *Commentaires*, p.638.

⁶⁸ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.3, p.136, letter to Monluc, 14 April 1568.

⁶⁹ Charles IX to Monluc, from St Maur-les-Fossées, 4 September 1568, cited in Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc*, p.515, and p.515, n.3. (Courteault cites for this, 'Arch. Nat., K, 1527, no.9, ancien no.11; Arch. Gironde, B, fols.29-32') The statement by Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.110, is also cited by Courteault, p.515-516, n.3.

⁷⁰ Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc*, p.517.

⁷¹ Simancas MS K.1510, no.32, Paris, 4 September 1568, Alava to King Philip II, decoded summary, fol.1v.

⁷² Simancas MS K.1510, no.34, 10 September 1568, Alava to Philip II, decoded summary notes, fol.2v.

non, were not equipped to overcome, even had they the king's command so to do. The middle and lower stretches of the river are deep and rarely fordable, even at midsummer. The bridge at Bergerac, the only bridge over the Dordogne below, or west of, its upper reaches in the foothills of the Central Massif, was remarkable both for the age of its construction, and its site, spanning a particularly wide and deep stretch of the middle river.⁷³ The original nine-arched stone bridge was apparently built before 1209,⁷⁴ probably to accommodate the growth in pilgrim traffic through south-western France to the shrine of Saint James at Compostela, in north-western Spain. Swept away by floods in the winter of 1444 or 1445,⁷⁵ it was temporarily replaced by a ferry service, and then by a bridge of linked boats until 1502, when a royal order granted the construction of a new bridge:

Our town of Bergerac ... on the river Dordogne which passes by Bordeaux, and which is navigable from the aforesaid town of Bergerac to Bordeaux, and thence to La Rochelle and Brittany ... which since ancient time has had a bridge of beautiful and sumptuous construction, for the passage of merchants and transporters of merchandise and others ... who paid certain rights of passage redounding to the profit of our domain ... even if it be necessary to send an army there from our frontiers ... it being sixty years since that bridge fell into the river.⁷⁶

King Louis XII's order, in stating the necessity for the building of the new bridge, reveals the geographic and strategic importance of the river Dordogne: it bypasses Bordeaux. In 1509 the new wooden bridge was begun, and completed in 1513 on what remained of the old stone foundations.⁷⁷ Its wooden construction, it will be seen, would prove to be important.⁷⁸ This was the bridge that Charles IX, Catherine de Médicis, and Henry of Navarre had crossed in royal pomp and panoply on the grand tour, on 8 August 1565, when

⁷³ On the bridge at Bergerac and its relations to medieval pilgrim traffic, the medieval wine trade, and the conduct of the Wars of Religion, see Bryson, 'Labadie,' pp.53-86.

⁷⁴ BNF, Périgord 37, fol.69, copy by abbé Lespine of a transcript of a bull of Innocent III, said to have been held at the Cistercian abbey of Cadouin in Périgord, upriver from Bergerac.

⁷⁵ La Roque, *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, year 1459, pp.64-65.

⁷⁶ *Arch. Gir.*, vol.8, 1866, no.CCXXXII, 18 April 1501, p.503.

⁷⁷ Escande, *Histoire du Périgord*, p.323.

⁷⁸ In chapter six.

the whole bridge over the Dordogne was covered from top to bottom with white linen marked with the royal arms. And at the entrance to the town, between the houses of Philippe Plaze and Bernard Gros, there was a great portal, magnificently made, that had cost more than 200 écus, where the consuls, dressed in robes of red and white silk, and their hoods the same, presented a *pavillon*⁷⁹ to the King, and conducted him to his lodging at the house of lord Daix, doctor.

All the streets were floored with sand, and roofed from side to side with linen; the fountain called La Fonpeyre pissed wine as the king passed. The inhabitants shouted: 'Long live the King!'⁸⁰

The absence of the ceremonial trappings, bordering on the absurd, of the preceding royal entry, was, as has been seen, more than offset at Jeanne's arrival by its air of triumph and mutual dedication in the face of common danger. For a number of reasons, then, Queen Jeanne was able to enter Bergerac in wartime 1568, and remain there in perfect safety for the next four days; but the most important of these reasons was the loyalty to her of the local Protestant community. This episode presents a striking example of the Reformed strategy of sanctuary in action. Bergerac and its fortified bridge were a vital element in the Protestant 'safe route' that bypassed Bordeaux and Toulouse in a diagonal, as Cocula and Garrisson have convincingly argued, that led from La Rochelle via Bergerac to Montauban, and from there looped south through Languedoc to Nîmes, and then northwards up the Rhône valley and Lyons to form a 'crescent' ending at Geneva. As Cocula has stated, with regard to the later strategy of Jeanne's son Henry:

⁷⁹ Possibly a pavilion or tent, but in this context more likely to have been a cloth banner bearing the king's arms (*Trésor de la langue française* [1541]).

⁸⁰ 'tout le pont de Dordogne de haut en bas étoit garni de linge blanc avec l'écusson. Et à l'entrée de la ville, entre les maisons de Philippe Plaze et Bernard Gros, il y avoit un grand portail fait en grande magnificence qui couta plus de 200 écus, où les consuls vêtus de robes de tafetas blanc et rouge, leurs chaperons de même, présentèrent un pavillon au Roy et le conduisirent à son logis chez le sieur Daix, médecin.

Toutes les rues étoient couvertes de sable, et tendues en travers de linge; la Fontaine appelée La Fonpeyre pissa du vin, tant que le roy passa. Les habitants criaient: Vive le Roy!' (La Roque, *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, pp.134-135.)

In Graham and Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France*, which includes an edition of Abel Jouan, *Recueil et discours du voyage du Roy Charles IX*, Paris, Jean Bonfons, 1566, the *Recueil*, p.121, states that the route of the royals in 1564-1565, including the young 'king' [*sic*] Henry of Navarre (p.191), was through Bergerac, 'pour aller passer la rivière de la Dordonne par dessus un pont de bois, tout couvert de belle toile blanche,' complete with fountain 'pissing' wine.

He had to preserve at all costs the urban diagonal that assured the survival of southern Protestantism: La Rochelle – Ste Foy – Bergerac – Montauban.⁸¹

This ‘diagonal’ from La Rochelle to Montauban constituted the western ‘horn’ of the ‘crescent’ linking Geneva with La Rochelle:

Genevan Reform established itself strongly all along this often-evoked crescent that, by river and by road, united the Vivarais to the Saintonge.⁸²

By 1568 and after, the perceived strategic advantages of such a ‘safe route’ to the Huguenot cause would have included the potential deployment along it of large armies, including thousands of horses, and many cannon, including the heaviest siege weapons. For that, there could be no ‘miraculous’ river crossings: the bridge over the Dordogne had to be secured; and how would the Garonne be crossed?

*d. ‘To the service of my God, my King, my homeland and my blood’:
Bergerac, 16 September 1568*

It seemed extraordinary to the royal diplomat La Mothe at the time, and it still seems extraordinary, that Jeanne, having temporarily escaped the jaws of war, and still perilously surrounded by the king’s armies of the south, sat down and calmly wrote four letters, to be delivered by La Mothe: one to King Charles IX, one to Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis, one to ‘Monsieur’ the king’s brother, and one to Jeanne’s brother-in-law, the cardinal of Bourbon. While the *Mémoires* of Jeanne d’Albret stand as her published testimony, the five *Lettres* – the four written in Bergerac on 16 September, plus one to Queen Elizabeth written on 15 October, just after her arrival in La

⁸¹ Cocula, ‘Conclusion générale,’ in Garrisson, ed., *Provinces et pays du Midi au temps de Henri de Navarre, 1555-1589*, p.317. Professor Cocula also noted, in 1990, ‘la position-clé de Sainte-Foy et Bergerac sur une diagonale reliant La Rochelle à Montauban.’ (‘Cyrano et Bergerac,’ in *Bergerac et le Bergeracois*, p.11.) For an illustration of the ‘Protestant crescent’, see the map, ‘Le croissant huguenot du Midi de la France,’ reproduced in Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (1980), p.14, from Samuel Mours’ *Les Eglises Réformées en France* of 1958, p.51, and reproduced herein (see *Illustrations*).

⁸² Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi* (ed. of 1991), p.335.

Rochelle – are her living, ‘real-time’ declaration, and it is a declaration of war.⁸³

Two general themes pervade these letters. First, there is an apparent obsession with the cardinal of Lorraine as the principal cause of the wars, and the true enemy. While Jeanne could no doubt justify to herself that view as representative of her own feelings toward that most Roman of Gallican Church leaders, it must be said that he, along with the other Guises, was still being named as the guilty party in the ‘Protestant strategy’, in order to avoid naming directly the king and the queen mother as the real enemy, with all the conflict that would entail with feudal obligations to, and benefits received from, the king.

The other, and more important, unifying thread of the letters is the quadruple justification for Jeanne’s decision to take up arms and prepare for battle: ‘for the service of my God, my King, my country, and my blood.’⁸⁴ Each of these words – ‘Dieu’, ‘Roy’, ‘patrie’, ‘sang’ – or, where the stated justification is only triple, each of these words less one – acquires a different meaning, depending on the position of, and Jeanne’s relation to, the person to whom the letter is addressed. My principal aim here will therefore be to attempt to make clear these meanings and differences, and what is implied as a result.

With this aim in mind, I will now consider each letter:

1. To Charles IX: ‘Au Roy’: Jeanne begins by presenting herself as ‘a good witness for Guyenne’⁸⁵ – in itself interesting for the avoidance of

⁸³ A currently available printed edition of the letters is in Jeanne d’Albret, *Mémoires*, ed. Ruble, pp.204-222. I have compared this text with a microfilm copy of the original edition of the letters alone in late 1568, *Lettres de treshaute, tres vertueuse, & tres chrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre, au Roy, à la Royne Mere, à Monsieur frere du Roy, à Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon son beau frere, & à la Royne d’Angleterre. Contenant les justes occasions de son parlement, avec Monseigneur le Prince & Madame Catherine les enfans, pour venir joindre à la cause generale, avec Monseigneur le Prince de Condé son frere*, La Rochelle, B. Berton, Imprimé nouvellement, 1568. (Microfilm of a printed original held by the Newberry Library, Chicago. Woodbridge (Ct): Research Publications, Inc., 1978.) Where there are variations, I have used the original version. An edition of the ensemble of memoirs and letters was also published in 1570, under the title *Histoire de nostre temps, contient cinq lettres de la reine de Navarre avec une ample déclaration sur la junction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568*.

⁸⁴ ‘A la Royne Mere’: ‘au service de mon Dieu, mon Roy, ma patrie, et mon sang.’ (*Mémoires*, p.209; *Lettres*, B.)

⁸⁵ ‘comme j’en suis bon temoin, pour la Guyenne: ha tousjours rendu les effects dudit edict vains, & sans execution. [The next sentence echoing phrases in her letters to Gourdon] Et tenans les choses en suspens, a tant fait faire de massacres, que se cuydant’ (*Mémoires*, p.206; *Lettres*, A ii-iii).

the roles of queen of Navarre and sovereign of Béarn – and continues with the triple justification only (perhaps because she has already, in effect, represented Guyenne as her ‘patrie’, in the notable absence of the word ‘France’ in the whole letter): ‘servir à mon Dieu, à vous qui estes mon Roy souverain: & à mon sang.’⁸⁶ It should be noted here that ‘my God’ can be given emphasis on the word ‘my’, in that, as will be seen below in the letter to Elizabeth I, ‘la Religion’ – that is, the Reformed or Protestant – is substituted for ‘my God’. In closing her letter to the boy Charles, and consistent with the theme of ‘your blood’, here meaning the royal blood shared by her son Prince Henry,⁸⁷ Jeanne softens the image of her relations with the king to that of the dowager aunt and her young nephew.⁸⁸

Although Jeanne would have been unaware of developments at the court of France at the time, King Charles had already written to his brother Prince Henry of Anjou about the uprising of the Protestant leaders,⁸⁹ and, at some date in September (before having received her letter to him), sent Jeanne a rather touching note in his boy’s best handwriting, which reveals the nature of La Mothe’s commission:

My aunt I was very upset⁹⁰ to hear that you found it necessary to take arms against our own subjects who are also mine I thought it as well to send La Mothe to you to ask you to consider a remedy through gentleness rather than wickedness take this as my advice and that which La Mothe will say to you from me in all friendship. Your good nephew/ Charles.⁹¹

Soon after (but much too late), Charles sent a message to Jeanne’s friend and protector the duke of Caumont-La Force, not far from the

⁸⁶ *Mémoires*, p.207; *Lettres*, Aiii.

⁸⁷ ‘Les Princes de vostre sang’ (*Lettres*, Aiii).

⁸⁸ ‘Vostre treshumble, & tresobeissante subjecte, & tante. Jane.’ (*Lettres*, Aiii.)

⁸⁹ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.59, 31 August 1568, Charles IX to Henry [of Anjou]: [My brother I’ve heard the news of] ‘la reprise des armes que ont faites aucuns des chefs [Condé and Coligny; presumably not yet Jeanne] de la nouvelle religion.’

⁹⁰ upset, ‘mary’, vb. ‘marrir’.

⁹¹ ‘Ma tante jay este bien mary d’entendre que vous avez este contreinte a prendre les armes pour aler contre nos [as printed in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.19: ‘vos’] sujets propres lesquels pour estre miens husy [Communay: ‘aussi’] je ne veuls se trouver bon tenvoye la mothe vers vous pour vous prier de regarder a remedier avecques la douceur que le mal ne croisse et croin en cela mon conseil et ledit la mothe de ce qu’il vous dira de ma part tout amity que vous feriez. Vostre bon nepheu/ Charles.’ (BNF, Baluze 151, fol.57, September 1568?, Charles IX, undated original, with his scal.)

route to La Rochelle, asking him, without effect, to persuade Jeanne not to proceed with her move to La Rochelle and alliance with Condé.⁹² Subsequently, in an undated letter to Jeanne,⁹³ François Nompars de Caumont, duke of la Force, sent Jeanne a declaration of his support and affection, and that of his brothers, after having received a note of thanks from Charles IX, perhaps to implicate Caumont against Jeanne, for not having sheltered her at his castle [of Caumont, or of La Force?] in the course of her escape from Nérac to la Rochelle. In a letter of 11 October 1568 from Charles IX to baron Geoffrey of Caumont, Charles thanked him for having advised Jeanne not to proceed when she passed by with her troops on the way to Bergerac.⁹⁴ There seems to be some confusion here, but the message is clear: the Caumont-La Forces, while keeping their public options open, wasted no time in privately declaring their support for Jeanne. Just two days after her entry into La Rochelle, Jeanne sent a note to Caumont-La Force, confirming her safe arrival. This friendship continued until Jeanne's death.⁹⁵

2. 'A la Royne Mere': to Catherine de Médicis: As I have stated above, Jeanne's initial use of the term 'patrie' in the quadruple justification of this letter – 'au service de mon Dieu, mon Roy, ma patrie, et mon sang'⁹⁶ – does not necessarily signify France. Not only has Jeanne notably omitted France from her immediately preceding letter to the king, and named Guyenne; she has used 'patrie' in other contexts to signify Guyenne, and also her realm of Béarn and Navarre. In fact, in this same letter Jeanne describes her arrival home after leaving Catherine's court at Fontainebleau in 1562, by saying she had returned to Guyenne. She adds, surprising in a letter written six years after the event, and surely with a note of bitterness, 'On that, Madame, I lost my husband the late king.'⁹⁷

⁹² BNF, Baluze 151, fol.58, 11 October 1568, Charles IX to Caumont.

⁹³ BNF, Baluze 151, fols.55-56, with seal.

⁹⁴ Transcribed in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.22. Communay's footnote to this, p.22, n.4, is a compendium of errors.

⁹⁵ BNF, Périgord 6, vol.1, IIIe liasse, 'Recueil de Lettres des Rois, Reines, Ministres, Généraux et grands seigneurs, adressés aus seigneurs de Caumont La Force,' *Lettres de la Reine Jeanne d'Albret*, fol.10r, 18 September 1568.

⁹⁶ *Mémoires*, p.209; *Lettres*, B.

⁹⁷ 'Je suyvray à ce que je fis en la Guyenne à mon arrivée. & tout selon, que j'avois cogneu vous estre agreable. Comme il vous pleust m'en asseurer, par mon maistre d'hostel Roques. Sur cela Madame, je perdy le feu Roy mon mary.' (*Mémoires*, p.210;

Later in this longer letter, Jeanne repeats, with variation, her four-part justification, saying, 'le service de mon Dieu, & de mon Roy, l'amour de ma patrie, & de mon sang, me remplit tellement le coeur.'⁹⁸ Here, 'ma patrie' is extended into 'l'amour de ma patrie', the very expression which, it will be recalled, was used to refer to 'the Gascon nation' in the poem dedicated to Jeanne in the 1565 edition of the Psalms of David in Gascon, published under Jeanne's patronage:

Pour donc que ce livre plein de doctrine tant bonne
Soit communiqué à la nation gasconne
Pour l'amour du pays⁹⁹

Then, surprisingly, Jeanne sums up her letter to the queen mother by contracting the four justifications into three: her God, her King and country, and her blood. The reason becomes apparent when she goes on to define 'nostre patrie' (not, this second time, 'ma patrie') – that is, the country that is common to both the king and her – as 'our country this France, mother and nurse of so many people of good standing.'¹⁰⁰ 'My country', then, is Jeanne's 'homeland' of Guyenne (including Béarn and Navarre) – no matter that she was born at Paris – and 'our country' is France. The 'blood' referred to in the context of this letter is that of her 'brother' Prince Louis of Condé. In closing, Jeanne makes both the intimate family appeal to Catherine, calling her 'sister', and the added stern recall to her own feudal obligation to the monarch: 'A la Royne, ma souveraine Dame.'¹⁰¹

3. 'A Monsieur frere du Roy': to the king's brother Henry of

Lettres, B.) This letter, much longer than that to Charles, seems to contain echoes of Jeanne's letters to Gourdon in some phrases in the preceding passage, and also in her use of such phrases as, 'partie de mes maisons, pour y venir offrir la vie, les biens, & tous moyens.' (*Ibid.*)

⁹⁸ *Mémoires*, pp.210-211; *Lettres*, B.

⁹⁹ From Pierre de Garros, *Poésies gasconnes*, vol.1, pp.66-7, in Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p.279, fn 280, already cited in chapter two.

¹⁰⁰ 'Voilà, Madame, les trois points qui m'ont amenés, le service de mon Dieu, ... Le second, pour le service de mon Roy. Pour employer vie, & biens, à ce que l'Edit de pacification puisse estre observé, selon sa volonté. Et nostre patrie ceste France, mere & nourrice de tant de gens de bien: ... Et le sang, qui côme je vous ay dit Madame, nous appelle à aller offrir, tout secours, & ayde, à monsieur le Prince mon frere' (*Mémoires*, p.213; *Lettres*, B). The historian Gregory Hanlon has used the term 'gens de bien' as an equivalent of 'urban elite' in the title of his book *L'Univers des gens de bien: Culture et comportements des élites urbaines en Agenais-Condomois au XVIIe siècle*, Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1989.

¹⁰¹ *Mémoires*, p.214; *Lettres*, B.

Anjou, pitches its appeal to the matter of the royal blood, 'Princes de vostre sang', closing with Jeanne as 'aunt, Jane.'¹⁰² Letter 4., 'A Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon,' concentrates almost exclusively on blood and family honour: 'nostre sang', 'l'honneur du sang', 'vostre propre frere, soeurs, & neveux', 'l'honneur de la maison ou j'ay esté mariée', and 'Si vous estes separé de religion d'avec nous, le sang se peut-il separé pour celà?' The cardinal being another Bourbon brother-in-law, Jeanne signs as his 'sister, Jane.' But, this cardinal being friendly towards, but not part of, the Reformed cause, Jeanne exhorts him in ways that recall both her letters to Gourdon: 'il est temps'; and Calvin's letters to Antoine and to her: 'Si tous les subjects du Roy, y sont obligez [to act with honour], que devez vous faire?'¹⁰³ Is 'patrie', being dropped, here to be considered part of 'sang'?

5. 'A la Royne d'Angleterre': Although this letter was written a month later (15 October 1568), in La Rochelle, it has been included here for two reasons: it has always been published as an integral part of this group of letters, whose unity should be respected; and, more importantly, its contents, to be understood, need to be compared with those of the other four letters.

The ambiguity of Jeanne's relations with Elizabeth of England are evident from the outset. As a fellow queen, she addresses Elizabeth as 'Madame,' and signs herself 'sister, Jane,'¹⁰⁴ and yet she is in a precarious position of distinct inferiority, and this is in most respects a 'begging' letter. As a fellow Protestant, she assumes that Elizabeth is her ally against the church of Rome, and yet, she finds it necessary to profess her fidelity to the French monarchy.¹⁰⁵

It is not surprising, then, that in this letter Jeanne does not speak of 'patrie', but says instead that she has had to leave her 'Royaume & pays' for three reasons: first, 'la cause de la religion,' adding, in words that again recall her letter to Gourdon, that she expects, 'sous la faveur de ce grand Dieu des armées, de n'espargner sang, vie, ny biens pour cest effait.'¹⁰⁶ Second, 'le service de nostre Roy voyant que la ruyne de l'Eglise est la siene & de ce Royaume'; and third, 'voyant

¹⁰² *Mémoires*, p.215; *Lettres*, Bii.

¹⁰³ *Mémoires*, pp.217-218; *Lettres*, Bihi.

¹⁰⁴ *Mémoires*, pp.219, 220; *Lettres*, C.

¹⁰⁵ 'Nous ne sommes par la grace de Dieu, crimineux de leze majesté divine n'y humaine: Nous sommes fideles à nostre Dieu et à nostre Roy.' (*Mémoires*, p.221; *Lettres*, C.)

¹⁰⁶ *Mémoires*, p.220; *Lettres*, C.

les ennemis de Dieu & anciens de nostre maison', the blood.¹⁰⁷

It can be seen, from the deliberately untranslated quotations above, that in this letter Jeanne, speaking to her assumed ally, has permitted herself to express much more boldly the reasons for her having taken up arms for the cause.¹⁰⁸ In the place of 'my God', we see 'the cause of religion', which can be translated as the Reformed religion, in the context of Jeanne's immediately subsequent claim that she, her son, the Princes and their noble followers, all acting 'under the favour of this great God of armies, are resolved to spare neither blood, life, nor belongings to that end.'¹⁰⁹

At the conclusion of her letter to Elizabeth, Jeanne makes a direct appeal for English military aid, informing Elizabeth that she has instructed her naval commander Chastelier to go to London and present himself to Elizabeth as her representative.¹¹⁰

Considering the political activism and militancy of the letters, this last one to Elizabeth in particular, it is remarkable that what were, on the face of it, private communications, should have been so quickly brought to print. It seems reasonable to conclude that their planned purpose was to provide wartime propaganda for the Reformed cause. It has been observed that the identity and patriotism of a community is often formed by its opposition to another.¹¹¹ 'Here is our tombstone and natural patria,' says a poem celebrating the home valley of people living in a Pyrenean community between France and Spain, as opposed to the artificial political distinction formed by the boundary markers of the national borders which divide it.¹¹²

In none of her letters is Jeanne's triple justification for her action the combination she states in her *Mémoires*: God, King, and country

¹⁰⁷ *Mémoires*, p.221; *Lettres*, C.

¹⁰⁸ 'Voilà, Madame, les trois occasions qui m'ont fait faire ce que j'ay fait, & prendre les armes.' (Ibid.)

¹⁰⁹ *Mémoires*, p.220; *Lettres*, C. See French text quoted in the preceding paragraph, above.

¹¹⁰ 'Et par ce [*Mémoires*, 'parce que'], Madame, que le sieur du Chastelier, lieutenant general en l'armée sur mer, s'en allant là, aura tousjours affaire de vostre faveur, l'ayant prié de presenter mes lettres, je prendray la hardiesse de le vous recommander. De la Rochelle ce xv. jour d'Octobre 1568. De par vostre tres humble & obeissante soeur, Jane.' (*Mémoires*, pp.221-222; *Lettres*, C.)

¹¹¹ Sahlins, *Boundaries*, p.288.

¹¹² Ibid., citing the poem *La Cerdania*, by J. Xandri, Madrid, 1917. Sahlins also notes, p.104, that 'the hatred of the heretics was the foundation of patriotism' (here citing Jean-Sebastian Pons, *La littérature catalane en Roussillon au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles*, 2 vols., Toulouse, 1929, p.16.)

or homeland ('la patrie') – omitting blood.¹¹³ However, that statement is made immediately after she has defined precisely what she means by 'la patrie': Guyenne, where most of her 'vassals' live, and where she has almost all of her holdings; and Béarn and Navarre, realm of her subjects.¹¹⁴

When (to continue the narration of the episode), on the morning of Friday, 17 September 1568, Jeanne led her party out through the northern gate of Bergerac and onto the road to La Rochelle, its ranks had swollen to those of an army. Stretching out behind her were three regiments of Gascon infantry from Périgord, Quercy, and Auvergne. Piles, in command, had twenty-three 'enseignes' or flag companies (each with its own standard or flag, and each probably consisting of about 100 men), plus Montamat's ten companies, and another nine led by the viscount of Maigrin – some 4,000 men in all – a figure subject to allowance for exaggeration. Moving alongside, some scouting ahead while others fell back to cover the rear of the column and the supply wagons, were the seneschal of Armagnac's light cavalry, which, we are told, increased to eight flag companies along the way.¹¹⁵

Despite the presence in the region of the 4,000-man royal Catholic army of François d'Escars, who was then acting governor of Périgord and Limousin, while Monluc was acting governor of Guyenne, Jeanne's army that night entered the security of the Protestant fortified town of Mussidan, called 'the Navarrene's ark' by Beza.¹¹⁶ By

¹¹³ 'les armes prises pour le service de Dieu, du Roy, et de la patrie.' (*Mémoires*, p.98.)

¹¹⁴ 'Quant a mes vassaux, la plus grand part de ceux de la Guyenne, où nous avons presque tous nos biens, sont-ce pas eux qui nous y ont conduits? Les subjects, qui sont les Navarrois et Béarnes' (ibid., p.97).

¹¹⁵ Such numbers are notoriously unreliable, even when given by a number of contemporary sources. These names and numbers are those provided by the Protestant La Popelinière, *La vraye et entiere histoire*, book 3, p.128, as well as, or repeated by, the Protestant Aubigné, *Histoire Universelle* (ed. Ruble, 1887, of 1616), vol.5, p.10, and the editor of *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, p.xxxiv. The Catholic canon of the cathedral of St André in Bordeaux and archdeacon of Blaye, François de Syruell, who would have had reason to exaggerate the numbers of Jeanne's army, wrote in his journal that in 1568 she had 2,000 to 3,000 infantry, and 400 to 500 horse – substantially fewer than the numbers given by the others. (*Journal de François de Syruell, chanoine de Saint-André de Bordeaux, archidiacre de Blaye*, in *Arch. Gironde*, vol.13, CIII [1568-1585], pp.250-251.) Wood, *The king's army*, estimates a full 'company' in the royal army to have been up to 100 men, and a regiment to number from 500 to 600 (pp.46-8).

¹¹⁶ 'The Navarrene' is one of the rather transparent code words for Jeanne d'Albret used by Beza in his wartime letters. The matter of d'Escars is in Barbot, *Histoire*

Saturday and Sunday 18-19 September they were at Aubeterre, and between Monday and Wednesday 20-22 they had reached Barbezieux, in the Charente.

On Thursday, 23 September, Condé met them at Archiac, having been held up by the crowds gathered at Cognac. There, 'amid joy and tears', Jeanne handed over her son Henry to take up arms with Condé, and on 28 September 1568, to great acclamation, Jeanne, Catherine, Condé, Henry and the army made their solemn and triumphal entry into the sanctuary of La Rochelle.¹¹⁷ As the editor of Catherine de Médicis' letters would observe, 'La Rochelle remained protestant; it would become their place of refuge, their citadel, their capital.'¹¹⁸

The formal speeches of welcome made to Jeanne and Henry within the city open in phrases that are almost precisely those used by Jeanne herself in her letters from Bergerac: 'Jehanne d'Albret, royne de Navarre, et Henry de Bourbon, prince de Navarre, à la protection et maintien de la gloire de Dieu, du service du roy, conservation de l'estat de ce royaume et deffense du sang royal contre ceulx de Guise.'¹¹⁹ The address to Henry that followed subtly mixes recognition of his exalted status, as future king of Navarre and first prince of the royal blood of France, with kindly admonitions that, in view of his age and lack of experience – Henry would turn fifteen in December – he is expected to obey and follow his mother the queen of Navarre in matters of the overall conduct of affairs, and his uncle the prince of Condé as supreme commander in military matters, a division of authority between 'the Duchess of Vendôme' and Prince Louis of Condé as 'Defender of the Religion' that the Spanish ambassador was able to relate two days later in his 'spy' report to Philip II.¹²⁰ The

de La Rochelle, p.316. Beza's description of Mussidan as 'apud arcem Navarreni' is in Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.10, no.674, letter of Beza to Bullinger in Geneva 22 May 1569, p.101, and n.6.

¹¹⁷ For a description of the entry into La Rochelle on 28 September 1568, see Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, vol.2, p.316.

¹¹⁸ Hector de la Ferrière, ed., *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.3 (1567-1570), p.xxi.

¹¹⁹ In Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, p.328.

¹²⁰ Simancas MS K.1510, no.45, fol.3v, 30 September 1568, Alava to Alba (copy of summary notes): 'La Duquesa de Vandoma se ha del todo declarado contra Dios, y este Rey, y ella y su hijo dexas le vantada la gente que puedan en gascuna. Deuen de estar la hora de agora en la Rochela, y a dicho su hujuelo cede el de Conde y cedan titulo de Defensor de la Religion ... la Duquesa de Vandoma y el Principe de Bearne su hijo, se han declarado enemigos desta corona confederados con el de Conde y el Almirante, y que enticimbos vienen a Juntarse con de Conde.'

efficiency of the Spanish spy network in La Rochelle was such that this information was in their diplomatic dispatch two days later. There is evidence that La Mothe himself was one of the Spanish 'sources'.¹²¹

The speaker expresses the expectation of the city of La Rochelle and the Reformed community that Henry will

command and govern us through the wise prudence and true advice of your mother the queen, and his lordship the prince of Condé, your uncle, on whom, as protector and general defender of evangelical liberty, all christianity depends, and to whom it gives its support, under God's hand, to be delivered from the cruelty and felony of the tyrants, enemies of God and of all good order, policy and law.¹²²

In this context, such expectations were entirely unrealistic, and by 'all christianity' was meant those of the Reformed religion in France, and by 'the tyrants, enemies of God' was meant, by the evidence of the preceding quotation of the same day, the dukes of Guise – and even then, only in the deliberately limited sense of the 'Protestant strategy' designed to maintain the pretence of allegiance to Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis. In other words, by late 1568 the Protestants of France were in danger of becoming the prisoners and victims of their own rhetoric.

e. La Rochelle, 28 September 1568: 'I had the war in my guts'

'Triumphal' is the adjective I have applied to Jeanne's entry into La Rochelle on Tuesday, 28 September 1568. The word is, I think, apt in this instance; just as 'apogee' necessarily signals a future decline, so 'triumph' applies only to what has passed.

The quotation of the title for this chapter, 'The God of Armies will sustain his so just and good cause,' was, it appears, written by Jeanne at Nérac in the letter to Gourdon dated 1 September 1568, five days before her escape to La Rochelle. Even if that letter copy proves not

¹²¹ In relating gossip about 'la Duquesa de Vandoma,' Alava adds, 'el dicho la Mota me dixo.' (Simancas MS K.1510, no.55, 3-16 October 1568, Alava to duke of Alba, fol.3v, copy of notes.)

¹²² Address to Henry of Navarre, La Rochelle, 28 September 1568, in Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, p.328.)

to be genuine, she made the same statement in her letter to Queen Elizabeth from La Rochelle on 15 October. It could stand as a Huguenot motto in the autumn of 1568 – indeed, it most likely was written for that very public purpose. It was a message of high-reaching, or, it must be said, over-reaching expectation. The second quotation, written by Jeanne a little later for her *Mémoires*, and published at Rochelle, is a message of hard, personal reality: ‘I had the war in my guts.’

This tension, between evangelical expectation and hard reality, would continue to encourage or plague the Huguenot cause until, and beyond, the events of Saint Bartholomew’s day in Paris in 1572. Perhaps, if the nature of that conflict within the Huguenot movement is examined as it was internalised by Jeanne herself, and expressed in her *Mémoires*, it will be possible to arrive at some understanding of what Jeanne then meant by her harsh statement, ‘I had the war in my guts.’¹²³

Jeanne’s ‘war’, she says in her *Mémoires*, was not the one being fought between those of the Catholic and Protestant factions. It was her private debate, she claims, between her conscience and the demands of the world.¹²⁴ ‘I had not only to do battle with unknown enemies ... j’eu la guerre en mes entrailles.’¹²⁵ ‘They say,’ she acknowledges, ‘that we have put what remains of the state [her realm of Basse Navarre, the remnant of the original entire kingdom of Navarre, and her sovereign state of Béarn] in evident peril.’¹²⁶ But, she argues, the kingdom of France itself is a transitory thing compared to the perpetual dwelling of heaven.

Despite this, her own high-minded argument for her action, the question remains as to why, by moving from Pau to La Rochelle, Queen Jeanne ‘abandoned’ her realm of Béarn and Navarre and her own ‘subjects’, in order to take up the wider Protestant cause in the Guyenne of her ‘vassals’.¹²⁷ Roelker confronts this question of abandonment, and – correctly in my view – dismisses it.¹²⁸ It is clear from the account of Jeanne’s escape to La Rochelle that it had been carefully planned, coordinated, and executed. Jeanne, having left her own

¹²³ ‘J’eu la guerre en mes entrailles.’ (*Mémoires*, p.90.)

¹²⁴ Jeanne’s private debate is in her *Mémoires*, pp.84-90.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.90.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.98.

¹²⁷ See *Mémoires*, p.97, already cited above.

¹²⁸ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.299.

lands for the sake of her own conscience and the purity of Henry's religion, her lieutenant La Noue said, came to La Rochelle, 'as much to authorise the cause as to fortify the army.'¹²⁹ The maintenance of her realm of Béarn and Navarre was a matter to which she gave the highest priority, but the effect of her long absence is apparent in the records of the period. From the time of Jeanne's departure for La Rochelle, the normally neat and orderly manuscript records of the government of Béarn become notably messy, and do not become neat again until 1574.¹³⁰

On 14 October 1568 in Paris, the royal axe fell.¹³¹ At Bordeaux, on 18 October, letters patent of Charles IX were published in the Parlement, ordering the seizure of all lands, towns, places, castles and seigneuries in its area of jurisdiction belonging to the Queen of Navarre, she being with those who had taken arms 'against us and our authority.'¹³² The order maintains the fiction, as the royal Catholic counterpart of the 'Protestant strategy', that Jeanne and Henry were being held at La Rochelle against their will by the other rebel leaders. Two days later, it was said in a Protestant account, an earthquake shook La Rochelle 'as a messenger of the wrath of God.'¹³³

On 5 and 16 November, and again on 16 December, the orders were also published in the Parlement of Toulouse. All properties of Jeanne and Henry of Navarre were to be placed 'mise guarnison' by the king's lieutenant general established in the 'pays' of Languedoc and Guienne. King Charles ordered the Parlement of Toulouse to inform him of all rebels and seditious persons who had houses and belongings in its jurisdiction. With regard to the seizure of Jeanne's castellanies of Rodez and lands in Rouergue, those who took arms

¹²⁹ 'tant pour autoriser la cause que pour fortifier l'armée.' (La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, Basle, Imp. François Forest, 1588, p.771.)

¹³⁰ Beginning on 6 October 1568, ADPA, MS C.692, fol.227, 'de recens lettres de la Royin.'

¹³¹ 'Arrest de la Court de Parlement sur la declaration des estats et offices vacans & impetrables, de-ceux de la nouvelle Pretendüe Religion, de quelque estat, qualité ou condition qu'ilz soient.' Paris: G. de Nyuerd, I. Caniuet, I. Dallier, 1569. (Lindsay and Neu, *French Political Pamphlets*, no.655, p.48.)

¹³² Letters patent of King Charles IX to the Parlement of Bordeaux, 18 October 1568, *Arch. Gir. Reg. Parlement B.38*, in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.25. See also Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.110, on the king's orders of 14 October and 19 November 1568 confiscating all of her holdings.

¹³³ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entiere histoire*, book 3, p.135, 20 October 1568.

against the application of the royal order were to be subject to death and torture. Government and legal officers of the New Opinion and Pretended Religion were to be deprived of their estates and offices – a measure which struck at the heart of the Protestant urban establishment in southwestern France.¹³⁴ The confiscated properties of Jeanne and Henry were to be held sequestered until such time as ‘the said Dame Queen be out of the miserable servitude and captivity in which she is at present held’¹³⁵ – a royal strategy that would leave the door open for eventual ‘reconciliation’ and, above all, annulation of the confiscation orders. Such was the quantity of confiscated properties, that by January 1569 fears began to grow in Rodez and the region of Rouergue that the Protestant ‘Army of the Viscounts,’ which included the companies of the viscount of Gourdon, would intervene to take them back by force – one of the first perceptions that the direction of the Huguenot military offensive, when it came, might be southwards.¹³⁶

f. Geneva, 6 February 1569: ‘All Aquitaine this side of the Garonne is ours, except Bordeaux’

In a letter from Geneva dated 6 February 1569, Beza wrote to Bullinger, with his customary over-optimism, that ‘All Aquitaine this side of the Garonne is ours, except Bordeaux.’ (By ‘this side of’ [*cis*], I have assumed he meant Guyenne north of the Garonne; but we are

¹³⁴ BNF, Doat 238, fol.102, 16 Nov 1568, and fol.103, 16 December, Parlement of Toulouse, ‘Pour saisir et mettre sous la main du Roy les quatre chastellenies, la comté de Rodés, et autres terres appartenantes a la Reyne et au prince de Navarre au pays de Rouergue.’ BNF, Doat 238, fol.106, 5 November 1568, Register of the Parlement of Toulouse, ‘pays’ of Languedoc and Guienne. Signed ‘La Croix.’ BNF, Doat 238, fol.109, 7 November 1568, King Charles to Parlement of Toulouse; fol.111, 25 November 1568, Charles IX to Parlement of Toulouse. Also sent to: fol.113, Moissac; fol.116, Villefranche-de-Rouergue; fol.117, Nérac; fol.118, Sauverre (‘In Salvetat’).

¹³⁵ BNF, Doat 238, fol.108, 26 November 1568.) Also, BNF, Doat 238, fols.128 – 193: 14 December 1568, Charles IX, from Melun, about Jeanne and Henry, ‘que Nostre tante la Royne de Navarre, et le prince son fils, ... adhérent au party contraire à nous ... non comme nous estimions de leur plain gré, et volonté, mais par induction et seduction des mauvais, et conseil, et ministres ...’ etc.

¹³⁶ BNF, Doat 238, fols.120 – 128, 1 January 1569, at Villefranche-de-Rouergue: ‘le bruit est que les Viscomtes avec leurs troupes se deliberent Venir en ce pays, pour invader les Villes, et places fortes, mesmes la present Ville, et Roudez.’ Many folios of this manuscript are devoted to the seizure of Jeanne’s properties.

left in some confusion, Bordeaux being south of the river.) In the same letter, he said, incorrectly, that 'the King of Navarre is at La Rochelle with his mother', repeating a mistake he had made in November 1568.¹³⁷ In accordance with the mode of succession of Navarre, Henry would not become king in December 1568 when he had reached fifteen, the age of majority, but would remain prince until the death of Jeanne, the sole sovereign monarch.¹³⁸

The Spanish ambassador and his agents seemed to have taken the opposite view of the Protestant military outlook in Guyenne. At the beginning of Condé's escape across the Loire, their coded spy report of 4 September (to which I have already alluded) speculated that Condé and 'the duchess of Vendôme' (even though Jeanne had not then escaped from Nérac) would converge on Limoges, and establish that as their base for the conquest of Guyenne.¹³⁹ By the 10th of September, however (still too soon to have heard about Jeanne's escape), the report had switched to the more hopeful view that Condé and Jeanne would not join forces at Limoges, as had been feared. At the end of October, the Spanish ambassador's report claimed, on the basis of information from La Mothe, that Limoges and Guyenne would not be overrun after all, because the royal forces had the Protestants 'bottled up' in La Rochelle.¹⁴⁰

Between these two views, Beza's rosy, or aggressive, interpretation of Protestant prospects then seemed to have much in its favour. As the historian de Thou observed (without mentioning Bordeaux), the Huguenots were 'almost entirely masters of Saintonge, the Angoumois and Poitou.'¹⁴¹ English military aid had begun to arrive in La Rochelle, in the form of shot and powder, but only a half-dozen cannon, and no

¹³⁷ 'Aquitania tota cis Garumnam, excepta Burdegala, nostra est. Rex Navarrenus Rupellae est cum matre et cum Condensis uxore, jam et tertio filio puerpera.' (Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.10, no.653, p.19, 6 February 1569, Bèze to Bullinger, Geneva.)

¹³⁸ Beza's previous error is in *Correspondance*, vol.9, no.644, pp. 186-187, 6 November 1568, Bèze to Haller, Geneva: 'Navarrenam filium suum unicum curasse coronandum, pium principem annum 18 ingressum, qui jam notarum partium caput est, vicario suo designato Condensi.' The mistake is noted on p.188, n.5.

¹³⁹ Simancas MS K.1510, no.32, Paris, 4 September 1568, Alava to King Philip II, decoded summary, fol.1v.

¹⁴⁰ Simancas MS K.1510, no.34, fol.2v, 10 September 1568, Alava to Philip, decoded summary; Simancas MS K.1510, no.71, fol.3r, Paris, Alava to Philip II, 30 October 1568: 'dixo la Mota a vos alta, que este Rey y Reyna no havian querido abraçar la Guena paz que el les havia traydo amassada en la Rochela, con la Duquesa de Vandoma y el Principe de Conde.'

¹⁴¹ Thou, *Histoire universelle*, vol.4, p.150.

troops.¹⁴² La Mothe, who had delivered Jeanne's four letters from Bergerac of 16 September to Paris, went on to London to try to persuade Elizabeth not to help the Huguenots.¹⁴³ On 5 December 1568, he wrote his report to the king and queen mother, warning them that:

they [the Huguenots at La Rochelle] would assemble men, arms, munitions, and money supplies, such that at any time, and at will, they could cause the provinces to rise up and seize the towns of your kingdom¹⁴⁴

Meantime, Jeanne wrote to Cecil (that is, to Elizabeth) on 16 January 1569, that, 'Your zeal and affection for the aid and defence of the cause of the religion we hold and maintain'; Jeanne then followed-up with a note of thanks from Niort on 1 February, describing Elizabeth's aid – with hopes for more – as a mark of God's favour to the cause.¹⁴⁵

Although aid in the form of Scottish troops, which Beza had expected, was not forthcoming, substantial reinforcements did arrive at La Rochelle – professional soldiers from the Rhineland and the Low Countries, under the Protestant leaderships of Wolfgang, duke of Zweibrücken, and of the prince William of Orange, with his brother count Louis of Nassau.¹⁴⁶ The consolidated Protestant armies at La

¹⁴² Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.10, p.19; six English cannon, p.20n; no English troops, vol.9, p.202, n.6; expectation of Scottish troops, Bèze letter to Bullinger, 8 December 1568, vol.9, no.648, p.201, 'quatuor quoque Scotorum millia Rupellae a notris expectari'; also p.201, n.4. The evidence of the dates of the beginning of English aid in November 1568 points to the strong probability that this was a direct response to the letter Jeanne sent to Elizabeth from La Rochelle on 15 October. (Ibid., vol.9, p.186-187, letter of 6 November 1568.)

¹⁴³ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.3, p.190, 18 October 1568. On 13 January 1569, Catherine wrote to La Mothe about Jeanne's escape to La Rochelle. (St-Petersbourg MS, vol.XC, fol.14, in *ibid.*, p.190.)

¹⁴⁴ Translated portion in square brackets: 'ils recourront incontinent aux armes, sans qu'on les en peult aucunement divertir, comme j'en pouvois en partye estre desmoing pour avoir cest effect esté dépéché devers la Royne de Navarre et devers Mr le prince de Condé; et que par le moyen de leurs consistoires, et de la forme de procéder de leur religion, [ilz faisoient assemblée d'hommes, d'armes, de munitions de guerre, levées de deniers, et soublevoient en une heure, quant ils vouloient, les provinces, et suprenoient les villes de votre royaume], Vos Majestez.' (Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, *Correspondance Diplomatique*, vol.1 [1568 and 1569], p.26, letter of 5 December 1568 to Charles IX.)

¹⁴⁵ *CSP For.*, ed. Crosby, vol.9, p.13, no.52, 16 January 1569, orig., Jeanne from La Rochelle to Cecil (Elizabeth); *ibid.*, p.25, no.92, 1 February 1569, Jeanne from Niort to Queen Elizabeth.

¹⁴⁶ La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, p.802; Syruelil, *Journal*, in *Arch. Gir.*, vol.13, CIII, p.252, entry of the prince of Orange into France, November 1568. On the arrival in 1569 of William of Orange and Louis of Nassau, see Ritter, *Catherine de Bourbon*, vol.1, pp.53-54.

Rochelle were then estimated by La Mothe's sources to number about 30,000 infantry and 7,000 to 8,000 cavalry.¹⁴⁷

In many ways, La Rochelle was an ideal base. Ringed by formidable walls and towers, its protected harbour enabled the establishment and maintenance of lines of communication with, and trade and supply to and from, the English allies.¹⁴⁸ A substantial armed Protestant fleet was being built up to take advantage of the English connection (and, if even a modicum of the Spanish obsession can be credited, of the prospects for piracy).¹⁴⁹ Inland, the position of the city would, as the perspicacious Mlle Vauvilliers pointed out, serve a Protestant offensive whether it were to be directed eastwards and northwards towards the Loire bridges and Paris, or southwards towards the Dordogne bridge and Bordeaux.¹⁵⁰

Early on in the war, Jeanne's lieutenant-general Montgomery had taken Angoulême with cavalry, and the key fortress towns of Bourq and Blaye on the north bank of the Gironde, which controlled seaward, and to some extent landward, access to and egress from Bordeaux, had also been taken and held by the Protestants.¹⁵¹ Blaye in particular, situated just beyond the mouths of the Garonne and Dordogne, controlled river traffic and the principal ferry crossing of the Gironde, which circumvented the awkward and militarily dangerous double river crossings on the main route at the northern approaches to the gates of Bordeaux. The Protestant baron Pardaillan took over and garrisoned the town and citadel of Blaye on 22 October 1568, causing fear and panic in Bordeaux.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, *Correspondance*, vol.1, p.147, citing a copy of a Protestant letter of January 1569. Vauvilliers, vol.2, p.212, gives numbers of 24,000 infantry plus 9,400 cavalry, but without citing a source.

¹⁴⁸ On the advantages of La Rochelle, see La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires* (ed. of 1613), pp.694-695. Also, in Beza's letter of 6 November 1568, 'Rupellam appulerunt aliquot Anglorum naves cum legato et sex crassissimus tormentis, quibus expugnata est arx a Sancto Michaelis nominata, mari et ipsa imminens supra Rupellam, loco valde opportuno.' (Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.9, pp.186-187.)

¹⁴⁹ A high proportion of the Simancas series K manuscripts for this period contain repetitious complaints about Protestant piracy operating out of the port of La Rochelle.

¹⁵⁰ Vauvilliers, vol.2, p.260.

¹⁵¹ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entière histoire*, book 3, pp.132, 134.

¹⁵² See Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc*, p.511, and the Courteault edition of Monluc's *Commentaires*, pp.630-631 and nn.3 and 7, p.1209. Pardaillon is sometimes referred to as 'Berard de Segur, sieur de Seiches et de Labarrière, "autrement appelé le baron de Pardailhan"', and sometimes as 'Joachim de Ségur dit le Puch de Pardaillan.' He may also have been the same Pardaillan who was involved in the first attempt to take

Within La Rochelle, Queen Jeanne's military commander La Noue was proving both popular and skilled, and the court of the queen of Navarre and the prince of Condé at La Rochelle was said to have been, in the beginning at least, as brilliant as any provincial court in Europe.¹⁵³ It has been asserted recently that her government at La Rochelle became distinctly unpopular as her stay wore on, and that there was general relief at her departure.¹⁵⁴ Popular or not, Jeanne would reign for three years as a virtual 'Queen of the Huguenots,' as her biographers have recognised,¹⁵⁵ and as the record of that time attests.¹⁵⁶ All in all, the Huguenot strategy of refuge had succeeded, for the time being.

All Aquitaine above the Garonne, as Beza had prematurely claimed, did indeed seem at this point to be theirs – except Bordeaux. But what would be the French Protestant strategy for permanence? Was Jeanne to remain the queen-in-exile of God's wandering chosen, separated from her own realm, or queen of his, and their, Promised Land? And what would be the response from the overwhelming majority of the French nation as represented by the Most Catholic King of France? These are questions which will be pursued in part three, 'Sanctuary.'

Bordeaux by a ruse in 1562, and the hiding of Piles and La Rivière in the castle of Bridoire in the same year (chapter 4 above), but it is notoriously difficult to differentiate between individual Pardaillans.

¹⁵³ On this, see Delafosse, *Histoire de la Rochelle*, p.95.

¹⁵⁴ Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea: La Rochelle, 1530-1650*. Urban Society, Religion, and Politics on the French Atlantic Frontier, Leiden, Brill, 1997, pp.207-208.

¹⁵⁵ Bernard Nabonne used this description in the title of his 1945 biography, *Jeanne d'Albret Reine des Huguenots*. Roelker used the heading 'Queen of Huguenot France: Jeanne at La Rochelle' for the relevant section, pp.319-26, of *Queen of Navarre* (1968).

¹⁵⁶ Jeanne's 'reign' in La Rochelle is recorded in AN, Série K 100/b, nos.53-57, particularly in no.54, 1569-70, *Registres des ordonnances & deliberations du conseil établis pres La Reine de Navarre a La Rochelle*, used extensively in chapters six and seven, below. Some of the material of the Archives nationales series K manuscripts relating to Jeanne's government at La Rochelle is also held in transcription by the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français. (BP MSS 882, 'Correspondance de Jeanne d'Albret. Copies faites en 1920, Arch. Nat. K, carton 100B, nos.56-57, reg. secret. J. d'Albret.') The series has also been described, and portions of it transcribed and published, in M.J. de Gaulle, 'Le Conseil de la Reine de Navarre à la Rochelle. Ordonnances et délibérations inédites. 1569-70,' *BSHPF*, 3 (1855), 123-37.

PART THREE

SANCTUARY

CHAPTER SIX

JOURNEY TO THE END OF NIGHT: THE GREAT RETREAT, 1569-1570

a. Béarn and Bordeaux, March and April 1569

On 4 March 1569, Antoine de Lomagne, lord of Terride, acting on the instructions of the king's brother Henry of Anjou, began to carry out King Charles IX's order to seize Béarn and Navarre, place them under royal protection, and re-establish the Roman Catholic religion.¹ Terride's seizure of Queen Jeanne's realm of Béarn and Navarre succeeded, but only partially: Jeanne's Protestant representatives, led by her captain-general Darros, took refuge in the carefully prepared fortress of Navarrenx, and held out within its walls against all assaults.² From that time onward, Darros and Andre de Gachissans, lord of Salles, Jeanne's lieutenant-commander of Navarrenx, continued to hold the fortress at all costs – which included the sale of her silverplate, as Salles reported to her in 1569.³

During the period of Jeanne's residency in La Rochelle, an undated manuscript in the Pau archives, headed 'In the name of God, Protestation of the Estates to live and die for the service of the Queen,' is followed by four pages of the signatures of her loyal follow-

¹ Salefranque, *Histoire*, vol.XLV, pp.37, 72. On the royal Catholic intervention by Terride in Béarn and Navarre in March 1569, see also Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.668, and 1314, n.4. In Durier and du Pont, eds., *Les Huguenots en Bigorre*, p.5 (introduction by Abbé Jules de Carsalade du Pont), the takeover is described as follows: 'Charles IX, mécontent de Jeanne d'Albret dont les sourdes menées troublaient la paix du royaume, certain d'ailleurs que la faveur ouverte qu'elle accordait aux protestants dans ses Etats était une cause perpétuelle de troubles pour ses provinces de Guyenne, se résolut à mettre sous son autorité la Navarre, le Béarn et l'Albret.'

² ADPA, MSS C.682, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1548-1576,' fol.98, before 1567, repairs to Navarrenx; fol.121, 1568, M. Darros is captain-general of Navarrenx. On the royal occupation of Béarn, and the Protestant refuge in the fortress Navarrenx, see Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.10, p.205; also Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Histoire de Pau*, p.41.

³ 'L'on a si grant faute d'argent que l'on a eu à toucher à vostre baiselle. Je vous assure que si vous n'y proboyés de à nous secourir par quelques moyens, que vostre pays est perdu ...' (BNF, Baluze 151, 4 April 1569 (orig.), in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.32.)

ers.⁴ Brave words, but in the period of repression under Terride, many of Jeanne's Protestant subjects in Béarn deserted the cause.⁵ Monluc, as lieutenant-general of Guyenne, took the opportunity thus presented to seize the large herds and flocks of domestic animals – reportedly to the value of 600,000 pounds – still in winter pasture in the Landes on their annual transhumance from the highlands of Navarre and Béarn.⁶

Jeanne was now a queen without a realm, stripped of her lands and properties. But, if the king's justice promulgated against Queen Jeanne was, in principle at least, severe, that to which Jeanne's rebellious followers in Guyenne were subjected was cataclysmic. On 6 April 1569 at Bordeaux, 579 Protestants of Guyenne were condemned to death. Their executions were ordered to be held at the principal gates of towns in the Bordelais, Landes, Saintonge, Angoumois, Agenais and Périgord. At Bordeaux, the execution was to be carried out before the royal palace of the Ombrière.⁷ The manner of their execution was to be as follows: their heads were to be cut off, after which the heads were to be displayed on the points of lances placed at the town gate, and the bodies, after being hanged, drawn and quartered, were to be trailed through the streets of the town behind horses. The belongings and titles of the deceased were to be confiscated, and their houses razed and burned.⁸ A similar fate awaited another 563 persons listed in 1570 for the seneschallies of Guyenne, the Agenais, and Saintonge.⁹

In 1568, the Protestant leaders of France had, as shown in the preceding chapter, succeeded in their exodus from bondage in 'vile Babylon' – royal Catholic France north of the Loire, and those areas of France south of the Loire under the direct control of the Catholic monarchy – and had attained sanctuary in La Rochelle, and in some other places within the adjacent area of Guyenne. But, what then?

⁴ ADPA, MS C.682, fols.123-127; date not visible; sequence appears to indicate a date after 1568, but before 1571.

⁵ Letter of de Salles, lieutenant-commander of Navarrenx, to Queen Jeanne, 4 April 1569, cited above; see also Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.280, and 280, n.47.

⁶ Salefranque, *Histoire*, p.72.

⁷ On the Ombrière, see Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony*, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1980, pp.79-80.

⁸ *Arch. Gir.*, vol.13, pp.399-420 (contemporary copy), and p.425.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.429-446.

The question then facing the Reformed leaders was this: How could a walled sanctuary holding a small community of the Reformed, protected by 30,000 troops and an arsenal of weaponry, be transformed into a Promised Land for God's chosen people? This chapter will examine that question through the varying military strategies of Condé, Coligny, and Queen Jeanne for the transformation of the Protestant situation from sanctuary to Promised Land, and the success and failure of the attempts made to carry them out by force of arms, in 1569 and 1570.

*b. La Rochelle, January to June 1569: 'Pax certa, Victoria integra,
Mors honesta'*

The first strategy, shared by the three leaders and aggressively pursued throughout the first half of 1569, was that of building up the combined Huguenot armed forces by every means at their disposal. Beginning from as early as October and November 1568, this effort was concentrated on obtaining aid from Elizabeth, especially siege guns and warships, 'to help the Huguenots keep control of the ports of Guyenne.'¹⁰ In part, the cost of this could be offset by exports of wine and salt from La Rochelle, and by the proceeds of privateering; but the monetary drain was already telling. Although Jeanne's accounts of this period record the well-known items of the gift of a gold chain to the admiral of England at a cost of 598 pounds, and another payment for the upkeep of her dogs, 862 pounds,¹¹ she soon had to deposit her jewels in London to secure a loan of 20,000 pounds for the war effort.¹²

Although the Protestant leaders were united in wanting to accumulate military strength, they were fundamentally divided on active strategies for the offensive deployment of that strength. The prince of

¹⁰ CSP For., vol.8 (1566-1568), p.562, no.2584, Throckmorton to Cecil (for Elizabeth), 6 October 1568, and no.2630, p.573, 6 November 1568, on munitions for Condé. See also Lawrence Stuart Metzger, 'The Protestant Cardinal: Odet de Coligny (1517-1571),' Boston University Graduate School, PhD, 1979, pp.247-8.

¹¹ ADPA, MSS B.11-B.15 (microfilm Bob 3 Mi 6), 1563-1569: *Compte des recettes et dépenses de la maison de Jeanne, reine de Navarre*, B.15, 1569, 'Compte quatorziesme,' fol.21, 'Ordonnance; receipts et depenses; Mandemens paies & acquietez.' No.1. is the gold chain item.

¹² CSP Spain, vol.2 (1568-79), no.124, de Spes to Philip II, 25 July 1569.

Condé, as overall chief of the Huguenot cause, and the admiral Coligny, as its military leader on the executive level, advocated, and proceeded to activate, a strategy that looked north towards Paris and the court of France. Their reasoning was that, by bringing military pressure of the strongest kind – that is, by destroying or greatly weakening the military power of the Catholic monarchy, and by imposing the grave threat of imminent conquest – they could dictate a new peace agreement which would definitively protect and empower those of the Reformed religion throughout France. It could follow that the Gallican church would cease to be Roman, and the monarchs of France would no longer be Most Catholic in the Roman sense. No doubt there was a range of expectations about the degree to which such a goal could be achieved; ideally, military pressure would succeed where the non-violent theological and political confrontation at the colloquy of Poissy had failed.

That appears to have been the plan of Condé and Coligny. Condé was soon to die, and – according to Michelet – Coligny burned his own memoirs;¹³ but this interpretation seems to accord with the events of the period, and what was said about them by La Noue, an eyewitness of Jarnac, who thought the Protestant army could have broken through to Paris;¹⁴ and by historians such as de Thou, and the editors of the Beza *Correspondance*. Specifically, since late November 1568, Condé and Coligny had begun making their move northwards in the direction of the bridge over the Loire at La Charité, which would provide ‘the means to pass from Guyenne’,¹⁵ and close on Paris and the court.¹⁶ Their strategy, even if it should seem fundamentally at odds with the miraculous image of their own ‘Exodus’ across the Loire from north to south of a few months earlier, had the appeal of the prospect of a relatively quick and spectacular success, especially given the advantages of La Rochelle’s location. Queen Jeanne, on the contrary, understandably looked southwards with

¹³ Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Paris, Marpon et Flammarion, 1879, vol.11, p.277.

¹⁴ La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, p.827.

¹⁵ Thou, *Histoire universelle*, vol.4 (1567-1573), p.199 (about 1569), and pp.323-4 (again in 1570).

¹⁶ Bèze, *Correspondance*, p.201, ed. n.4, ‘The prince of Condé and the admiral had, in effect, since the 28 November, begun to make their move towards the north, indicating their intention of crossing the Loire’ (citing S.C. Gigon, *La Troisième Guerre de Religion*, Paris, 1909, p.138).

impatience for the recovery of her realm and the relief of her loyal Reformed subjects in Béarn and Navarre, and of her loyal Reformed 'vassals' in Guyenne, as she had recently written in her *Mémoires*.¹⁷

On 13 March 1569, the prince of Condé's Protestant army met the royal Catholic army of France, led by the king's brother Henry of Anjou, in battle at Jarnac, not far east of Cognac. The losses were not great on either side, but Condé himself was surrounded and, in an act then held to have been contrary to the code of conduct of gentlemen in battle, was shot dead by an officer of the royal army. In the ensuing confusion, a number of important Protestant officers were taken prisoner, and the Protestant army scattered in retreat.¹⁸ Among the survivors on the Protestant side was Charles de Bourbon, bastard son of Jeanne's husband Antoine and Louise de la Beraudière.¹⁹

Jarnac was hailed as a Catholic victory, but it was not decisive. The Protestant army quickly regrouped at Tonnay-Charente, where, on 15 March 1569, Henry of Navarre, aged fifteen, as 'first prince of the blood', was proclaimed the new chief.²⁰ Prince Henry was to hold this position on the understanding that it would be exercised by Queen Jeanne politically, and Admiral Coligny militarily. Given that Condé had not been a brilliant military leader, the arrangement seemed sound, and confidence was restored. The army took the island of Médoc in the Gironde estuary, and retook Bourg, thus seeming to tighten the grip on Bordeaux.²¹ Soon after, to celebrate the arrival of German reinforcements, Jeanne had twelve gold medallions made in La Rochelle, each engraved on the face with the motto 'Pax certa, Victoria integra, Mors Honesta,' and on the reverse with her name and Henry's.²²

In public, Jeanne was confident, but her private moves bespoke a measure of desperation. On 17 March she wrote to Elizabeth from La

¹⁷ Jeanne d'Albret, *Mémoires*, p.97, previously noted.

¹⁸ There are many contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the battle of Jarnac. I have here relied primarily on La Noue, *Discours Politiques, et Militaires, du Seigneur de La Noue*, Dernière Edition, 1613, pp.694-5; La Popelinière, *La vraye et entiere histoire*, book 5, pp.168-171; and Syruell, *Journal*, pp.255-262. See also Wood, *The king's army*, p.25.

¹⁹ Père Anselme, *Histoire de la Maison Royale de France et des Grands Officiers de la Couronne*, pp.143-5.

²⁰ Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, vol.3, pp.56-7.

²¹ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entiere histoire*, book 5, p.178.

²² Ibid., pp.193-4. On these medallions, see also Babelon, *Henry IV*, p.153, and Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.315.

Rochelle, saying that she had sent an envoy to her to explain the defeat at Jarnac, that she trusted it would not affect aid from Elizabeth, and that she hoped her son Henry could be of service to her – a suggestion that has been taken to be a marriage hint.²³ By 21 March, Jeanne's representatives in London were attempting to borrow more money from Elizabeth, and it was reported that on 23 April, a fleet of 45 vessels departed London and Dover, destination La Rochelle, loaded with supplies to be paid for by wine and salt.²⁴ On 6 May, Queen Jeanne's envoys were telling Elizabeth that the Protestant armies were stronger than they had been before Jarnac, but again on 16 May Jeanne's envoy Puch de Pardailhon, who had participated in the Protestant attempt to take Bordeaux by stealth in 1562, was secretly at Elizabeth's court, trying to borrow money. It was reported on 23 May that he was refused.²⁵ Nevertheless, an item of 20 June 1569 in the registers of Jeanne's council at La Rochelle deals with a 'contract made and passed with the queen of England,'²⁶ and Jeanne wrote again to Elizabeth on 19 July, thanking her for her aid, and praying for its continuation.²⁷ Yet again, 27 July, Jeanne's envoys in London were reported to be seeking 200,000 ecus (60,000 pounds) against the security of her rings.²⁸

Not all of this fund-raising activity was in vain. Queen Jeanne caused to be built, and in late 1569 presented to the Protestant navy at La Rochelle, 'La Huguenotte', a warship described as being of 800-900 tons, and carrying 40-45 cannon.²⁹ (The term 'Huguenot', which began to be used in or about 1560, was not regarded as a term of denigration by French Protestants, though it was often used as such by their opponents.)³⁰ By June-July 1569, Coligny was laying

²³ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, p.231n, citing State Papers France, vol.45, Jeanne at La Rochelle to Cecil (Elizabeth), 17 March 1569.

²⁴ *Correspondance de La Mothe Fénelon*, vol.1, p.268, 21 March 1569, and p.336, 23 April 1569.

²⁵ *Correspondance de La Mothe Fénelon*, vol.1, p.367, 6 May 1569 to King Charles IX; p.385, 16 May 1569; p.397, 23 May 1569.

²⁶ AN, K 100/b, no.54, fol.3r, Monday 20 June 1569. A further item of Wednesday 22 June deals with payment at the port of Brouage.

²⁷ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, p.260, citing British Museum MS Cotton E VI, fol.10619, July 1569, Queen Jeanne to Elizabeth from la Rochelle.

²⁸ *Correspondance de La Mothe Fénelon*, vol.2, p.98, 27 July 1569 to King Charles IX. A note in vol.1, p.409, states that 40,000 pounds sterling was equivalent to 133,000 ecus. On that basis, 200,000 ecus would have been worth 60,150 pounds.

²⁹ La Popelinière, *Vraie et entière histoire*, book 11, p.327.

³⁰ On this, see *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps* (Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972), 'Discussion,' p.346. See also, with caution, Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol.7, chapter four, 'Le nom de huguenot,' pp.379-99.

siege to Poitiers, which was held by the duke of Guise, with the apparent intention of resuming the offensive aimed northwards towards La Charité-sur-Loire and the gates of Paris.³¹

Jeanne, meantime, had, as J.H.M. Salmon has said, assumed a more important political role – that of acting Protestant party chief – since the death of Condé and the regrouping after Jarnac at Tonnay-Charente.³² Salmon's statement appears to be substantiated by the amounts of money said to have been allocated to each of the leaders by the Huguenot party: 'The Queen of Navarre as chief leader was paid [out of a total of 800,000 francs] the sum of 100,000 francs; they paid the admiral for his upkeep and salary 40,000; Monsieur de la Rochefoucauld 10,000; Captain Piles and Briquemart and others like them, brave and experienced fighting men, 3,000 to 4,000 francs each.'³³ Jeanne was now in a commanding position to revise policy, and to initiate the strategies required to put those new policies into effect. First among these was her southward strategy for the reconquest of her realm of Béarn and Navarre. The second stage of that strategy, I will argue, would be for the conquest of Bordeaux, and hence Guyenne.

Before presenting the unfolding of those military strategies, however, I will first consider what may have been an important source of their conception, justification for carrying them out, and faith in their successful outcomes: biblical precedent and authority.

c. 'The land of the Amorites'

We have already seen, in Jeanne's letters, in her *Mémoires*, and in the crossing of the Loire by Condé and Coligny in 1568, evidence of the self-identification of French Protestants with the Israelites in the Old Testament events of the Exodus. The general point has been made that the first-generation French Protestants interpreted and used the

³¹ BNF, Baluze 151, fols.2-3, 20-24 July 1569, Coligny at Lusignan to Jeanne at la Rochelle, transcribed in Communay, *Histoire*, p.42. See also La Popelinière, *La vraye et entière histoire*, book 7, battle of Niort, book 8, siege of Poitiers.

³² J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century*, London, Methuen, 1979, p.174.

³³ Quoted in translation from 'The Venetian Michieli' of 1571, in Julian Coudy, ed., *The Huguenot Wars*, trans. Julie Kernan, Philadelphia, Chilton Book Co., 1969, p.174.

Psalms of David on three levels: firstly, on the literal level of the God and Israelites of the Old Testament narratives; secondly, as New Testament Christian prophecy; thirdly, and most importantly, in identifying their own contemporary situation with that of the Israelites of the Old Testament narratives.³⁴ In this third sense, they *were* the Israelites and chosen people of God. The psalter was 'the principal tool with which this identity' – that of being a chosen people – was 'forged in adversity.'³⁵ It has also been demonstrated that French Protestant identification with Old Testament models as 'the Children of Israel' is evident in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* of 1554, suggesting that a biblical framework may have been used to justify and legitimise militant actions, even prior to the Wars of Religion.³⁶

In or about 1567, a short time before the events which will be described below, Theodore Beza wrote a letter to Admiral Coligny. Beza's letter, in the form of a treatise subtitled 'Sur le gouvernement spirituel et le gouvernement temporel,' was written in reply to an inquiry from Coligny, and it deals with the question of the application of scripture to battle decisions.³⁷ Beza cites various Old Testament examples of failures to consult and believe the word of God through the prophets before giving battle, from I Samuel 13: 8-16, I Kings 22: 1-35, and 2 Chronicles 18, and applies them to the present. Then, in a sentence omitted in one of the two extant contemporary copies used by the editors, he restricts the military application of scripture to consequences based on moral grounds. The following quotation is of the most relevant portion, as given in translation by the editors of a recent document collection which includes the Beza letter:³⁸

³⁴ This point has been made by Barbara Diefendorf, 'The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century,' in Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, eds., *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, pp.41-63; especially, 45-6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.54.

³⁶ Charles H. Parker, 'French Calvinists as the Children of Israel: An Old Testament Self-Consciousness in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* before the Wars of Religion,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* (1993), previously cited.

³⁷ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.8, annex VII, letter of Beza to Coligny, 1567, pp.270-276. Variations in two contemporary copies (Amsterdam and Grenoble) are indicated in the notes, pp.276-8.

³⁸ From Beza's letter to Coligny as translated in Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, and Andrew Pettegree, *Calvinism 1540-1610: A collection of documents*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1992, p.109. The editors correctly cite

The same king fell into great difficulty because he had made an alliance with Ahab, which he would not have done if he consulted the prophets of the Lord, and these prophets reproached him with this ... [Hezekiah died for having fêted the ambassadors of Babylon.]³⁹ The prophets cried out against the alliances with Egypt and with Assyria. The prophet Jeremiah warned that if the city was not given back all would be lost.⁴⁰ Can we say that these prophets had exceeded their bounds? No, certainly we cannot. Nor will it do to claim that the age of prophetic revelation is past. For even though individual and extraordinary visions are no longer vouchsafed, the Word of God endures for ever and its ministry likewise, and it will endure with the same authority to the end of the world.

For howsoever much it may be said that giving orders for a battle, making an alliance between one kingdom and another, receiving ambassadors, besieging or defending a city, and all such matters are really political in nature, the involvement of ecclesiastical government has indeed been necessary in order to make certain that their outcome was in accordance with the will of God. {However that involvement has not been on the same level as the political, but merely with regard to the matter of conscience, in order to decide whether or not a course of action could be or should be taken, in the light of the will of God.}⁴¹

Despite the modifying restriction of the last sentence (which, as I have noted, was present in one copy of the letter, but omitted in the other), it is clear that Beza advises biblical consultation before military decisions are made. As I have shown, both Jeanne and Beza (who was Jeanne's chaplain at Nérac and Poissy) have evoked the 'God of armies' in their writings, and that God is the God of the book of Exo-

Correspondance, 8, annex 7, p.271, but incorrectly give the date as 1570. The letter is undated, but the editors of the *Correspondance* ascribe to it a date of 1567. It would have been virtually impossible for this correspondence to have taken place during Coligny's involvement in the events of 1569-1570.

³⁹ Segment in square brackets omitted by the editors. The segment enclosed in pointed brackets is the portion omitted in one of the two extant copies. The reference is to 2 Kings 20: 16: 'Then Isaiah said to Hezekiah, "Hear the word of the Lord: Behold, the days are coming, when all that is in your house, and that which your fathers have stored up till this day, shall be carried to Babylon; nothing shall be left, says the Lord."' (*NOAB*.)

⁴⁰ Jeremiah 38: 17: 'Then Jeremiah said to Zedekiah, "Thus says the Lord, the God of hosts, the God of Israel, If you surrender to the princes of the king of Babylon, then your life shall be spared, and this city [of Jerusalem] shall not be burned with fire, and you and your house shall live."' (*NOAB*.) For Coligny, this prophecy would be fulfilled in the breach.

⁴¹ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.8, p.271.

dus and its Old Testament continuations. I have argued that in the symbolic 'code' of Jeanne's letters, particularly in those to the viscount of Gourdon, 'Egypt' is Catholic northern France, 'Babylon' is the Paris court, the 'Promised Land' is Protestant France south of the Loire, and 'the children of Abraham' are those of the Reformed religion. 'She is our Deborah,'⁴² Aubigné said of Queen Jeanne, taking his model from the book of Judges, as I have already noted: 'you arose, Deborah, arose as mother in Israel. When new gods were chosen, then war was in the gates.'⁴³

If Jeanne had a specific biblical model for her war strategies of 1568, what might it have been? One line of investigation can be found by looking ahead to a document of the reign of Jeanne's son as Henry IV of France. In 1607, when Henry's lands, which he had kept separate in 1590, were united with the crown of France, the following justification for the exclusion of Béarn and Basse Navarre was supplied by the sieur de Beloy:

Those of Béarn seem to have prescribed their liberty, and one can reproach the French for that which Jephthah, judge of the Israelites, ruled against the king of the Ammonites, who wanted to get back his land from the children of Jacob, who had conquered it by force of arms, and to whom it had been promised and given by God, by whose will they had possessed it for three hundred years.⁴⁴

This use of the model of the Israelite hero Jephthah, who established their right of possession of the land promised to them by God, exemplifies the practical application of the eleventh book of Judges to the question of the independence of Béarn and Navarre. Its use for that purpose in 1607, and, therefore, the identification of the biblical hero Jephthah with Jeanne's son Henry of Navarre,⁴⁵ warrants a close look

⁴² Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Les Tragiques, Oeuvres complètes* (eds. Réaume and Caussade), vol.2, 'Les Fers,' pp.214-15.

⁴³ Judges 5: 7 (*NOAB*).

⁴⁴ 'Ceux de Béarn semblent avoir prescripte leur liberté, & on peut reprocher aux François, ce que Jephté, juge des Israélites, opposoit au Roy des Ammonites, qui vouloit repeter sa terre sur les enfans de Jacob, qui l'avoient conquise par les armes, & leur avoit esté promise & donnée de Dieu, par la volonté duquel il l'avoit possédée par trois cens ans.' In Olhagaray, *Histoire de Foix, Bearn, et Navarre* (1609), p.771.

⁴⁵ Jephthah having been not only 'a mighty warrior' but also 'the son of a harlot' may have posed a problem for the Protestants. (Judges 11: 1.) Perhaps the fact that Jeanne had been falsely accused of adultery by Spifame in Geneva in 1566 (see chapter four above) would have served as a sufficient, and blameless, analogy.

at the biblical text through, as it were, the eyes of Jeanne of Navarre in 1568. The relevant passage is contained in verses 12 to 28. First, the following portion, from which I have deliberately excluded verses 17-20 (and to which I will return), establishes the example of 'right of possession':

12 Then Jephthah sent messengers to the king of the Ammonites and said, "What have you against me, that you have come to me to fight against my land?" 13 And the king of the Ammonites answered the messengers of Jephthah, "Because Israel on coming from Egypt took away my land, from the Arnon to the Jabbok and to the Jordan; now therefore restore it peaceably." 14 And Jephthah sent messengers again to the king of the Ammonites 15 and said to him, "Thus says Jephthah: Israel did not take away the land of the Ammonites, 16 but when they came up from Egypt, Israel went through the wilderness to the Red Sea and came to Kadesh. ... 21 And the Lord, the God of Israel, gave Sihon and all his people into the hand of Israel, and they defeated them; so Israel took possession of all the land of the Amorites, who inhabited the country."⁴⁶

In the above passage, it is necessary to distinguish between the undisputed 'land of the Ammonites', which lay to the north-east, and the disputed 'land of the Amorites', bordered by the Salt (Dead) Sea to the west and the river Arnon on the south.⁴⁷ Now, 'right of possession' having been established, I will present lines 17-21 in isolation with a view to establishing a biblical model for military strategy (the emphasis is mine):

17 "Israel then sent messengers to the king of Edom, saying, 'Let us pass, we pray, through your land'; but the king of Edom would not listen. So Israel remained at Kadesh. 18 Then they journeyed through the wilderness, and went around the land of Edom and the land of Moab, and camped on the other side of the Arnon; but they did not enter the territory of Moab, for *the Arnon was the boundary of Moab*. 19 Israel then sent messengers to Sihon king of the Amorites, king of Heshbon; and Israel said to him, '*Let us pass, we pray, through your land to our country*.' 20 But Sihon did not trust Israel to pass through his territory; so Sihon gathered all his people together, and encamped at Jahaz, and fought with Israel. 21 And the Lord, the God of Israel, gave Sihon

⁴⁶ Judges 11: 12-16, 21 (NOAB).

⁴⁷ Map 1, 'The Land of Canaan, Abraham to Moses,' (NOAB).

and all his people into the hand of Israel, and they defeated them; *so Israel took possession of all the land of the Amorites, who inhabited that country.*"⁴⁸

If, in the above passage, we let the river Arnon be the river Garonne, the strategy becomes clear. In that time of the first golden age of the court anagrammatist, and given the symbolic power then attributed to anagrams, would Jeanne and her advisers have overlooked the anagram of Arnon contained in G(aronn)e?⁴⁹ While it is not possible to prove that the analogy between biblical Arnon and contemporary Garonne was made, there is one piece of evidence supporting such an argument: the practical application, already noted, of Judges 11: 12-28 to the 'right of possession' of Béarn and Navarre in 1607. By emulating the Exodus route from Kadesh in the wilderness, avoiding battle by passing around the hostile land of Moab (Catholic-controlled Guyenne), and passing around the course of the river Arnon (Garonne) before entering the land of the Amorites (southern Guyenne or Gascony) on the other side of the river,⁵⁰ a first-stage strategy for the Protestant reconquest of Béarn and Navarre is indicated.

Further, a biblical precedent for the second-stage conquest of southern Guyenne or Gascony suggests itself: having crossed to the other side of the Arnon (Garonne), and with God's help having defeated the enemy in battle there, the Israelites (Protestants) obtained, by God's will, all the land of the Amorites (Guyenne south of the Garonne). 'For the Arnon was the boundary of Moab,' just as the Garonne was the boundary between the northern and southern halves of the territory of the government of Guyenne; and they thus obtained all the towns along the course of the Arnon (Garonne, including Bordeaux). Jephthah continues:

22 "And they took possession of *all the land of the Amorites from the Arnon* to the Jabbok and from the wilderness to the Jordan. 23 So then the

⁴⁸ Judges 11: 17-21 (*NOAB*). In the *Geneva Bible* of 1560, the only significant difference is in verse 19, where it reads, 'Let us passe, we pray thee, by thy land unto our *place*.' This difference is, however, negated by the marginal note on p. 114: 'Or, *country*.'

⁴⁹ Notable, in addition to the association of Michel Nostradamus (1503-1566) with the court of Catherine de Médicis, was the position of Royal Anagrammatist held by Thomas Billon at the court of Louis XIII. His numerous anagram messages on the single repeated 45-letter text (in French and Latin) 'Louis Treisiesme de Bourbon Roy de France et de Navarre,' and the mystical quality of prediction attributed to them, can be seen in the printed pamphlet, Thomas Billon, *Les presages du bon-heur du roy, et de la France*, Paris, A. Savgrain, 1617. (Microfilm 'French Political Pamphlets,' no. 3797, reel 53, Woodbridge [Ct], Research Publications, Inc.)

⁵⁰ Map 2, 'The Exodus,' (*NOAB*).

Lord, the God of Israel, dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel; and are you to take possession of them? 24 Will you not possess what Chemosh your god gives you to possess? And all that the Lord our God has dispossessed before us, we will possess. 25 Now are you any better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever strive against Israel, or did he ever go to war with them? 26 While Israel dwelt in Heshbon and its villages, and in Aro'er and its villages, and in *all the cities that are on the banks of the Arnon*, three hundred years, why did you not recover them within that time? 27 I therefore have not sinned against you, and you do me wrong by making war on me; the Lord, the Judge, decide this day between the people of Israel and the people of Ammon." 28 But the king of the Ammonites did not heed the message of Jephthah which he sent to him.⁵¹

Other analogies could be made, or could have been made, such as that Guyenne had been in English (hence, eventually, Protestant) hands for three hundred years; but there seems little or no point in pushing this speculative approach any farther. No firm conclusion can be reached on the question, except to say that it seems worth bearing in mind that what happened next may, firstly, have been planned with guidance from, and put into action with belief in the support of, what would have been held to be the Word of God; and, secondly, that such a biblical inspiration may have confirmed the validity of a two-stage objective: Béarn first, then Guyenne.

A further, more certain, and perhaps more important, hypothesis can be made from the analogy in Judges, through which Aubigné called Queen Jeanne 'our Deborah.'⁵² As has been shown, Calvin and his followers bestowed legitimate authority and power – even in military matters – on women, particularly widows, and more especially queens – through biblical exegesis.⁵³ Deborah's high office was validated, despite her gender, by God's special dispensation, which was confirmed by miracles.⁵⁴ Calvin has been perceived as having specifically regarded

⁵¹ Judges 11: 22-28 (*NOAB*).

⁵² Aubigné, *Les Tragiques*, 'Les Fers,' cited above.

⁵³ John Lee Thompson, *John Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in regular and exceptional roles in the exegesis of Calvin, his predecessors, and his contemporaries*, Geneva, Droz, 1992, particularly 'Calvin and the Exceptional Women of His Day,' on Marguerite d'Angoulême, Jeanne d'Albret, and Elizabeth I, pp.48-52, and 'Other Exceptional Women of the Old Testament,' on Deborah, pp.180-184.

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters*, pp.180-1.

Jeanne d'Albret as a Deborah⁵⁵ – one who, despite being a woman, is recognised as able to exercise, contrary to woman's nature, the normally male roles of 'deliverer, prophet, judge, and warrior.'⁵⁶ The statement that Jeanne 'became the acknowledged leader of the Huguenot party until her death'⁵⁷ only holds true, however, for the period following September 1568 (her arrival at La Rochelle) at the earliest, or, more demonstrably, after March 1569 (the death of Condé at Jarnac).

*d. Béarn, June to September 1569: 'a war so holy as this,
which is the question of the honour and glory of God'*

From Nontron in Périgord on 8 June 1569,⁵⁸ Jeanne's general Montgomery, acting under her orders, began moving south and east with a small band of cavalry officers who shared a secret objective: the Protestant reconquest of Béarn and Navarre. This section will recount the campaign in considerable detail, based primarily on contemporary letters, especially the dispatches to Jeanne from her chief officers in the field. Some of these have, fortunately, been transcribed and published by Communay in *Les Huguenots dans le Béarn et la Navarre*, and by others; but many remain in particularly difficult manuscript form. The aim of this investigation is not to construct a new narrative of this campaign, remarkable though it was; the object is to look for, and present in context, evidence as to whether the Béarn campaign was regarded by its participants as a prelude to – perhaps an inseparable element of the strategy for – the main offensive for the Protestant conquest of Guyenne.

This does not imply that the Béarn campaign was regarded lightly by either side. Blaise de Monluc's son Jean, acting, in Condom, as the king's financial representative for Guyenne, imposed a special tax of 10 pounds 10 shillings per month on each parish of Comminges, for a period of three years.⁵⁹ The quotation which serves as a heading for

⁵⁵ Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters*, p.51. Thompson notes (n.71) that he has been unable to find such a quotation on Jeanne d'Albret as Deborah, attributed to Calvin by Paulsen, *Calvin and die Frauen*, p.991. Possibly, Paulsen attributed to Calvin the words from Aubigné I have already cited: 'She is our Deborah.'

⁵⁶ Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters*, p.181.

⁵⁷ Thompson, *Calvin and the Daughters*, p.50.

⁵⁸ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.175.

⁵⁹ L'Abbé J. Lestrade, ed., *Les Huguenots en Comminges. Documents inédits ...*, Paris, H. Champion, 1900, p.126, 23 May 1569.

this section, above, is taken from an ordinance of the Catholic representatives of the king of France; Monluc as lieutenant-general, and, during the suspension from office of Henry of Navarre, acting governor, of Guyenne; and Henry of Montmorency-Damville as governor of Languedoc. The ordinance was posted at Tarbes, in Bigorre to the east of Pau, and is dated 9 December 1568 – half a year before the Protestant invasion of Béarn and Navarre was launched. The ordinance describes to the populace the nature of the coming conflict in terms usually reserved for a crusade. It insists that the people must consider themselves engaged in a Holy War, and one in which they must prepare themselves for

The holy war that this is, in which it is a question of the honour and glory of God, of the Holy Mother and of all the saints of Paradise, and secondly by the life and crown of our King and sovereign prince, and generally by the loss of their own persons, belongings, and positions.⁶⁰

Montgomery's little band of twelve 'master' horsemen was able to pass without conflict through Périgord, crossing the river Dordogne near Souillac before entering the Protestant safe town of Montauban, near the border of Guyenne with Languedoc.⁶¹ From there, they continued south-eastwards down the 'safe route' to their rendezvous with the other Protestant captains at Castres, in Languedoc, on 21 June 1569.⁶² As De Vic and Vaissete said, Languedoc was 'one of the boulevards of Protestantism of which the two gates were Nîmes and Montauban.'⁶³

Thus, in effect, Montgomery (whether wittingly or not) had successfully carried out the Exodus strategy of Judges 11: 18 (above), by passing around the 'land of Moab' and its border along the 'river Arnon' (Catholic-controlled Guyenne and the river Garonne) without engag-

⁶⁰ 'une guerre si sainte qui est cette ci, en laquelle est question de l'honneur et gloire de Dieu, de sa sacrée Mere et de tous les saints de Paradis, secondement de la vie et corone de notre Roi et souverain prince, et generalement de la perte de leurs personnes, biens et etats.' In Durier and du Pont, *Huguenots en Bigorre*, p.117, citing Bibliothèque de Tarbes, Glanages de Larcher, vol.XVI, pp.288 *et seq.*, 9 December 1568.

⁶¹ La Popelinière, *Vraie et entiere histoire*, p.193. The episode is also described by Aubigné in *Histoire universelle*. In the Thierry edition this is vol.3, pp.99-107, 8-27 June 1569. It is Aubigné who says that Montgomery initially took only 11 'masters' to Castres, not 200 as others claim.

⁶² Communay, *Huguenots*, p.175.

⁶³ De Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol.2 (1443-1643), Preface, p.vi.

ing in battle or signalling the coming invasion. There is ample evidence that Monluc and Montmorency-Damville were expecting, and preparing for, a Protestant invasion from the north which would attempt to cross the Garonne somewhere between the region of Agen, the headquarters of Monluc's army of Guyenne, and Muret, near Toulouse, the region where Montmorency-Damville's army of Languedoc was mustered.⁶⁴ Consequently, when the invasion actually began far to the south, they had their backs turned to it: Monluc's force defending the lower Garonne at Bordeaux-Agen, and Damville's army holding the middle Garonne at Muret-Toulouse, against an expected invasion from the north.

At Castres, meantime, Montgomery and his captains assembled what has been called the 'Army of the Viscounts', composed as it was of the military followings of a number of the Protestant viscounts of the south – among them, as an indisputably authentic original field dispatch from this campaign indicates – Jeanne's viscount Gourdon of the disputed Vallant letter collection.⁶⁵

This 'Army of the Viscounts' was led by men who knew the country well. Gabriel de Lorges, count of Montgomery,⁶⁶ already infamous for having caused the death of Henry II of France in a joust, was a brilliant military leader who also knew the territory well.⁶⁷ The army he assembled, said by La Popelinière to have been composed of some 500-600 cavalry and 4,000-5,000 'arquebusiers' – foot soldiers carrying guns which were fired from portable forked supports they planted in the ground – would seem to us to have been less than ideally mobile for a rapid cross-country sweep, but that is precisely what it would accomplish.⁶⁸ The evidence of a dispatch from Montgomery indicates that his force was actually much smaller – 2,500 in all, with a higher proportion of cavalry – and so would have had greater mobility.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Lestrade, *Les Huguenots en Comminges*, documents from the Archives de Muret, 13 June 1569, p.44, 4 September 1569, p.54.

⁶⁵ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.28, 24 September 1569, Gourdon at Navarrenx to Queen Jeanne at La Rochelle.

⁶⁶ Spelled 'Mongomery' by him in his letters; 'Mongommery' by Jeanne in her letters. Elsewhere, also spelled 'Montgonmery', and 'Montgommeri'.

⁶⁷ Guillaume Mauran, *Sommaire Description du Pais et Comté de Bigorre*, ed. Gaston Balencie, Paris, H. Champion, 1887 (ed. of 1614), p.126.

⁶⁸ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entiere histoire*, p.229.

⁶⁹ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.34, 9 August 1569, Montgomery at Navarrenx to Queen Jeanne at La Rochelle.

On 27 July 1569, this army set out from Castres on its primary mission: the reconquest of Béarn. On that same day, both Montgomery and his second in command, Bernard of Astarac, baron of Montamat, one of the leaders of Jeanne's escort on the march from Nérac to La Rochelle,⁷⁰ sent letters to Queen Jeanne in La Rochelle. Montgomery wrote to Jeanne of 'the great desire I have to carry out your orders';⁷¹ but it is Montamat's letter that most deserves our close attention. After expressing his confidence in the outcome of the military venture on which they are about to embark, Montamat advises Jeanne to bring the whole northern 'Army of the Princes' south to the banks of the Garonne, in order to surround and prevent the escape of the royal Catholic forces: 'il seroit necessaire, Madame, que l'armée de Messeigneurs les Princes s'aprochast ung peu du cousté de la dite riviere de Garonne, affin de tenir l'ennemy encerné.'⁷² I have taken this quotation from Communay's transcription in *Les Huguenots dans le Béarn et la Navarre*, and have been able to confirm his transcription against the now almost unreadable original manuscript.⁷³ The field dispatches of this campaign held in the Baluze collection at the Bibliothèque nationale de France are written, uncoded, in a microscopic hand across narrow bands of paper, which were wound into small tight scrolls for concealment on the person of the courier. In nearly all cases, the ink has become so faded that magnification is not effective.

Montamat's letter to Jeanne clearly implies, even before the Béarn offensive was begun, an intent to carry out the second stage of the operation, the conquest of Guyenne south of the Garonne. It also raises some questions. Why was it necessary to risk discovery by sending this uncoded message so early? And why did Montamat give the advice, and not Montgomery? It seems likely that the leaders of the southern Army of the Viscounts would have been anxious to make sure that the northern Army of the Princes would not be dissuaded

⁷⁰ Chapter five, above.

⁷¹ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.12, Montgomery at Castres to Jeanne at La Rochelle, 27 July 1569. Also transcribed in Communay, *Huguenots*, pp.43-4: 'la bonne envye que j'ay de mettre voz commandemens à l'exécution.'

⁷² BNF, Baluze 151, fol.10, Montamat at Castres to Jeanne at La Rochelle, 27 July 1569. Also transcribed in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.45.

⁷³ The absence of folio numbers in the Communay transcriptions has created difficulties, especially when referring to letters with identical dates; except as noted, I have added folio numbers from the original manuscripts in the Baluze collection.

from carrying out its role, and that it would not begin its move too late. It is also possible that the sentence quoted above was a pre-arranged 'green light' signal, to be inserted in Montamat's dispatch when the operation went into action. Montamat's other dispatches to Jeanne show that it was quite usual for him independently to give advice to, and receive orders from, Queen Jeanne.

Having left Castres at noon on 27 July, the army of Montgomery and Montamat, pillaging along the way, passed through Mazères in Foix, crossed the Garonne on the still intact bridge at St Gaudens, crossed the Gave at Coarreze, and, on 9 August 1569, fourteen days after departing Castres, entered Jeanne's fortress Navarrenx, relieving its Protestant garrison and ending the siege against the last refuge of the Reformed governors of Béarn.⁷⁴ By modern roads, this is a distance travelled of 365 kilometres. For a sixteenth-century army to have covered an average of 26 kilometres a day while advancing through enemy territory is a remarkable feat.

Two days after his relief of Navarrenx, Montgomery moved on 11 August to the attack of the town of Orthez, where Terride, the commander of the Catholic forces of Béarn, was holding out.⁷⁵ By 15 August Montgomery had captured Orthez, taking prisoner Terride and other officers.⁷⁶ Responsibility for the subsequent executions of both Terride and Bassillon, the Catholic governor of Navarrenx,⁷⁷ the killing of a number of captive Catholic officers said to have been attempting to escape from Navarrenx, and other atrocities carried out by Montgomery and his army at Artix,⁷⁸ Tarbes,⁷⁹ and elsewhere, has sometimes been attributed directly to Queen Jeanne.

Communay, a Catholic historian, has pointed out that Montgomery, as he said in his letter to Jeanne quoted above, was anxious

⁷⁴ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.34, 9 August 1569, Montgomery to Jeanne, already cited. Itinerary as in Communay, *Huguenots*, pp.175-6; for the mention of Coarreze, Communay cites Bordenave, *Histoire*.

⁷⁵ Communay, *Huguenots*, Itinerary, pp.175-6.

⁷⁶ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.19, 15 August 1569, names of prisoners, including Terride. BNF, Baluze 151, fol.11, 16 August 1569, Montgomery at Orthez to Jeanne, about M. Terride taken prisoner with many others, and four cannon taken.

⁷⁷ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.176, Navarrenx, 20-28 September.

⁷⁸ Communay, *Huguenots*, Itinerary, pp.175-6, shows Montgomery's army took Artix on 18-19 August, killing Minor brothers of the convent (see also Bordenave, *Histoire*, p.280).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.176. Burning of Tarbes, 1-4 September.

to carry out orders he had received from Queen Jeanne before he had set out from Nontron. That would not seem in itself unusual, but Communay sees more sinister implications in a letter of Montamat's sent to Jeanne from Pau on 21 August, after most of the executions and killings had taken place. 'Awaiting the rest of your orders,' Montamat writes, 'on the procedure you wish taken with the rebels against Your Majesty.'⁸⁰ In Communay's view, this indicates that Jeanne may have given the orders to execute the prisoners at Orthez and Navarrenx.⁸¹ Further, Communay sees a more pointed indication of Jeanne's responsibility in Montgomery's dispatch to her from Pau on 23 August, when he writes, 'Le present porteur vous descrira la maniere de nostre procedé sur l'excellence de la justice, jusques à ce que vous y ayés aultrement ordonné.'⁸² I was unable to see this in the now almost invisible text of the scroll,⁸³ but have no reason to doubt Communay's transcription. In this, we are not, however, party to the courier's oral description; it may well be that Montgomery's statement was couched primarily to protect himself from blame.

There is no specific evidence to support Communay's view on this point. None of Jeanne's communications from La Rochelle to Montgomery during this period – if there were any – appears to have been received, as indicated by his complaint to Jeanne about not having had any answers to his 'thirteen or fourteen' letters, even though two of her couriers had arrived. This last statement might be taken as an indication of Jeanne's disapproval of Montgomery's actions – if she had received word of them.⁸⁴ Communay cites a Catholic source which refers to a letter of Jeanne's written from St Maixent in the Gironde, in which she is said to say that she regrets the killings of the Catholic leaders at Navarrenx, which were beyond her control, and occurred when they attempted to escape.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the modern historian Yves Cazaux has written, in the conclusion of his

⁸⁰ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.6, 21 August 1569, Montamat at Pau to Jeanne, about M. de Gramont. Montamat writes, 'En attendant le reste de voz commandementz sur la procedure que voules qu'on face aux rebelles de Vostre Majesté.'

⁸¹ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.56.

⁸² Communay, *Huguenots*, p.58.

⁸³ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.13, 23 August 1569, Montgomery at Pau to Queen Jeanne.

⁸⁴ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.16, 5 September 1569, Montgomery at Tarbes to Jeanne; also, BNF, Baluze 151, fol.14, 11 September 1569, Montgomery at Grenade to Jeanne, says he still has had no response from her.

⁸⁵ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.70, citing BNF, fr 15550, fol.53, 28 September 1569.

article, 'Pour un nouveau portrait de Jeanne d'Albret,' that 'la reine Jeanne se présente à nous les mains nettes, sans taches de sang.'⁸⁶ To question this statement, in my view, it is not necessary to pass judgement on Jeanne. It is most improbable that she could have known about, let alone prevented, the killings at Orthez and Navarrenx. In general, she avoided violence. Nevertheless, the war was carried to those places under her direct orders, and the killings did happen. The militant Jeanne may have been no Lady Macbeth, but she did not hesitate to evoke 'the God of Armies' in her letters and *Mémoires* of 1568, nor did she later shrink from accepting responsibility, 'in the name of the Lord', for the shedding of blood on both sides.

On 20 August 1569, five days after the capitulation of Orthez, Montgomery, Montamat, and the Protestant 'Army of the Viscounts' was at Pau.⁸⁷ In what was described as an 'action of grace', Pau was secured by 22 August. According to the historian Olaizola, a service of thanks for the relief of Pau was held in the cathedral of St Martin, with Pierre Viret leading the assembly in Psalm 124, 'Our help is in the name of the Lord':⁸⁸

If it had not been the Lord
who was on our side,
let Israel now say –
if it had not been the Lord
who was on our side,
when men rose up against us⁸⁹

This was a sentiment which will be encountered again in section *f*, below. Montgomery wrote a triumphant letter to Queen Jeanne from Pau on 23 August. Having reported to her that he had retaken all of Béarn and Navarre, Montgomery recommended that Jeanne's son Henry should take his cavalry south to Agen, cross the Garonne, and cut off the retreat of Monluc's Catholic forces. In that way, Montgomery advised, the Protestants could take all of Gascony, just as they had done in Béarn: 'et si reduyrions la Gascogne, non plus ny moins qu'avons faict le pays de Bearn.'⁹⁰ Montgomery's strategy, it

⁸⁶ *BSHPF* (October-December 1973), 527.

⁸⁷ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.9, 20 August 1569, Montamat at Pau to Jeanne.

⁸⁸ Olaizola, *Historia*, pp.149-150.

⁸⁹ Psalm 124, verse 1, ll.1-2 (*NOAB*).

⁹⁰ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.13, 23 August 1569, Montgomery at Pau to Jeanne, already cited above.

will be noted, does not differ from that advised by Montamat in his letter sent to Jeanne on the day the Béarn campaign began,⁹¹ except that the complete success in Béarn now enabled Montgomery to recommend, still more confidently, crossing the Garonne for the conquest of southern Guyenne.

A little later, the course of action recommended in Montgomery's letter to Jeanne was confirmed by another dispatch to her from his firebrand captain Peyre, who, in urging Jeanne to send forces from the north to assist those of Montgomery in the south, wrote that

if you do that, you can count not only on the retention of your country of Béarn, but also of Guyenne, of all that there is from the river Dordogne to as far as Toulouse.⁹²

Meantime, however, Monluc had by 17 August moved his army south from Agen, to take up a blocking position along the north bank of the river Adour, at Aire-sur-Adour, standing between the Protestant army at Pau and its presumed return to the north.⁹³ But, the effectiveness of Monluc's defence was hampered by the fact that he had incorrectly anticipated an invasion across the line of the Garonne around Agen, having as late as 18 June 1569 (when Montgomery was already approaching Castres in Languedoc) asked for 1,000 more arquebusiers to reinforce the line at Agen, where his troops found themselves facing the wrong way when the first invasion came.⁹⁴ Now, facing south along the line of the Adour, they would again be facing the wrong way if a second invasion were to approach the Garonne far behind them around Agen. Those were problems of faulty intelligence and the resultant tactical errors; but the most serious problem for Monluc was political.

⁹¹ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.10, 27 July 1569, Montamat at Castres to Jeanne, already cited above.

⁹² 'le besoing qu'il [Montgomery] a que Vostre Magesté luy envoie quelques forces, je ne vous en diray aultre chose fors que sy vous le fectes, pouvés fere estat, non seulement de la conservation de vostre pays de Bear, mès du Guien, de tout ce qui est depuis la riviere de Dordogne jusques à Tholouze.' This important letter is transcribed in Communay, *Huguenots*, pp.65-6, citing BNF, Baluze 151 (folio no. unspecified), 19 September 1569, Geoffroy de Peyre-Marchastel, baron of Peyre, to Jeanne. I have been unable to identify this important folio among many which are now unreadable. The folio numbers assigned to the manuscripts in this collection bear no relation to their chronological order.

⁹³ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.54.

⁹⁴ Lestrade, *Huguenots en Comminges*, p.141.

If Monluc was ambitious, and a jealous guardian of his power base as acting governor of Guyenne, Henry of Montmorency-Damville, governor of Languedoc, a moderate Catholic *politique*, was equally determined in his resolve to retain his power in Languedoc. This potential conflict of authority and will was exacerbated by the fact that, as has been shown, the political jurisdictions of the governments of Guyenne and Languedoc overlapped their territorial boundaries. Comminges, for example, where Jean de Monluc had, as already noted, imposed an onerous wartime tax on the Catholic population, was actually within the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Toulouse, and hence of the government of Languedoc, and of Damville; but Monluc grumbled to Damville that, 'Monsieur, de tout temps et ancieneté le pays de Commenge est de la Guyenne.'⁹⁵ Consequently, on 13 June 1569, it was Monluc at Agen who issued orders under his signature instructing the Estates of Comminges to arm themselves.⁹⁶

The conflict between Monluc and Damville had seriously divided and weakened the Catholic defence by the time Monluc, still awaiting the Protestant attack on his line along the Adour in western Gascony, wrote on 4 September to Damville, whose army was assembled at Muret on the Garonne where it formed the boundary of Languedoc, far to the east. This was the army that the *Histoire de Languedoc* describes – surely with great inflation – as having been composed of 10,000 ordinary infantry and six companies of *gens d'armes* (heavily armed cavalry).⁹⁷ In his letter, Monluc belabours Damville – his senior in rank and his superior in blood – with the obvious, saying Damville's army cannot fight the enemy from that position, and requesting that they be moved to Mont-de-Marsan, north of the Adour.⁹⁸ Damville, however, had no wish to engage the Protestant armies in open battle in Guyenne. It can be, and is here, argued, that he was not reluctant to fight out of fear of defeat, but because he wanted to preserve his power in the provinces of the south-west through co-operation and co-existence, as his alliance with Jeanne's son Henry as governor of Guyenne after 1576 demonstrates. In a

⁹⁵ Letter of Monluc at Agen to Damville, cited in Lestrade, *Huguenots en Comminges*, p.44, from *Commentaires et Lettres de Blaise de Monluc* (ed. Ruble), vol.5, p.204, no.226.

⁹⁶ Lestrade, *Huguenots en Comminges*, p.44.

⁹⁷ Lestrade, *Huguenots en Comminges*, p.54, citing De Vic and Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol.11, p.520.

⁹⁸ Lestrade, *Huguenots en Comminges*, p.54, 4 September 1569.

'Remonstrance' to the king on 29 September 1569, Montferrand, governor of the Bordelais, complains that

at the very hour when the King's subjects would have rejoiced to see the forces of Monsieur the Marshal Damville and of Monsieur de Monluc assembled in the country of the Landes ready to fight the enemy, the said Seigneurs Damville and Monluc are fallen into division between themselves and become separated, leaving the forces of the enemy in charge of his poor subjects of this land of Guyenne.⁹⁹

Among Montferrand's other complaints, he says that the court has not been paying for the fortification of Bordeaux, that he is unable, without the king's permission, to act against English and Scottish ships landing to supply arms and ammunition to, and spy for, the Protestant enemies of the king across the estuary at Blaye, and that the king's armed galleys operating upstream on the rivers Garonne and Dordogne under the command of La Garde are not being supplied with food and their marines paid.¹⁰⁰ Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Protestant leaders in Béarn continued to act without signs of urgency. On 23 September, after having scouted Monluc's Adour front, Montgomery was at Salies in western Béarn,¹⁰¹ and the viscount of Gourdon was nearby, at Navarrenx. His incontestably authentic original field dispatch to Queen Jeanne cements the connection between her and Gourdon, and offsets Cazaux' argument that Gourdon was too low-ranked for Jeanne's attention as portrayed in the Vallant letters.¹⁰² Jeanne's secretary Enecot de Sponde, also at Salies, sent Jeanne a long and calmly reasonable

⁹⁹ 'à l'heure que les subjectz du Roy se estoient resjouyz de voir les forces de Monsieur le Mareschal Damville et de Monsieur de Monluc assemblées au pais des Lannes prests à combattre l'ennemy, les dictz Srs. Damville et Monluc servient tombés en division entre eulx et se servient séparées et laissé les forces de l'ennemy sur les bras de ses pauvres subjectz de ce pais de Guienne.' (BNF, Harlay St Germain, 323.2, p.91, 'Montferrand au roi. Bordeaux, 29 Septembre 1569. Remonstrances que le Seigneur de Montferrant, gouverneur de la ville de Bourdeau et pais de Bourdellois, faict à la Majesté du Roy, comme les affaires se portent en ce pais de Guienne; et memes depuis que le dict Montferrant a adverty les Magestés, dès le sezieme jour de ce mois et pour ce a envoyé un gentilhomme nommé le Cappitaine Cazaulx.' [Transcribed in Papiers de Ruble, Boîte 91, envelope October 1569, pp.1r-1v.]

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp.2r-4r.

¹⁰¹ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.15, Montgomery from his camp at Salies-en-Béarn to Jeanne, 23 September 1569.

¹⁰² BNF, Baluze 151, fol.28, Gourdon at Navarrenx to Jeanne, 24 September 1569.

letter about conditions in her realm, and plans for its restoration, while warning her about possible Spanish military intervention. Darros and Montamat were to remain in Béarn as Jeanne's governors in her absence. On 5 October (and there was a follow-up letter to the same effect on 13 October), Montgomery sent letters from Salies instructing the governor of Pau to advise those at Bagnères that he was coming their way, and that if he did not obtain payments from them, then he, Montgomery, would burn their town to the ground.¹⁰³ On 10 October 1569, Montgomery was at Lescar, near Pau, where he opened the synod reimposing the Reformed religion in Béarn.

Then, suddenly everything swung from repose into action. By 21 October, Montgomery and his army had crossed the Adour and were at Nogaro, on the route to Condom. Was this the result of Montgomery's having received news of the Protestant defeat at the battle of Moncontour, north of Poitiers, 3-5 October 1569? Possibly, although the intervening distance was over 500 kilometres through what was largely enemy territory.¹⁰⁴ Monluc, for whose Catholic side the intervening territory would have been less hostile, received the news of Moncontour at Agen between 18 and 23 October. In a letter or town register of Nogaro dated 21 October 1569, Montgomery is described not only as the lieutenant-general of the king of France in Guyenne 'from the banks of the Dordogne to the Pyrenees mountains' (an office actually occupied by Monluc), and the Protestant princes Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé are addressed not only as the lieutenants and generals of the queen of Navarre, but as the lieutenants, protectors, and keepers of the edicts of, the king of France.¹⁰⁵

The next day, Montgomery's army crossed the river at Eauze, and, on 3 November 1569, entered the town of Condom, just south

¹⁰³ Arch. Comm. Bagnères-de-Bigorre, letter from Montgomery at Salies-en-Béarn to Jean de Lons, governor of Pau, 5 October 1569 (and again 13 October), transcribed in Durier and du Pont, *Huguenots en Bigorre*, p.46.

¹⁰⁴ Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.561.

¹⁰⁵ 'Le comte de Mongonmery, lieutenant general du Roy en Guyenne depuis le cousté de la Dordogne jusques aux montz Pirenées, en l'absence et soubz l'auctorité de messeigneurs les princes de Navarre et de Condé, lieutenantz et protecteurs de Sa Majesté, conservateurs de ses edictz, et aussy lieutenantz et generalz de la reyne de Navarre, comte de Bigorre.' Letter of Montgomery from Nogaro, Archives Communales de Bagnères-de-Bigorre, 21 October 1569, as transcribed in Durier and du Pont, *Huguenots en Bigorre*, p.72. (Also cited in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 91, as 'Reg. des delib. cons. de Bagnères cote A.- p.173 - original.')

of Nérac, Agen, and the river Garonne.¹⁰⁶ The Protestant reconquest of Béarn and Navarre was complete; the campaign for Guyenne and 'the cities that are on the banks of the Arnon' had already begun.

*e. La Rochelle to the river Garonne, October to December 1569:
'The cities that are on the banks of the Arnon'*

During the period from June to September 1569, while Montgomery was engaged in the reconquest of Béarn and Navarre, Coligny, still looking for a breakthrough across the Loire towards Paris, was held up in the fruitless siege of Poitiers. Then, having given up the effort to take Poitiers, Coligny and the Protestant 'Army of the Princes' met the royal Catholic army, led by the king's brother Henry of Anjou, in open battle at Moncontour, north of Poitiers, on Monday 3 October 1569.¹⁰⁷ The resulting losses, by Wednesday the fifth, were more serious for the Protestant army than had been the case at the previous battle of Jarnac.¹⁰⁸ The royal army was, as usual, more heavily armed and better-suited to fight such a classic battle along fixed lines.¹⁰⁹ A large number of the Protestant army's German 'lansquenets' – mercenary infantrymen armed with lances – were killed, and Coligny himself was wounded.

Just as the retreating Protestant army had been regrouped and revitalised by Queen Jeanne at Tonnay after the loss at Jarnac, so she held a similar meeting at Parthenay after Moncontour, where most of the Protestant cavalry was reassembled.¹¹⁰ According to Vauvilliers,

¹⁰⁶ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.176.

¹⁰⁷ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entière histoire*, book 9, failed siege of Poitiers, pp.252-259; p.260, Moncontour.

¹⁰⁸ On the battle of Moncontour, Monday 3 October 1569, Lindsay and Neu, eds., *French Political Pamphlets*, no.683, p.50; La Mothe Fénelon, *Correspondance*, vol.2, p.294, 24 October 1569 to the queen mother about the great victory at Moncontour that 'Monseigneur vostre filz a gaignée en Guyenne.' Wood, *The king's army*, p.27, gives total Protestant losses at Moncontour as 10,000, and at Jarnac (p.25), only 'a few hundred'.

¹⁰⁹ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entière histoire*, book 9, p.263, gives the composition of the two armies at Moncontour as follows: Catholic army of 'Monsieur': 8-9,000 cavalry, 17-18,000 infantry (including 6,000 Swiss mercenaries), 15-16 cannon. Protestant 'Army of the Princes': 6,000 cavalry, 8,000 arquebusiers, 4,000 lansquenets (mostly killed), 6 cannon, 5 light fixed guns. Wood, *The king's army*, p.231, also gives the total strength of the royal Catholic army as 27,000.

¹¹⁰ Simon Goulart, *Memoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles Neufiesme* (2nd ed.), Meidelbourg, Henrich Wolf, 1578, vol.3, pp.426-7.

Jeanne then and there presented her strategy for the conquest of southern Guyenne to the assembled military council, and her 'Parthenay strategy' was accepted by them, and by Coligny, who until then had been opposed to dividing the army. The objective of the new plan, according to Vauvilliers' account, was 'to master the Garonne passages and take Bordeaux', after which the Reformed forces would hold La Rochelle, Brouage, Bordeaux, and all the country between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the rivers of the north – the Charente, Isle, Dordogne, and Lot – a relatively easy conquest for the combined armies of, to apply Churchill's phrase, what was regarded as 'the soft underbelly' of Guyenne, because so much of the territory was loyal to Queen Jeanne.¹¹¹ The necessary demands for liberty of conscience could then be made and enforced at the Paris court for the Reformed of France. Vauvilliers does not state her source for this version of the 'Parthenay strategy', but it appears to have been based largely on Monluc's account of the Protestant objectives, which he gave at the conclusion of the events described in this section, and which I will analyse in the next section, *f*.¹¹² Vauvilliers appears to be presenting Monluc's version of Jeanne's strategy as if it were the strategy itself. But, it will be recalled that Montgomery, who had been heading the synod at Lescar, near Pau, on 5 October, had begun his northwards move and was already at Nogaro on the way to the Garonne by 18 October. While it is possible that Montgomery could have been following a new directive from Jeanne's strategy meeting held after the battle of Moncontour at Parthenay between 5 and 10 October, it is probable that the strategy that was being carried out was conceived long before the battle of Moncontour; possibly, even before Montgomery had left on his mission to Béarn in June 1569.

On a day following Wednesday 5 October, but before 16 October, 1569, while Jeanne remained at Niort before returning to La Rochelle, the wounded Coligny, with the two young princes Henry and the greater part of the Protestant army of the north which remained after Moncontour – perhaps 4-5,000 cavalry and 2-3,000 infantry gunners¹¹³ – set out on what Fernand Braudel has described

¹¹¹ Vauvilliers, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret*, vol.3, pp.328, 383-5, 406.

¹¹² Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.756-7.

¹¹³ Estimates vary on the numbers and composition of this army. La Noue, bemoaning the Protestant lack of artillery, called it a 'half army' of 3,000 cavalry

as their 'journey to the end of night.'¹¹⁴ It will do no harm to the dramatic impact of the episode narrated in this section, which begins in early October 1569 and ends in the first days of January 1570, to say that it contains the climactic point of this book. Yet – and this will serve to underline the essential difference between my work and the Roelker biography – given the need to maintain the overall balance of the biography, and the fact that Queen Jeanne did not participate directly in the events, the episode is understandably omitted in Roelker's work.¹¹⁵ Even specialised works on the military aspect of the Wars of Religion have ignored the events of Coligny's campaign on the banks of the Garonne in December 1569.¹¹⁶ There appears, in fact, to have been no close scrutiny of this episode since that of Courteault in 1908, in *Blaise de Montluc historien*.¹¹⁷

reinforced by arquebusiers (infantry gunners). (La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires* [1588] pp.815, 832.) Simon Goulart said they had most of the cavalry (which were estimated to have been 6,000 at Moncontour), plus 2-3,000 arquebusiers. (Goulart, *Memoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles Neufiesme* (1578), vol.3, p.453.) Syruelil, the Catholic deacon of Bordeaux, said the army started out with 5-6,000 cavalry. (Syruelil, *Journal of 1568-1585*, p.267-8.) Boysonn, presenting another Catholic view, gives a total starting number of 10,000, increasing to 12-15,000, primarily well-equipped cavalry, by the time they reached Clairac on 28 November 1569. (Richard de Boysonn, *L'Invasion Calviniste en Bas-Limousin, Périgord et Haut-Quercy*, Paris, A. Picard, 1924, pp.124, 127.) Boysonn's figures seem high, given the losses at Moncontour and the need to leave strong garrisons at La Rochelle and elsewhere in northern Guyenne.

¹¹⁴ 'C'est le voyage au bout de la nuit.' Fernand Braudel, *Actes du Colloque Coligny, 'Coligny et son temps*, pp.21-30. Babelon, *Henry IV*, pp.156-8, uses the descriptive title 'la grande retraite.'

¹¹⁵ The full account in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.316 (citing, n.65, D'Aubigné, III, 130-131), is: 'The Admiral fell back on Niort, then made a long retreat to the south, known as "the voyage of the Princes" because the two young Henris were taken along for morale purposes. D'Aubigné's vivid picture of Coligny's plight after Moncontour includes an allusion to Jeanne often cited by French historians. The Admiral, "with the blame for all the disasters on his head while his merits were passed over in silence, was burdened with the responsibility for young princes, enfeebled towns, fallen garrisons, and ill-equipped foreigners." He was also racked with fever, without money, and "surrounded by powerful enemies without mercy, abandoned by the great, except for one woman who, having but the name of one, had gone to Niort to succor the needy and to take charge.'"

¹¹⁶ To cite a recent example, Wood, *The king's army* (1996), says, here quoted in entirety (pp.27-8), of the events after Moncontour, 'Coligny, knowing that the royal army was bogged down before Saint-Jean, mounted the small number of infantrymen he had left and with his Huguenot and German cavalry began a remarkable nine-month perambulation through southern France, looting and burning along the Garonne, through Languedoc from Toulouse to Nîmes, and up the right bank of the Rhône to Chalon-sur-Saône.'

¹¹⁷ Twentieth-century omissions of the episode seem likely to have been the result of the shift in historical focus away from the events themselves – particularly wartime

In this section and the next, it will be argued that a detailed examination of contemporary sources – particularly the military dispatches on both sides – will point to an interpretation of the episode, and hence of the intention of Jeanne's and the Huguenot movement's whole military venture in Guyenne, that is significantly at variance with the view proposed by Courteault, and advanced since then by most historians. This reinterpretation of the episode will use, in addition to the numerous original documents, a number of contemporary or near-contemporary historical accounts. Of those, the general narrative framework of the episode will be based primarily on that of La Popelinière,¹¹⁸ which gives the most detail, and secondarily on that of Aubigné,¹¹⁹ both of whom lived through and beyond the whole period of Queen Jeanne's adult life, and both of whom were with the Protestant forces in the region at the time of this episode.¹²⁰ La Popelinière, as noted, seems given to inflated figures, but avoids the usual Protestant bias; Aubigné later accused him of having 'sold his pen' to the other side.¹²¹ For the climactic events on the banks of the Garonne, we have the testimony of the eyewitness and leader of the forces of the royal Catholic side in Guyenne, Monluc.¹²²

events – to their causes and effects, and a view of their significance. Denis Crouzet's *Les guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525 – vers 1610*, to cite an important recent example (1990), is 1,531 pages in length, yet its first volume deals with events before 1562, and its second volume with events of 1572 and after, thereby effectively omitting the first three wars.

¹¹⁸ La Popelinière, *La vraye et entiere histoire des troubles et choses memorables, avenue tant en France qu'en Flandres, & pays circonvoisins, depuis l'an 1562*, La Rochelle, 1573, book 9, pp.260-287; book 10, pp.297-305; book 12, pp.341-345. The forward, dedicated 'A la noblesse,' was written at Beaulieu on 20 June 1572.

¹¹⁹ Aubigné, *Histoire universelle* (1616), ed. Ruble, vol.3 (1568-1572), chapter 17, pp.130-131 (ed. Thierry, pp.140-141), chapters 22 and 23, pp.156 *et seq.*, ed. Ruble (ed. Thierry, pp.166-187).

¹²⁰ Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541-1608), a gentleman of Poitou, served in the Protestant armies until 1577. ('A Sense of Distance: French Historians in the Age of Religious Wars,' in A.G. Dickens and John Tonkin, *The Reformation in Historical Thought*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1985, p.84.) Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630) was born at Pons in the Saintonge. He was with Piles' regiment in Périgord in 1567, at the age of 15. (Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Henri Webber, Paris, Gallimard, 1969, p.391.)

¹²¹ Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, ed. Ruble, vol.3, p.23. On La Popelinière's objectivity, see Dickens and Tonkin, *Reformation in Historical Thought*, pp.84-6. In his forward to *La vraye et entiere histoire*, La Popelinière pointed out that he had deliberately omitted 'ces noms factieux de Papistes & Huguenotz', employing instead the neutral words 'Catholiques' and 'Protestants'.

¹²² Monluc, *Commentaires*, 1571 (ed. Courteault), pp.751-7.

On 16 October 1569, according to La Popelinière, the 'Army of the Princes', having crossed the rivers Dronne, Isle, and Vézère, had arrived at Souillac, where they had planned to ford the river Dordogne, as Montgomery's group of cavalry 'masters' appears to have done earlier in that same year.¹²³ Since Queen Jeanne's crossing of the Dordogne in majesty by the bridge at Bergerac in August of 1568,¹²⁴ that wooden bridge had been burned and destroyed by Blaise de Monluc's son Jean.¹²⁵ As a result, the 'safe route' from La Rochelle via Bergerac to Nérac-Montauban was no longer accessible. Winter had, moreover, arrived early, and the Souillac ford was impassable. Some of the army were able to cross on boats, but the remainder were forced to continue upriver. Thus, almost at the beginning, the army had become divided, and thrown seriously behind schedule.¹²⁶ A letter dated 22 October from Coligny at Salignac, north of the Dordogne near Souillac, to Jeanne at La Rochelle, confirms that, at that late date, floods and bad weather must have been keeping the main 'Army of the Princes' even farther from its expected union with Montgomery's army at the banks of the Garonne than is indicated in La Popelinière's account. What is most interesting about this dispatch is that Coligny, leading the army southwards, accepts Queen Jeanne's overall leadership, in that he deems it necessary to report his progress to her at La Rochelle. He relays to her a message that must have been meant to communicate that the basic strategy was still intact: 'Our enemies fear most that we can join up with Montgomery.'¹²⁷

There were, meantime, some other positive developments for the Huguenot cause in Guyenne. Even before Moncontour, Henry of Anjou had been trying to persuade his brother the king to make a

¹²³ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entière histoire*, book 10, p.297.

¹²⁴ Chapter five, above.

¹²⁵ 'Lors des troubles de la R.P.R. venus en l'année 1568, il passa dans la ville grand nombre de gens de guerre, tant de l'unc que de l'autre religion, qui logèrent et firent toutes sortes de maux, entre autres les compagnies du seigneur de Montluc, lieutenant du roy en Guienne, commandées par le chevalier de Montluc, son fils, et par le sieur de Liveron, lesquelles entr'autres maux firent bruler le pont de Dordogne, dont il ne resta qu'un seul pas du côté de la ville au mois de novembre 1568' (La Roque, *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, 1568, pp.136-7).

¹²⁶ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entière histoire*, book 10, p.297; then book 12 (out of chronological order), pp.341-2.

¹²⁷ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.5, 22 October 1569, dispatch of Coligny to Jeanne from Salignac, on having to cross the Dordogne very far upstream at Argentat due to flood and bad weather.

peaceful settlement. In a letter dated 24 September 1569 from his field camp at Chinon, Anjou recommended to Charles IX that an enticing peace offer should be made to Coligny, on the grounds that Coligny would use any harsh terms to gain the support of his military council for continuing the war. First, Anjou suggested, offer full pardon to all those of the 'New Religion' who had taken up arms or opposed the king's edicts. Only after the cessation of hostilities should the next step be taken, of requiring the exercise of the king's Catholic religion only, on penalty of deportation.¹²⁸ Another letter of 29 November 1569 from Anjou, by then at Fontainebleau, to Charles IX, advises the king to offer the Protestant nobles the right to hear Reformed preaching in their houses, provided Catholics be accorded the same; Anjou adds that he has go-betweens ready to carry these propositions to the rebels.¹²⁹ A further letter in the same vein from Henry of Anjou at Châtellerault to the king advises the use of 'douceur' in the peace negotiations, but that all that should be offered the Reformed is an assurance of life and belongings, without the exercise of their religion, and without any further communication with their churches.¹³⁰

After Anjou's victory at Moncontour, Charles IX, anxious to gain military glory for himself before hostilities should cease, took over command of the royal armies in Guyenne, and lay siege to the cross-roads town of St Jean d'Angély, north of Bordeaux.¹³¹ The defence of that town by a small Protestant force under Jeanne's captain Piles, which seems to have been planned as a diversion to draw the royal army away from Coligny, was so successful that after six or seven

¹²⁸ BNF, St Pétersbourg, vol.22, fol.41, letter of Henry duke of Anjou to the king, 24 September 1569, camp of Chinon, transcribed in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 91, Série chronologique 13, 1569, envelope September 1569, unpaginated.

¹²⁹ BNF, n.a.f. 1242, fol.70 [original], transcribed in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 91, envelope November-December 1569, 'copies de M. Bertrand.'

¹³⁰ 'ne leur donnant que assurance de leurs vies et de leurs biens sans aucun exercice de leur Religion ny quilz aient plus de communication comme ils disent par les desdictz articles, avec leurs esglizes et que ce n'estque ung corps, ce quil fault du tout rompre et quilz nen parlent plus.' Transcribed in Ruble's hand in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 93, citing BNF, St Pétersbourg vol.22, fol.95, giving the date as 24 January 1572. The context of the letter suggests, however, that the year was more probably 1570.

¹³¹ 'Pas de nouvelle de la paix. Le roi est résolu à n'entrer en aucune capitulation – nous attendons tous les jours la nouvelle de la prise de St Jean d'Angeli – d'artillerie prise dans diverses villes et à Lusignan monte à 36 pièces sur roue.' BNF, fr 3209, fol.13, letter of the bishop of Sens [?] to d'Hainieres, Paris, 14 November 1569, transcribed in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 91, envelope of November-December 1569.

fruitless weeks Charles IX eventually withdrew the royal army for the rest of the winter.¹³²

A militant and defiant Queen Jeanne at La Rochelle meantime kept up the pressure for the continuance of the war, including the war at sea.¹³³ Her captain Pardaillan had taken command of the fort of Blaye on the north bank of the Gironde. The registers of Jeanne's council at la Rochelle contain instructions to him which show, on the one hand, the divisions that had been created between Protestants and Catholics within families, and, on the other, some efforts to achieve their reconciliation. An item of Tuesday 14 June 1569 empowers Pardaillan to arrange a meeting at the port of Blaye between a Protestant of La Rochelle, Guillaume de Lort 'of the Religion', and his Catholic brother Antoine, 'papist', of Bordeaux, for the purpose of negotiation.¹³⁴ The travel required for such a meeting must have involved considerable danger, particularly for the Catholic brother to have gone from Bordeaux to the Protestant fortress of Blaye. In late 1569, when the Protestant armies were threatening Bordeaux, Lansac, the Catholic governor of the city, wrote a letter to the king, advising him that Pardaillan had sent a messenger to him demanding the release of Protestant prisoners held in the 'conciergerie' of Bordeaux. In his letter (Lansac said), Pardaillan threatened that if the Protestant prisoners were to be mistreated, he would not only do the same with the Catholic prisoners held at Blaye; he would also seize a house and property owned by Lansac near Blaye.¹³⁵ The king, in fact, had himself written to Pardaillan in the previous month,

¹³² Goulart, *Memoires*, vol.3, p.453; Syruel, *Journal*, p.267. A flattering Letter, apparently by Biron, from Angoulême, 25 December 1569, 'A Tres Vertueux & Magnanime, Armand de Clairmont, Seigneur de Piles,' in *Humble supplication aux Princes, Seigneurs et autres de qualité qui sont pres de la Majesté du Roy. Avec deux lettres des Seigneurs d'Aumale et de Biron*, Angoulême, Jean de Minieres, 1569, echoes the evocation by Beza and Jeanne of the 'God of Armies': 'Le Dieu des armées vous mentienne en tel vouloir ... de mieux en mieux à l'avancement de sa gloire.'

¹³³ '23 octobre 1569. La Rochelle. Lettres de Jeanne d'Albret par lesquelles elle accorde à Guillaume Aguy de Plymouth d'armes et mettre en mes huit vaisseaux pour faire la guerre aux espagnols portugais et flamands. Reg. de l'amirauté de Guyenne. par Mr Bardonnet, p.19. Brochures, no.195.' Papiers de Ruble, Boîte 91, envelope October 1569, one page manuscript summary.

¹³⁴ AN, K 100/b, no.54, fol.2r. This item employs the usual French Protestant terms of the period, 'of the Religion' for Reformed, 'papist' for Roman Catholic.

¹³⁵ BNF, fr 15550, Harlay St Germain 323.2, p.239, Lansac to the king, Bordeaux, 1 December 1569 (original), transcribed in Papiers de Ruble, Boîte 91, envelope 'Vers Decembre,' pp.2r-2v.

attempting to persuade him to 'leave the party of the so-called Reformed' and change sides.¹³⁶ A letter from Queen Jeanne at this time to 'M. de Losses' comes as close as she had ever done to declaring the king, the queen mother, and the king's brother to be the enemy, and that any peace granted by them could not be trusted.¹³⁷

The precise route taken southward from the Dordogne by Coligny's divided army is not clear from a comparison of the various accounts. The main group, unable to cross the river at Souillac, continued far up the course of the Dordogne, almost to the Central Massif, at last crossing – apparently with the aid of the viscount of Gourdon¹³⁸ – by an intact stone bridge at Bort-les-Orgues, above Argentat.¹³⁹ This left them with a long and difficult retracement from north to south in severe winter weather, during which they lost many of their horses.¹⁴⁰ Passing through St Céré on 30 October, they made the dangerous crossing of the river Lot at Capdenac, and finally entered the safety of Montauban late in November.¹⁴¹ Coligny's arrival at Montauban is confirmed by a letter from him to his brother the cardinal of Châtillon dated 22 November 1569, in which he says he can now join with Montgomery's army of the south 'whenever he wishes.'¹⁴² A

¹³⁶ Letter of 3 November 1569, camp de Landes, Charles IX to S. de Pardaillan, governor at Blaye. (Table de Brécquigny, MS Coll. Moreau 1116, fol.429, in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 128, envelope '1569 deuxième semestre.')

¹³⁷ Letter of Jeanne d'Albret to 'M. de Losses', 20 November 1569, in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.3, pp.lii-iii, cited from Record Office, State Papers France. Jean de Losse, lieutenant of Jeanne's son Henry of Navarre's company on the royal side in 1562, and then captain of the French royal Scots guards, was to become governor of part of Guyenne in 1574 (Courteault, ed., Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.1413, n.2).

¹³⁸ A letter dated 24 September from Gourdon at Navarrenx to Jeanne at La Rochelle, already cited, makes questionable this contention, stated in Richard de Boysson, *L'Invasion Calviniste en Bas-Limousin, Périgord et Haut-Quercy*, p.126; but the help may have been carried out at Gourdon's orders, rather than by his presence.

¹³⁹ 'Annexe,' Map 5, 'La troisième guerre de religion (1568-1570)' (J. Henault), in *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps*, shows Coligny's route from Argentat going back down the right bank, only crossing the Dordogne around Sarlat, and then proceeding to Montauban. This would seem to conflict with the route via St Céré and Capdenac to Montauban described by La Popelinière.

¹⁴⁰ According to Syruel, *Journal*, pp.267-8, they lost some 1,000 to 1,200 horses, or about twenty percent of the total.

¹⁴¹ La Popelinière, *La vraie et entière histoire*, book 12, p.341-2.

¹⁴² Letter of Coligny from Montauban to the cardinal of Châtillon, 22 November 1569, in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.3, p.li (citing Record Office, State Papers France, and *Le XVI^e siècle et les Valois*, ed. Hector de la Ferrière, p.280).

cardinal acting in support of the Huguenot cause is difficult to imagine, but Châtillon, in exile, was representing Coligny at the court of Elizabeth I.

Meantime, part of Coligny's army was at Clairac on the river Lot below Villeneuve, where by 28 November they had assembled a fleet of boats to be floated down the river Lot to its junction with the Garonne, and then up the Garonne to Port Ste Marie, the site selected for the crossing of the river, which was by then in full flood. A long letter of 1 December 1569 from Louis de St Gelais, lord of Lansac, the military governor of Bordeaux, to King Charles IX, who, it appears, was then not far distant in the region of St Jean d'Angély, confirms the Catholic defenders' knowledge of the simultaneous approach to the Garonne of the Protestant armies from the north at Aiguillon on the north bank, and from the south at Monheurt on the opposite bank, and the collection of boats by part of the northern army to facilitate the crossing of the river. The one uncertainty Lansac expresses is whether the army of the north will cross southwards into Gascony, or whether Montgomery's army will cross in the opposite direction, though the assembly of boats on the north side must surely have added to his fears of a crossing from north to south:

Sire, I have this morning written a lengthy report to you through the admiralty magistrate of this city [of Bordeaux] named Colomb., who was going to Your Majesty, and in substance advised you that your enemies who were in the county of Agenais had approached the Garonne River at a place called Aiguillon [on the north bank], which they say has been taken, and that the others, led by Montgomery, were at another place directly across the river [on the south bank], named Monheurt; and that they [on the north side] have brought several boats down the river Lot, with which they [both armies] could easily join forces, because there is no one to stop them. But, I do not yet know whether those who are above [north of] the river in Agenais will pass below [south of] it into Gascony, or if Montgomery [will pass] from below to them.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ 'Sire, je vous ay à ce matin escript amplement par le juge de l'admiraulté de cette ville, nommé Colomb. qui ayoyt vers Vostre Majesté; et en substance vous advertissois que voz ennemys qui estoient du conté d'Agenois s'estoeient approchez de la rivière de Garonne, à ung lieu nommé Eguillon, que lon dict estre prins, et les autres conduictz par Montgomery en ung autre lieu deu la riviere vis à vis, nommé Mont Hurt; qui ont fait amener par la rivière de Loth plusieurs bapteaulex avecques lesquelz ilz se peuvent aysement assembler, car personne ne les empesche [p.1v] mais

It seems astonishing that Lansac then, with scarcely concealed contempt for his young monarch's military judgement, refused to obey the king's order to move cannon, ammunition, and troops out of Bordeaux:

Since I made the above report to you, Monsieur de La Garde has arrived, and has told me that you have ordered him to take the cannon that are there [in Bordeaux] and most of the ammunition, and also the five companies of troops under his command there, which would have left the city bereft of defence forces. That, it seems to me, would not be reasonable, at least until the enemy [Montgomery's army] are on the Agenais side [north of the Garonne river], because being where they are at present [south of the Garonne], they could come here [to Bordeaux] with the ten cannon which I saw that they had brought to Condom from Navarrenx. That is why the Seigneur de La Garde and I have decided, after due consideration, to defer for some days, until we are sure of what the enemy will do, and if they all cross over from the [south] side where they now are, out of danger, we could send you all that you would wish to order, because this city [of Bordeaux] would remain in safety. Its retention is, as Your Majesty knows, at least as important as the recovery of any of the other cities that your enemies occupy.¹⁴⁴

In his analysis of his transcription of this letter, Alphonse de Ruble remarks that its tone bespeaks the general terror of Montgomery. It seems to me, however, that the main point is that Lansac, whose words suggest prudence rather than terror, puts a higher priority on

je ne sçay encore si ceulx qui sont de delà en Agenoys passeront de deça vers Gascoigne, ou si Montgomery de delà vers eulx.' (BNF, fr 15550, Harlay St Germain 323.2, p.239, Lansac to the king, Bordeaux, 1 December 1569 [orig.], transcribed in Papiers de Ruble, Boîte 91, envelope 'Vers Decembre,' pp.1r-1v. According to Alphonse de Ruble's note, Lansac had been ambassador of France to Rome.)

¹⁴⁴ 'Depuis vous avoir faict le sus dit advertissement, Mons de La Garde est arrivé qui m'a dict que vous luy aviez commandé de prendre les canons qu'y sont et la plus-part des munitions, et pareillement les cinq compaignies de gens qu'il y amena, qui seroyt destitues de toutes forces ceste de la ville. Qui, me semble, ne seroit raisonnable, jusques à ce que pour le moins que les dictz ennemys soyent du costé du dict Agenoys: car estant là ou ils sont de present, ilz pourront venir icy avecques dix canons que jay veu quilz ont faict venir à Condom de Navarrenx. Pourquoy le dict S de La Garde et moy avons delibéré de différer pour quelques jours, jusques à ce que nous soyons resoluz de ce que feront les dictz ennemys, et s'ilz passent tous du costé de delà leur, sans dangier, on vous pourru envoyer tout ce quil vous plair commander, car ceste ville demeurera en securité; la conservation de laquelle Vostre Majesté sçayt luy estre pour le moins d'aussi grande conséquence que le recouvrement de nulle autre que vos ditz ennemys occupent.' (Ibid., pp.1v-2r.)

the likelihood of a Protestant attack on Bordeaux than on the certain disapproval of the king. The most compelling reason he gives for his concern for the defence of Bordeaux is the ten cannon that, he says, Montgomery had brought with him from Navarrenx to Condom. Monluc, by then having returned to the garrison of Agen, said, echoing the words of the book of Judges that serve as the title of this section, and most probably serving as the source for Vauvilliers' view of Queen Jeanne's 'Parthenay strategy' already noted, that the Protestants 'se feroient venir de la grosse artillerie de Navarreins, pour prendre toutes les villes qui estoient au long de la rivière de Garonne jusques aux portes de Bordeaux.'¹⁴⁵ As has been said,¹⁴⁶ Montgomery had arrived in Condom on 3 November 1569. After two weeks of pillaging the countryside of Armagnac – from which it could be assumed that he had been informed of Coligny's delays – Montgomery returned to Condom on 17 November to await the appearance of Coligny's army on the north bank of the Garonne.¹⁴⁷

Lansac added a postscript to his long letter to the king, saying that since yesterday he had been informed that some of Montgomery's forces had crossed the river from south to north, but had returned 'without having done anything'; nevertheless, the part of Coligny's army gathering the boats on the Lot at Clairac was still there, only about seven kilometres upstream from the Garonne.¹⁴⁸

By his own testimony, Coligny and his army arrived at Port Ste Marie, on the north bank of the Garonne below Agen, between 11–13 December 1569.¹⁴⁹ It had taken them two months to cover the dis-

¹⁴⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.756, December 1569.

¹⁴⁶ In section *d.*, above.

¹⁴⁷ Communay, *Huguenots*, Appendix, pp.175–6.

¹⁴⁸ 'Sire, fermanties le lestre est venu ung homme qui partit hier d'Eguillon, et que le bruict que a courru qu'il fust prins est qu'aucunes troupes de Montgomery qui avoyent passé la rivière avoyent faict quelques courses pour le sommer et sin estoient retournez sans rien faire. Mais il est bien vray qu'on dict pour certain que Monsr. de La Caze et La Loue, avecques quelque partie de l'armée des Princes estoient venuz à Clerac qui n'est que à deux lieues du dict Eguillon. Jespère que dans deux jours nous verrons ce qu'ilz peuvent faire et entreprendre, et de ce que j'en apprendray, j'en advertiray à toute heure Vostre Majesté. /Vostre très humble subject/ Lanssac.' (BNF, fr 15550, Harlay St Germain, 323.2, p.239, transcribed in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 91, envelope 'Vers Decembre,' p.2v.)

¹⁴⁹ In his dispatch to Queen Jeanne dated 23 December 1569, Coligny states that he has been at Port Ste Marie for 10 or 12 days. (BNF, Baluze 151, fol.4.) The 23 December date is my reading of the manuscript. The usually impeccable Courteault, in *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.565, n.2, gives the date as 24 December, but I doubt that I have confused a 4 for a 3. Communay, whose transcription is in *Huguenots*,

tance from north to south between the two points that had taken Queen Jeanne and her supporters only eighteen days to complete in the opposite direction in September 1568.¹⁵⁰ There was, nevertheless, every indication that, despite delays, a carefully conceived plan for crossing the Garonne was being carried out.

At the best of times, the wide and unpredictable Garonne River presented a formidable obstacle. The medieval bridge at Agen had been swept away by flood in 1435, and not rebuilt.¹⁵¹ In December 1569, the river was in full flood. At Port Ste Marie, Coligny's engineers set about building a bridge by which the army, its cannon, horses, and supply wagons could cross. Into the uncertain bed of the river, they drove fourteen iron-shod wooden piles, each twenty-four feet long.¹⁵² Using chains and cables, some of which by Monluc's testimony were as thick as a man's leg, they attached their boats, and secured the whole thing at one bank to Henry of Navarre's boathouse, and at the other to a mill. This, Monluc said, could carry all their heavy artillery, was wide enough to allow cavalry to pass in rows of three across, and was protected at its southern end by seven or eight artillery pieces and 1,000-1,200 arquebusiers. Coligny advised Jeanne that for the three or four days prior to 22 December, his Protestant cavalry had been crossing the river from north to south.¹⁵³

At an hour between one and four a.m. on the night of Wednesday-Thursday 21-22 December, a large object was spotted by the guards at the bridge, coming down the heavy current of the flooded Garonne at high speed. This was a floating mill belonging to Sevin, head of the presidial of Agen (and, according to Monluc, a Huguenot collaborator), which had been moored to the riverbank at Agen.¹⁵⁴ The guards opened fire without effect, and the mill struck the bridge with great force, breaking it and carrying it away along with its cables, chains, and all but one of its boats.¹⁵⁵

pp.103-5, has read the date as 28 December. That could be correct, given the resemblance between an 8 and a 3 in this minute and faded hand, but it seems less likely, in that it would mean that Coligny waited six days before reporting the bridge rupture to Jeanne, rather than reporting it on the day after the incident.

¹⁵⁰ From Jeanne's departure from Tonneins, 11 September, to her arrival at La Rochelle, 28 September 1568 (chapter five, above).

¹⁵¹ Beaumont, *Histoire d'Agen*, p.42.

¹⁵² La Popelinière, *La vraye et entiere histoire*, book 12, pp.343-4.

¹⁵³ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.4.

¹⁵⁴ Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.446 n.6, and p.567.

¹⁵⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires*, pp.752-4.

The next day, Coligny reported the incident to Queen Jeanne without attributing it to Monluc,¹⁵⁶ but, according to Monluc's testimony, it was he who had arranged for the mill to be set loose by six of his marines. Monluc also sent one of the marines in a fast boat to carry the news to Lansac and La Garde in Bordeaux, where, on the morning of Friday 23 December, the city celebrated its deliverance.¹⁵⁷

f. 'Lost beneath the waves of the Garonne,' January 1570: 'The peace that the king wants to give us, he wants to sign with the point of his sword'

The words of Psalm 124, in the lines of the first verse continuing directly after those already quoted as having been sung at the Reformed service led by Pierre Viret at Pau on 23 September 1569,¹⁵⁸ now, three months later, echo with dark, foreboding irony both that triumphant service of thanksgiving, and the 'miraculous' crossing of the Loire by Condé and Coligny in the previous year:

If it had not been the Lord
 who was on our side,
 let Israel now say -
 if it had not been the Lord
 who was on our side,
 when men rose up against us,
 then they would have swallowed us
 up alive,
 when their anger was kindled
 against us;
 then the flood would have swept us
 away,
 the torrent would have gone over
 us;
 then over us would have gone
 the raging waters.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Coligny at Port Ste Marie to Queen Jeanne, 23 December 1569 (BNF, Baluze 151, fol.4.)

¹⁵⁷ Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.755. On the matter of whether Monluc did or did not cause the mill to break loose from its moorings, see *Commentaires*, ed. Courteault, p.1366, n.2; and Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.567-9.

¹⁵⁸ Psalm 124, 'Our help is in the Lord,' verse 1, ll.1-2 (*NOAB*), quoted in section d., above.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, ll.1-5.

As La Popelinière wrote soon after, in language that may recall to the reader's mind the Old Testament image, quoted above, of 'the banks of the Arnon'¹⁶⁰: 'they were joined there, and were lost beneath the waves of the Garonne, from whose banks they had not gone far.'¹⁶¹ Montamat, as has been noted, made 'the banks of the Garonne' the focal point of the strategy he had recommended to Queen Jeanne four months before.¹⁶² A similar image was also used by Monluc,¹⁶³ and eventually echoed by Vauvilliers.¹⁶⁴ A Protestant military strategy for the conquest of southern Guyenne across the banks of the Garonne had been explicitly advocated in the dispatches of Jeanne's general Montgomery and her captains Montamat and Peyre.¹⁶⁵ It was, as I have shown, also the strategy explicitly perceived at the time by Jeanne's royal Catholic opponents Monluc and Lansac. In La Popelinière's telling, the same strategy is implicit: 'beneath the waves of the Garonne', the Protestant offensive was lost. But what of the view of the leader of the Protestant armies in the field, Admiral Coligny?

In his dispatch to Jeanne the day after the bridge was broken, Coligny wrote that the bridge should be repaired within a few days, after which they would bring back the troops who had already crossed, and also those of Montgomery. It is thus clear that either, within a day following the breaking of the bridge, Coligny had already abandoned any plan for an offensive in Guyenne south of the Garonne, or there had been no such plan. Coligny then added the enigmatic statement that once all the troops had been brought back north of the river, he would tell Jeanne what he intended to do next.¹⁶⁶ In Communay's view, Coligny did not state his intentions for fear that the message would be intercepted.¹⁶⁷ That may have been true, but intent is

¹⁶⁰ 'While Israel dwelt in Heshbon and its villages, and in Aro'er and its villages, and in all the cities that are on the banks of the Arnon' (Judges 11: 26). See section *c.*, above.

¹⁶¹ 'pource qu'ils se joignent là, & se perdent és ondes de la Garonne, des rives de laquelle ils ne s'estoyent fort eslongnez.' La Popelinière, *La vraye et entière histoire*, book 12, p.345.

¹⁶² 'que l'armée de Messeigneurs les Princes s'aprochast ung peu du cousté de la dite riviere de Garonne', quoted in section *d.*, above.

¹⁶³ 'pour prendre toutes les villes qui estoit au long de la rivière de Garonne.' Monluc, *Commentaires*, p.756; see below.

¹⁶⁴ 'to master the Garonne passages and take Bordeaux', quoted above, section *e.*

¹⁶⁵ Section *d.*, above.

¹⁶⁶ BNF, Baluze 151, fol.4.

¹⁶⁷ Communay, *Huguenots*, p.105.

difficult to prove. The main point, in my view, is that Coligny had, by his statement, signalled a change of plan: he would have had no need to tell Jeanne what he would do next, if their original plan was still going to be carried out.

Coligny also said that he had been approached by the king's representatives with offers of peace, about which he was extremely sceptical, saying, 'The peace that the king wants to give us, he wants to sign with the point of his sword.'¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, he indicated his willingness to accept, provided that there would be 'a sure establishment for the Reformed religion in this realm' – but he regarded the overture as trickery.¹⁶⁹

A week later, the leaders of the royal Catholic side were reporting to the king's brother that 'the enemy cannot join together because the lord of Monluc has broken the bridge.'¹⁷⁰ After a few raids from Mas d'Agenais on the south bank against Monluc's forces in the Marsan and Bazadais in Gascony, the Protestant forces south of the river began returning to the north on 3-6 January 1570, crossing the Garonne from south to north along a system constructed from four boats on ropes and pulleys, 'not without long delay and difficulty.'¹⁷¹ By 19 January, all the Protestant forces – by all accounts something like 10,000 men (the fate of Montgomery's ten cannon is not clear) having reassembled at Port Ste Marie on the north bank of the river – turned around and began an agonisingly slow retreat back to the security of Montauban, under the watchful gaze of Monluc from the high turrets of the castle of Bajamont, above Agen.¹⁷² From the point of view of the military conquest of Guyenne, it was the end of the

¹⁶⁸ 'La paix que Le roy nous veult donner il la veult signer de la pointe de son espee.' BNF, Baluze 151, fol.4.

¹⁶⁹ 'que voyant un seur etablissement pour la religion en ce royaume, j'accepterois.' The manuscript here being unreadable, I have been unable to confirm this statement, taken from Communay's transcription of BNF, Baluze 151, fol.4, in *Huguenots*, p.105.

¹⁷⁰ BNF, n.a.f. 6009, fol.26 (copy), the duke of Montpensier at Aigre to the duke of Anjou, 30 December 1569, as transcribed and quoted in Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.568.

¹⁷¹ 'il falut que les troupes de Bearn passassent dans des batteaux non sans grande longuer et incommodité.' Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, vol.3, ed. Thierry, 3 January 1570, p.168. Also, La Popelinière, *Vraye et entiere histoire*, pp.344-345, by whose account Piles had meantime arrived from St Jean d'Angély with 2-300 cavalry. A letter of M. de Lansac at Bordeaux to King Charles, 6 January 1570, reports the Protestants crossing from south to north (*Arch. Gir.*, vol.17 [1877], p.338-9).

¹⁷² Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.570.

Protestant dream; or, as J.H.M. Salmon put it more precisely, 'At this point [January 1570] Coligny decided to move east, rather than to attack Monluc in Guyenne and thereby create a united Huguenot bastion in the west.'¹⁷³

What was that dream, or plan, to 'create a united Huguenot bastion in the west,' noted by Salmon? The answer is not to be found in Queen Jeanne's memoirs, written a year earlier, or in those of Coligny which, according to Michelet, as has been noted, he had burned before his death.¹⁷⁴ To know what it might have been, we are primarily thrown back on the particular view, part hard military realism, part inflated self-promotion for the approval of the king and queen mother, of Blaise de Monluc:

Now it must be said of what use was the breaking of this bridge, and the course of action the admiral would have taken if the bridge had remained intact. It was decided and agreed in their council that they would pass the winter, and even until harvest in the area of their camp, and that they would bring up the heavy artillery from Navarrenx, to take all the towns along the river Garonne to the gates of Bordeaux, and that they would attack Agen, but that would be the last, because they wanted to take Casteljaloux, Bazas, and all that there was above and below the Garonne right up to the gates of Bordeaux; and that by means of this bridge, both of these lands [north and south of the river], which are among the richest in France, would be held for their advantage.¹⁷⁵

Then, Monluc continues, the Protestants would blockade Bordeaux both from inland by the rivers Dordogne and Garonne, and from the sea at Blaye, which they held, and so

having taken Bordeaux and holding La Rochelle, they would have the best and strongest part of the realm of France, whether from the sea or land, controlling five navigable rivers, including the Charente. Since they would have straddled the rivers Isle, Dordogne, Lot and Garonne, the king would have needed at least four camps to force them to fight. And I would say that they would hold the best land and the two best and largest harbours of the realm of France, which are those of Brouage and Bordeaux.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, p.176.

¹⁷⁴ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol.11, p.277, noted in section *b.*, above.

¹⁷⁵ Monluc, *Commentaires* (ed. Courteault), p.756.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.757.

But, Monluc says, there are those who are wickedly advising the king that it would be better to let the Huguenots have Guyenne, where they could be kept in isolation:

I am astonished that there are men so ill-advised as to give the King to understand that the Huguenots should be kept in a corner in Guyenne. It is a falsehood; if the King had lost it, he would have recovered it only long after. But these 'good' counsellors do so for their own advantage, and to keep the war far from themselves; if we will sell it to them dearly before they have it. Certainly, the King must act more forcefully, and prevent his enemies from taking hold there, and not let this land be abandoned, allowing them to mock our miseries so far as to ask if we still belong there at all. I cannot believe that this talk would have come from the mouth of the Queen Mother, because she has always had, and still has, faithful servants there. These French gentlemen, who now mock us, could be mocked in their turn; wickedness is not a one-way street. But there it is, the conclusion of their very 'good' counsel.¹⁷⁷

To remain in Guyenne was, in Monluc's judgement and, he says, that of his friends and enemies, precisely what the Protestants planned to do:

And I believe that, when they would have wanted to throw out all the Catholics and bring all the Huguenots of France into this land [of Guyenne] that they would have held, they would have possessed enough to make them all rich, or at least all those of the nobility of that land who would have been constrained to become Huguenots, and take up arms for them.¹⁷⁸

Paul Courteault, the Monluc scholar, did not accept any of the above-quoted exposition by Monluc of the Protestant strategy for Guyenne, and how it had been foiled by Monluc's destruction of the Garonne bridge of boats. 'He was mistaken,' Courteault stated flatly (though his subsequent use of the qualifying word 'seems' should be noted) in 1908 in *Blaise de Monluc historien*, 'in claiming that Coligny, after having crossed the Garonne, wanted to bring up the artillery from Navarrenx, seize all the places along the river, starve out Bordeaux and trap baron La Garde's galleys in the Gironde. It seems that the admiral

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.757-758.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p.758.

only came down to the Midi to supply his cavalry, rally Montgomery's troops in Gascony and those of Monbrun in Languedoc, and lead them back to the centre of France and on towards Paris.¹⁷⁹

Later, in his edition of Monluc's *Commentaires* (1911-1925), Courteault repeated the same explanation word-for-word, but softened the degree of certainty from 'He was mistaken', to 'seems here to attribute to Coligny a plan that he did not have.'¹⁸⁰ The usually meticulous Courteault in both instances notes that the Midi-to-Paris strategy of Coligny 'Is the plan attributed to him by Castelnau, who said he was told it by Coligny himself'; but the only citation Courteault gives for this statement is Henri Delaborde's *Gaspard de Coligny, amiral de France* of 1883.¹⁸¹ The source can, however, be found in Castelnau's memoirs, written after 1572, and published in 1621. Although Michel de Castelnau was present with the royal Catholic army at the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, he was not a witness to the subsequent events, and his account does not give us 'the plan', but a description of, and an explanation for, Coligny's 'long voyage' as seen with the benefit of hindsight.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ 'Il se trompe en prétendant que Coligny, après avoir franchi la Garonne, voulait faire venir de l'artillerie de Navarrenx, s'emparer de toutes les places au-delà du fleuve, affamer Bordeaux et bloquer en Gironde les galères du baron de La Garde. Il semble bien que l'amiral n'était descendu dans le Midi que pour faire vivre ses reîtres, rallier les troupes de Mongonmery en Gascogne, de Monbrun en Languedoc et se rebattre avec elles sur le centre de la France et sur Paris.' Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.569.

¹⁸⁰ 'Monluc paraît ici prêter à Coligny un dessein qu'il n'eut pas. S'il faut en croire Castelnau, qui dit tenir la chose de l'amiral lui-même, celui-ci n'était descendu vers le midi que pour y faire vivre ses reîtres, rallier les troupes de Montgomery en Gascogne, celles de Monbrun en Languedoc et se rabattre avec elles sur le centre de la France et sur Paris.' Courteault, ed., Monluc, *Commentaires* (ed. of 1964), p.1368, n.1 (in its entirety).

¹⁸¹ 'C'est le dessein que lui prête Castelnau, qui dit le tenir de la bouche même de Coligny (cf. Delaborde, *Coligny*, III, 165-6).' (Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, p.569, n.5.)

¹⁸² 'ce qui porta l'Admiral, comme il m'a dit depuis, à entreprendre ce long voyage, ce ne fut tant pour se rafraîchir, comme quelques-uns disoient, que pour payer les reistres de son party (qui commençoient à se mescontenter) du sac de plusieurs villes et bourgades, et pour se fortifier des troupes du comte de Montgommery qui les joignit à Sainte-Marie, et autres de Gascogne et Bearn' (Michel de Castelnau, *Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau*, ed. Michaud and Poujoulat ['Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France'], Paris, Didier, 1857, vol.9, p.552.) The Protestant captain La Noue, having been taken prisoner at Moncontour, depended on his Catholic captors for talk of events thereafter, but his account of the 'long voyage', which he also says the Admiral later told to him, does not differ significantly from Castelnau's (*Mémoires du Sieur François de La Noue*, ed. Michaud and Poujoulat ['Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France'], Paris, Didier, 1857, vol.9, pp.638-9).

Such traditions have a way of sustaining themselves through repetition. A paper given in 1972 at a colloquy on Coligny presents the retreat to the Midi as the admiral's primary strategy,¹⁸³ and the editor of the 1981-93 publication of the Aubigné *Histoire universelle* has described the same episode in terms similar to those used by Courteault, also citing the same page of Delaborde's *Coligny* for the Castelnau claim.¹⁸⁴ But, Delaborde in fact argues *in favour* of the Parthenay offensive strategy interpretation, saying:

Coligny therefore wanted, by means of the bridge that he had built by his troops, to assure the free passage of the Garonne, in order to *take all the country to the south of the river*, as far as Bazas and Langon. The destruction of this bridge by the enemy halted the execution of his project.¹⁸⁵

There is, moreover, another contemporary source which clearly confirms that Coligny's original strategy was to cross the Garonne and join his army with that of Montgomery south of the river, and that sufficient funds for the payment of his German mercenaries and the pursuit of this strategy had been made available to him at Montauban. François Hotman was Coligny's political secretary throughout this period. In his biography of Coligny, published in 1575, Hotman wrote:

Montauban, a city made strong by its position and fortifications, was in that region held by those of the Reformed Religion, who had amassed a quite substantial sum of money for the pay of the German troops. To this was added the hope that, after having crossed the Garonne and the Lot, [Coligny's army could] join with the troops commanded by Montgomery, a man of great experience and authori-

¹⁸³ General Jean de Pablo, 'Gaspard de Coligny, chef de guerre,' a paper presented in 1972 and published in *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny* (1974), pp.53-62.

¹⁸⁴ 'Coligny s'était fixé un plan de campagne consistant à se rendre en Guyenne, en Languedoc et en Gascogne, y rallier les forces protestantes disséminées et en lever d'autres, puis à remonter vers le nord et à menacer Paris afin d'obtenir des conditions de paix favorables. Cf. Delaborde, vol.3, p.165.' (A. Thierry, ed. (1981-93), Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, vol.3, p.166, n.1.) Such a strategy is not spelled out by Aubigné himself, although he does say, in the text of *Histoire universelle*, pp.166-167, 'Le logis du port Sainte Marie couvert de l'autre, leur fut aussi fort commode pour bransqueter plusieurs mauvaises places de Gascogne: mais plus encor pour dresser un pont à recevoir le Comte Montgomeri.'

¹⁸⁵ Delaborde, *Coligny*, vol.3, p.171. The italics are mine.

ty in war, who had led them in the conquest and pacification of Béarn.¹⁸⁶

In Hotman's account, after deputies were sent from Montauban to the king and the queen mother, carrying a letter with a plea for peace, 'the resolution was taken to cross the Garonne, which was between the Admiral's troops and those of the Count Montgomery.'¹⁸⁷ It was only after the breaking of the bridge, Hotman testifies, that it became necessary to bring Montgomery's army, and Coligny's German troops who had already crossed to the land south of the river, across from south to north by a makeshift boat passage, and to begin the pullback toward Montauban.¹⁸⁸ After reaching the security of the walls of Montauban, Coligny's army resumed its 'great retreat', passing by Toulouse, and continuing southwards through Languedoc, finally reaching Montpellier and Nîmes. One could present a number of reasons for asserting that it makes no logical sense that Queen Jeanne and Admiral Coligny would, in their original plan, have decided to bring the overwhelmingly victorious army of Montgomery all the way north from the Pyrenees to an unnecessary and perilous crossing of the Garonne above Bordeaux, only to turn around at once and go all the way back south to the shores of the Mediterranean, not so very far from where they set out.

It is always difficult to argue the case for what did not happen – in this instance, that the Protestant intent had been the conquest of Bordeaux and Guyenne. Fortunately, it is not necessary to defend that argument from a theoretical position. Even if one is not prepared to accept, on the grounds of his self-interest, Monluc's public testimony that there had been a failed offensive across the Garonne by the com-

¹⁸⁶ 'Montauban, ville forte d'assiette & de fortifications, estoit en ces quartiers là tenue par ceux de la Religion: qui avoient amassé une somme d'argent assez notable pour la paye des Allemands. A quoy s'adioustoit l'esperance, apres avoir passé la Garonne, & le Lotin [the Lot*], de joindre les troupes, que Montgomery, homme de grand sçauvoir, experience & autorité en la guerre, commandoit, & avec lesquelles il avoit reduict & pacifié le Bearn.' (François Hotman, *La Vie de Messire Gaspar de Colligny seigneur de Chastillon, Admiral de France*, ed. Emile-V. Telle, Geneva, Droz, 1987 [facsimile of Leiden, 1643 French edition; original Latin edition 1575], pp.90-91.*It is not clear why Hotman put the crossing of the Lot after, rather than before, that of the Garonne.

¹⁸⁷ 'Après l'envoy de ces deputez, la resolution fut prise de passer la Garonne, qui estoit entre les troupes de l'Admiral et celles du Comte de Montgomery.' (Ibid., pp.92-93.)

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.94.

bined Protestant armies, the same basic opinion is expressed in the private dispatch of the Catholic commander of Bordeaux; an opinion that he was willing to back, at the risk of his career, against the express orders of his king. If those are only Catholic opinions, the dispatches of Jeanne's general Montgomery, and her captains Montamat and Peyre, did, as has been shown, contain clear evidence that before, during, and after their reconquest of Béarn and Navarre, they regarded Guyenne along the lower Garonne as their ultimate objective. Coligny's dispatch to Jeanne the day after the bridge was lost, even if it does not disclose such an objective, does imply that 'the Great Retreat' to the south was a strategy of recourse. This is confirmed by the testimony of Coligny's secretary Hotman. On these grounds, it is asserted here that the primary strategy of the Protestant armies in late 1569 was a combined offensive launched at lower Guyenne and Bordeaux, the land that in February 1569 Beza had mistakenly thought was already theirs – 'except Bordeaux'.

In the spring of 1570, Coligny led the Protestant army northwards, up the Rhône valley to the place that he and Condé had seen a year before to be the key bridge-gateway to Paris, across the Loire at La Charité. At that point, in June 1570, a truce was declared.¹⁸⁹ A strong argument can be, and many times has been, made for the view that the underlying motive for the Protestant military offensives of 1568-1570, whether aimed at Bordeaux or at Paris, was to bring sufficient pressure on the king, the queen mother, and their advisers, to obtain a peace settlement which would guarantee once and for all the security and liberty of conscience of the Reformed in France. An open letter of 25 December 1569 from Angoulême, addressed to the king after the fall of St Jean d'Angély, states that 'we who hold the Reformed religion presently desire that the exercise of true piety be maintained throughout this Realm, without any exception of place, or restriction of persons.'¹⁹⁰ Then, the supplicant writer adds a subtle but compelling note of regional distrust: 'When he [the king] is in Paris, how will they treat those who are in Toulouse?'¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entière histoire*, book 12, pp.345-70. De Thou, *Histoire universelle*, vol.4, pp.323-4.

¹⁹⁰ 'nous qui maintenons la Religion reformee instamment desirons que l'exercice de la vraye pieté soit maintenu par tout ce Royaume, sans aucune exception de lieu, ni restriction de personnes.' *Humble supplication*, Angoulême, Jean de Minieres, 1569.

¹⁹¹ 'Quand il sera à Paris, comment traictera on ceux qui seront à Tholoze.' (Ibid.)

From February through May 1569, while Coligny was leading the military retreat and return, royal representatives – principally Biron – had been coming to La Rochelle to try to negotiate peace with Queen Jeanne.¹⁹² In a letter of 9 March 1570 to Queen Elizabeth, Coligny's brother the cardinal of Châtillon informed Elizabeth's advisers that the queen of Navarre had initiated peace talks by sending deputies, and wanted it known that she, the Princes, and his brother the Admiral would never cease until the Reformed religion was established, and to that end they desired that Elizabeth and her government would intervene not only as arbiters but as guardians of security for the common cause, whether during this war or the coming of peace. To this high-minded message, Queen Jeanne appended the practical note that she, the Princes Henry and the admiral asked this so that, along with the conservation of the religion of the Princes, the security of their estates would not be compromised.¹⁹³ Châtillon concluded the message on a note that did not say much for French-English trust when it came to the sharing of military secrets: he would find out, and let them know as soon as possible, as to 'the plans of the princes for the continuation of the war, and the route they are taking.'¹⁹⁴

On 8 August 1570, the Edict of Pacification was published at St Germain, and the princes of Navarre and of Condé returned to La Rochelle. The Edict was generally hailed as a Protestant victory, but its terms, and the lack of a mechanism for their enforcement, were little better than a return to the *status quo*, with all that implied in terms of instability. In Guyenne, the Reformed religion was to be permitted in Bergerac and St Sever, and all other places where it was exercised on 1 August 1570. It was to be forbidden in all other places, and at court, and in Paris. To be kept for a specified term as places of security for those of the 'Religion Prétendue Reformée' were the towns of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. A quitclaim was to be issued in favour of the Navarres and young Condé. Those of

¹⁹² Record Office, State Papers France, 10 February 1570, letter of Jeanne d'Albret to Catherine de Médicis in which Jeanne is troubled by the proposals on religion conveyed to her by Biron, as transcribed in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, p.346; letter of 4 May 1570, Catherine de Médicis to La Mothe-Fénelon on negotiations for peace, noting that Biron is in La Rochelle with Jeanne, as transcribed in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, p.312, from *Correspondance diplomatique de La Mothe-Fénelon*, vol.7.

¹⁹³ Record Office, State Papers France, 9 March 1570, as transcribed in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, pp.308-9.

¹⁹⁴ 'les desseings de Messieurs les princes pour la continuation de ceste guerre et le chemin qu'ils prennent' (ibid., p.310).

the 'Religion Prétendue Reformée' were to have the right to hold office, and to retain their honours.¹⁹⁵ In fact, the 'soft' aspects of the Edict recall the letter of advice from Henry of Anjou in the field of battle near Chinon to his brother King Charles IX in September 1569 – offer the Protestants an easy peace first; then deal with them severely after disarmament.¹⁹⁶

'To please our aunt the Queen of Navarre,' Charles IX proclaimed, the Reformed religion could be followed in her houses in the duchy of Albret, counties of Armagnac, Foix and Bigorre.¹⁹⁷ All judgements against Jeanne and Henry of Navarre since 1567 were to be nullified and their titles restored. In the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse, the letters patent against them were annulled in 1570.¹⁹⁸ In January 1572, when Jeanne heard the oath of allegiance from her vassals at Lectoure, she was recognised as queen of Navarre and their 'lord': 'Dominum Joannem, in dictis comitatibus, vicecomitatibus, et terris suis Vascoine citra Garonam.'¹⁹⁹ In March 1572, Charles IX annulled all charges that had been brought against officers in Jeanne's lands.²⁰⁰ But, was such a 'peaceful' solution truly possible? Catherine de Médicis is said to have said to the cardinal of Lorraine, in the presence of the Spanish ambassador Alava, 'Les huguenots nous demandent deux petites places sans importance!' To which Alava is said to have replied, 'Si petites qu'elles soit, ils en feront bien une autre Genève.'²⁰¹

This chapter has presented a militant Jeanne who, after her escape to La Rochelle, shared the leadership, with Prince Louis of Condé and Admiral Coligny, of Huguenot combatants who were determined to gain victory for those of the Reformed cause in France by force of arms, guided and protected by the 'God of armies'. Initially, this military effort, led by Condé and Coligny, was aimed at the court of France at Paris, but, after the defeat at Jarnac and the death of

¹⁹⁵ La Popelinière gives the terms of the Edict of Pacification in *Vraye et entiere histoire*, pp.403-411.

¹⁹⁶ Section e., above.

¹⁹⁷ La Popelinière, *Vraye et entiere histoire*, pp.403-411.

¹⁹⁸ BNF, Doat 238, fols.194-200, 27 September 1570, Lettres de Charles IX; fol.201, 2 October 1570, Jeanne's advocat at the court of the Parlement of Bordeaux.

¹⁹⁹ BNF, Doat 225, 12 January 1572, oath of fidelity pledged by inhabitants of Lectoure, fol.231.

²⁰⁰ BNF, Doat 247, 8 March 1572, at the Blois court.

²⁰¹ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, p.lvi.

Condé, Jeanne assumed the role of party leader. Her first exercise of that leadership was to send an army under her general Montgomery for the reconquest of her realm of Béarn and Navarre, an offensive that succeeded brilliantly. After the still greater defeat in the north at Moncontour and the wounding of Coligny, Jeanne's southward strategy was put into full effect, by which the two Protestant armies of the north and south were to combine in southern Guyenne at the banks of the river Garonne, upstream from Bordeaux.

It may be that biblical models in the Old Testament book of Judges not only legitimised Queen Jeanne's right to take political and military leadership, but possibly suggested, and gave confidence in, the strategy itself. However, this strategy also failed, due primarily to having been begun at the onset of winter, at a time of floods when the bridge over the Dordogne at Bergerac had already been destroyed, and then because their own 'bridge of boats' built across the Garonne above Bordeaux was broken. At that time, I have argued, quoting La Popelinière's vivid imagery, the dream of a Protestant Guyenne was 'lost beneath the waves of the Garonne.'

This analysis of the failed Protestant strategy aimed at 'the cities that are on the banks' of the Garonne has used original field dispatches, and other contemporary commentaries, to argue that this was the intended plan, and that, contrary to other historians' arguments, the 'Great Retreat' which followed was simply a strategy of recourse.

Why was Bordeaux so vital to Protestant ambitions in Guyenne, and yet so lacking as an element in their establishment? As has been argued, the Protestant towns in Guyenne of La Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban, despite their value as 'places of security', were isolated places without political authority and power extending beyond their immediate areas. Bordeaux, by contrast, was the seat of power in Guyenne through its Parlement, and, in theory, it should have been the seat of Albret power, as governors and admirals of Guyenne.

On Geneva as the New Jerusalem, the paradigm of the Promised Land for the Protestants of Guyenne, Florimond de Raemond wrote:

A very trustworthy fellow from Guyenne told me the following story: Once, while he was a student, he and his friends had been walking around the campus of the Toulouse Schools. Suddenly, the Holy Ghost descended on them ... Immediately, the same thought came to all of them: they quit the school, packed their belongings, and set off

for Geneva walking around the clock. They wanted to see [Geneva's] holy man so badly that they virtually flew. They were [so] overwhelmed with joy when they saw Geneva's holy walls (or so the storyteller said) that they must have been almost the same as when Godfrey de Bouillon, that religious, godly crusader looked on the walls of Jerusalem which he had sought for so long.²⁰²

Bordeaux should have been their Geneva, their 'Hieropolis' or 'Holy City', their New Jerusalem of the Promised Land of Guyenne.²⁰³ Yet, the absentee Albrets had signally failed to establish themselves in Bordeaux, and if the Protestant armies had lain siege to the city in 1570, Prince Henry of Navarre would have been in the awkward position of attempting to take by force what he and his father and grandfather had already governed by their legitimate authority. This key question of Bordeaux cannot be satisfactorily answered except in terms of an overall assessment of the Albret and Protestant failure in Guyenne, which will be undertaken in the general conclusion of this book.

Jeanne d'Albret, in her letters written in Bergerac in 1568, wrote that the three elements that ruled and justified her life and conduct were 'My God, my homeland, and my blood.' In this book, 'my God' has been seen in chapters three and four, on the evangelising of Jeanne, and the creation of her Reformed establishment; and 'my homeland' was considered in chapters five and six, on the politicising and militarising of Jeanne for the Huguenot cause in Guyenne.

In this chapter, I have shown how the conflict between religion and realm was expressed in violence rising to the most extreme levels of early modern warfare. Those who argue that these were not really wars of religion, but rather civil wars, have done so despite a mass of contemporary testimony to the contrary, including much of what has been recounted here. Nevertheless, it can be observed that whereas iconoclastic violence and bloodshed were common during the period

²⁰² Florimond de Raemon, *Histoire de la naissance*, as translated in William G. Naphy, ed. and trans., *Documents on the Continental Reformation*, London, Macmillan, 1996, p.71.

²⁰³ On Geneva as the New Jerusalem of Protestants, and 'Hieropolis', the 'Holy City', see Naphy, *Documents* (cited above), p.70, and Duke, *Calvinism in Europe*, p.35, both from Florimond de Raemon, *Histoire de la naissance*, who cites Etienne le Roy's *Book of Martyrs*. See also Greengrass, 'France,' in Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulas Teich, eds., *The Reformation in national context*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.55.

through 1561, when the confrontation was principally between the two religions, the frequency and degree of violence and bloodshed increased dramatically from 1562 onwards, when religious conflict was combined with civil allegiances such as those to region, homeland, or country.

Blood is the element of life, but also of violent death. The third and final element of Jeanne's justification for her actions, 'my blood', was signalled in chapter five by her use of the phrase, 'I had the war in my guts,' by which she intended to express her internal conflict between her duty towards her subjects of Béarn and Navarre, and what she perceived as her duty towards God. This chapter has shown the transition from 'the war in [her] guts' to the real war between the opposing armies, and the spilling of blood on a large scale. In the next chapter, the dynastic aspect of 'my blood' will be made manifest, in which the path of Jeanne's search for a peaceful solution through Henry's marriage would lead to 'the city of blood.'

CHAPTER SEVEN

TO THE CITY OF BLOOD, 1570-1572

a. The Royal Road: La Rochelle, September 1570-August 1571

The Edict of Pacification of August 1570 ended the third War of Religion. It also marked the beginning of a one-year period during which, it has been said, Queen Jeanne ruled from La Rochelle as 'queen of the Calvinists'.¹ In this chapter I will follow the path marked by Jeanne's search for justification by blood, in which her failure to secure a 'Promised Land' for the Reformed of France through the blood of battle was now, in a time of peace, replaced by a new effort to achieve the same end through the authority and power of the blood of her dynasty.

This period at La Rochelle is marked by two recurring obsessions: marriage, and piracy, related by a common element of blood. The obsession with marriage will be considered first, following as it does directly from Jeanne's goal of justification through the blood of her dynasty, as embodied in her son Henry as 'first prince of the blood of France'. On 20 September 1570, little more than a month after the Edict of Pacification, the Spanish ambassador Alava² sent a coded message from Paris to the duke of Alba, then governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands³: a 'great rumour' had been heard of the impending marriage of Jeanne's son Henry to Marguerite, princess of France.⁴ The strength of the rumour was, apparently, sufficient to

¹ Boysonn, in *Invasion Calviniste*, pp.133-6, describes the Queen of Navarre as 'installée dans la porte de La Rochelle comme dans sa capitale, la comtesse de Périgord et vicomtesse de Limoges, devenue reine des Calvinistes.' Boysonn was, of course, presenting a Catholic view; but, as has been noted, the phrase 'Queen of the Huguenots' was used by Jeanne's biographers Nabonne and Roelker.

² Francès de Alava (1564-1572), successor as Spanish ambassador in France to Perrenot de Chantonnay (1560-1563).

³ Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba (or Alva).

⁴ Simancas MS K.1517, no.112, fol.1r, Paris, 20 September 1570, Alava to Alba (decoded original).

cause Alava to refer to Jeanne as 'the Queen of Navarre', rather than the usual 'Madame de Vendôme'.⁵

The next day, a further coded message from Alava to Alba made the connection between any development which would increase the power of the queen of Navarre, and the danger to Spain posed by her – and Henry's – control over Guyenne and the area surrounding Bordeaux: that is, the blockage of the line of communication between Spain and Paris via Bayonne and Bordeaux.⁶ The furious pace of messages resumed a few days later with a long report to Philip II about ways in which papal approval for the marriage might be withheld. These included the existence of illegitimate family members, Antoine's son Charles on the Bourbon side, plus Pedro d'Albret among the Navarres, and possibly others, and prospects for claiming a relation of unlawful consanguinity between Prince Henry of Navarre and Princess Marguerite of France.⁷

By November 1570, Spanish intelligence appears to have accepted the marriage as 'forthcoming'.⁸ In January 1571, a letter from Catherine de Médicis to Jeanne confirms (to us) that the rumour is fact, by urging Jeanne to bring Henry with her to the court to arrange a marriage agreement.⁹ It is clear, however, that problems and conditions of settlement remained to be resolved or negotiated. Jeanne's letter to Catherine of the same day displays her suspicion.¹⁰

The spate of correspondence between Jeanne, Charles IX, and Catherine de Médicis from this period reflects negotiations for the marriage, combined with Jeanne's other demands.¹¹ Jeanne blamed her health for her delay in coming to court, but the tones of her letters to the king and queen mother, alternately whining and cring-

⁵ Ibid., fol.1v, 'vassallos de la Reyna de Navarra'.

⁶ Simancas MS K.1517, no.114, fol.1r, Paris, 21 September 1570, Alava to Alba (decoded original) on Jeanne and the Bayonne to Bordeaux axis.

⁷ Simancas MS K.1517, no.120, Paris, 26 September 1570, Alava to Philip II (decoded original), fol.5v-r, on the various Bourbon and Albret bastards, real and imagined, and the matter of consanguinity.

⁸ Simancas MS K.1518, no.30, 6 November 1570.

⁹ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* (ed. La Ferrière), vol.4, pp.22-24, 3 January 1571, Catherine to Jeanne.

¹⁰ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.52, La Rochelle, 3 January 1571, Jeanne to Catherine.

¹¹ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fols. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 17, 19, 24, 26, 27-29, 32, 46, 51, 52, are from Jeanne at La Rochelle August 1570 – February 1571.

ing,¹² quibbling and begging,¹³ and boldly aggressive,¹⁴ are nearly always directly related to demands for concessions, complaints about transgressions of the peace, and breaches of her sovereign authority. On this last matter, Jeanne's haughtiness reached new heights. In February 1571, when the king asked for the return of the royal artillery seized in Béarn, Jeanne retorted that the matter depended on her sole and sovereign authority, but, just this once, 'pour l'amour de vous, monseigneur,' she would bend the rule and give him back his guns.¹⁵ Could these have been the ten guns – or some of them (the four royal cannon taken at Orthez)¹⁶ – that Montgomery had brought north with him from Navarrenx to Condom for the aborted offensive with Coligny at the Garonne the year before?

Months later, in August 1571, Jeanne was still seeking, from Catherine de Médicis – and in the most cutting way – provision in the marriage agreement for the security of the Reformed of France,¹⁷ and in October 1571, the pope was still threatening to have Henry declared illegitimate because of Jeanne's previous marriage to the duke of Cleves, and Catherine de Médicis was seeking papal dispensation.¹⁸

It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that Jeanne stayed put in La Rochelle. Nevertheless, the marriage negotiations seemed to be exerting some positive leverage on the perception of her status

¹² Ibid., fol.52, 3 January 1571 (cited above), to Catherine de Médicis: 'toute nostre grandeur despent de Voz Magestés, et le tres humble service qui nous oblige et appelle à voz piedz pour y employer vie et biens.'

¹³ Ibid., fol.28, to the king: 'en la pluspart de mes places comme Lectoure, Villemur, le chasteau de Pamiers et aultres, je ne jouis point du benefice de l'esdict de la paix.' (On 13 December 1571, Jeanne sold her viscounty of Villemur, or part of it, for 30,000 pounds, with a 10-year buy-back option.) In her next letter, *ibid.*, fol.29, to the king, Jeanne complains that in the marriage negotiations, a favour she received from the crown – the bishopric of Lectoure – in compensation for her gift of the county of Armagnac to her son, should have included two abbeys.

¹⁴ Ibid., fol.27, Jeanne to the king: 'sy nous, avecq toutes les occasions que je vous ay représentées, ne pouvons obtenir susport et faveur de vous, que pourront esperer les aultres?'

¹⁵ Ibid., fol.46, 22 February 1571, to the king: 'ils estoient punisables cellon les jugementz donnés par mes Estatz et Parllément; ausquelz, pour l'amour de vous, monseigneur, je veus bien deroger pour ceste fois; qui est ce qui despend de ma seule et souverayne auctorité.'

¹⁶ Chapter six, section *d*, 16 August 1569.

¹⁷ Ibid., fol.41, 7 August 1571, Jeanne to Catherine, printed in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* (ed. La Ferrière), pp.65-6, quoted below.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.75, October 1571, Catherine seeks papal dispensation, BNF, fr 3899, fol.294 (copy); ed. note on papal threat, 7 October 1571.

and condition. On 11 January 1571, the Spanish diplomatic message to Philip II reported the restoration by the king of France to Queen Jeanne of all her lands,¹⁹ and on 31 January, Alava was describing Jeanne to Philip II as both 'La Reyna de Navarra' and the 'Procurador de los Hugonotes'.²⁰ Several dispatches of July, August and September 1571 display increasing certainty about the forthcoming marriage of Marguerite ('Madama Margarita') and Henry ('el Principe de Bearne'), but also contain ominous notes about the 'many enemies' of 'La Duquesa de Vandoma' (Queen Jeanne) and admiral Coligny.²¹

Still, marriage was definitely the concern of Spanish dispatches of this time, including the forthcoming marriage of Admiral Coligny, and stories that Jeanne's daughter Catherine, aged twelve, was to be married to Louis of Nassau.²² With the Spanish rumour mill then working overtime, Alava's reports actually began to name the names of some of his sources within the spy networks of Paris and La Rochelle. A Spaniard in La Rochelle named as 'Geronimo Manrigg' was picking up gossip on Jeanne and Coligny, and channelling it, via the Scottish ambassador, to the cardinal of Torrena, and so to Alava.²³ Then, in his coded dispatch to Alba of 25 September 1571, Alava reported that two trustworthy Reformed friends of the count of Mansfeld had told him that Guyenne was to be part of Marguerite's marriage settlement. If that came to pass, Alava said, the road from Poitiers to Bordeaux, 'the royal road to Spain', will have been lost.²⁴ Alava's description of the route 'al camino entre Poitiers y Burdeos' as 'el camino real' – and, for that matter, Louis XI's perception, as we

¹⁹ Simancas MS K.1521, no.22, 11 January 1571, Alava to Philip II.

²⁰ Ibid., no.32, 31 January 1571, Alava to Philip II.

²¹ Simancas MSS K.1520, July-August 1571, nos.33-73; no.48, fol.2r, Melun, 8 August 1571, Alava to Philip II (decoded copy); September 1571, nos.74-89 (Jeanne has many enemies); no.79, fol.1v, Paris, 13 September 1571, Alava to Philip II (decoded copy).

²² Simancas MS K.1520, no.29, fol.1r, Alava to Alba, 25 June 1571. On the rumoured marriage of Catherine and Louis, which came to nothing, see Tucoc-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon*, p.28.

²³ Simancas MS K.1520, no.69, resumé of 29-30 August 1571, for Gabriel de Cayas, or His Majesty [Philip II], from Paris: 'el Cardinal de Torrena le havia avisado por medio del'[a]mbax~or de l'scopia que en Rochela estava un Espanol llamado Don Geronimo Manrigg, q'traya muchas ... de y ente descontenta ... y traya muchas platicas con la Duquesa de Vandoma y el Almirante.'

²⁴ Simancas MS K.1520, no.85, fol.1r-v, 25 September 1571, Paris, Alava to Alba (decoded).

have seen, of that road in 1483 as 'the boulevard of France' – may have been based in part on the importance for Spain of the battles of Poitiers in the eighth and fourteenth centuries,²⁵ or on the establishment by the medieval kings, queens, dukes and duchesses of Aquitaine of their palaces in both Poitiers and Bordeaux. It was, of course, a matter of the deepest concern to the Spanish that the only routes for trade and military supply between Spain and its Netherlands territory, then in open revolt, were the long and difficult overland route, the 'Spanish Road' from Savoy to Luxembourg through the Franche-Comté, and/or the vulnerable and dangerous sea lane past La Rochelle and through the English Channel. In any case, the same Spanish concern about the loss of Guyenne and the Bordeaux-Poitiers axis to Reformed control had been expressed in their dispatches at the time of the escape of Condé and Coligny to La Rochelle in 1568.²⁶

The matter of Guyenne as part of the marriage settlement was proposed, but not agreed upon, in the negotiations during Jeanne's residency at La Rochelle during 1570-September 1571. It would – as will be seen – be continued at Pau, November-December 1571, and at the court of France at Blois, March-April 1572.

The frequency and urgency of Spanish reports about the forthcoming marriage of Henry of Navarre and Marguerite of France were only exceeded by those about 'piracy' against Spanish shipping by the Huguenot fleet operating out of the ports of La Rochelle and Brouage from 1570 onwards.²⁷ I have used the term 'piracy' here, because the

²⁵ Dartigue, *Histoire de Guyenne*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950, pp.36, 39, 72.

²⁶ Simancas MS K.1510, no.34, Alava to Philip II, 10 September 1568. On the Netherlands uprising, see Salmon, *Society in Crisis*, pp.172-173, and Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, London, Allen Lane, 1977, p.28. On the overland route from Italy to the Netherlands, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*, Cambridge, 1972, pp.84-85, 102-103; on Spanish naval strategy, Peter Pierson, 'The Development of Spanish Naval strategy and Tactics in the Sixteenth Century,' in Malcom R. Thorp and Arthur J. Slavin, *Politics, Religion & Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of De Lamar Jensen*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 27, Kirksville (Mo.), Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994, pp.191-218 and, with particular regard to the Huguenots of La Rochelle, p.215.

²⁷ Spanish dispatches of this period which contain reports and complaints about Protestant pirate ships operating out of La Rochelle and Brouage include: Simancas MSS K.1517, nos.54-56, April-June 1570; no.85, 1 September 1570; nos.87 and 89, 2-3 September 1570; no.108, 18 September 1570; K.1521, no.35, 31 January 1571; no.42, 9 March 1571; 22 March 1571; K.1520, no.29, 25 June 1571; K.1522, June-December 1571.

Spanish dispatches employ the usual terms for piracy: 'piratas', 'corsarios', 'robar' and the like.²⁸ 'Privateering' is a more accurate term, although it could be argued that the seizures were an extension of political policy, to which Coligny's office of admiral of France, and Henry of Navarre's of admiral of Guyenne, even if in suspension, added a lustre of legitimacy. On the face of it, the level of loss and damage would not seem to have warranted so much fuss.²⁹ What, then, was the probable reason for the high level of Spanish concern?

There is every indication in the Spanish reports that the Edict of Pacification was being violated in Guyenne before its ink was scarcely dry, and it was not expected to hold.³⁰ It would have been reasonable for the authors and recipients of these reports to hold the view that the acts of Huguenot 'piracy' were a prelude to a resumption of warfare, and to anticipate that the path being followed in France would lead again to blood, not only flowing together in the marital union of the dynasties of Navarre and France, but to be shed on the fields and seas of battle, and in the streets of towns and cities.

At La Rochelle, Jeanne had financed the construction of the capital warship 'La Huguenotte'. By early 1571, according to Alava's dispatches, the Protestants had a fleet of sixteen warships of heavy tonnage operating out of La Rochelle and Brouage,³¹ venturing against Spanish shipping as far as the Indies.³² Protestant seafarers from these ports, before, during, and after this time – among them the first governor of New France, Samuel de Champlain – were among the best in the world. Coligny, admiral of France, had – as has been noted – attempted to extend the practical application of the idea of Protestant sanctuary as far overseas as Brazil, Florida and Canada,³³ and Henry of Navarre was,

²⁸ For example, 'Piratas' in Simancas MSS K.1517, no.85, fol.1r, 1 September 1570; 'corsarios' in K.1517, no.89, fol.3v, 3 September 1570; 'armada à robar' in K.1520, no.29, fol.1v, 25 June 1571.

²⁹ Simancas MSS K.1517, April-June 1570, nos.54-56, France, 1570, from Alava, report and inventory of acts of piracy by subjects of the king of France and notably of la Rochelle. Typical entries: 146 sombreros of taffeta, 2 pair of 'pantoflos', etc.

³⁰ Simancas MS K.1517, no.87, fol.1v, Paris, 2 September 1570, Alava to Philip II (decoded): 'A la parte de Languedoc y Guiena han comenzado muchos de los catholicos à tomar las armas, y hablar claro en esto del Edicto, particularmente los de la villa de Rodes. Los de Tolosa estan muy firmes en no recibirle.'

³¹ Simancas MS K.1521, no.35, 31 January 1571, summary from Alava.

³² Simancas MS K.1517, no.89, fol.3v, Madrid, 3 September 1570, minute of Philip II to Alava.

³³ Simancas MSS K.1495, no.99, Poissy, 15 December 1561, and no.107, Poissy, 29 December 1561, fol.5r.

after all, admiral of Guyenne. Spain was still as concerned about the prospect of a new war in Guyenne – and a blockade of the sea lane between Spain and the Low Countries – as it was about its potential loss to the Huguenots through the marriage negotiations.³⁴ Monluc, having been seriously wounded in one of the final battles of the third war in Guyenne, had lost his office of lieutenant-general of the province. Jeanne's preferred candidate, Honorat de Savoie, marquis of Villars, was appointed to the office, arriving at Bordeaux in January 1571 to take up his duties.³⁵ Henry, now seventeen, was beginning to assert – or was being pushed by Jeanne to assert – his authority over Villars and over Guyenne as governor and admiral 'in absentia'. Henry had written to Villars in January, and again in August 1571, instructing Villars against the misappropriation of his authority in Guyenne, in order that there be no impression of opposition between the two of them, especially by the Parlement of Bordeaux.³⁶ Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis – perhaps notified by the Spanish ambassador – must also have complained about the danger posed by the Huguenot fleet at La Rochelle, because on 9 March 1571, Prince Henry wrote to King Charles to deny that any fleet had been assembled at La Rochelle and Brouage for the purpose of attacking Philip II or the Pays-Bas.³⁷

As already noted, a recent work on the admiralty of Guyenne under the Albret-Navarre dynasty by S. Amanda Eurich, *The Economics of Power: The Private Finances of the House of Foix-Navarre-Albret during the Religious Wars* (1994), encourages a perception that income from seizure of Spanish shipping by the Protestant fleet represented a major portion of the financing of the Huguenot war effort and political cause, as well as a major source for the replenishment of the depleted cash resources of the queen and prince of Navarre.³⁸ After

³⁴ Simancas MS no.108, Paris, fol.1r, 18 September 1570, Alava to Philip II (decoded).

³⁵ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, letters of Jeanne to Catherine de Médicis, La Rochelle, August 1570 – January 1571, fol.23, and in Simancas MS K.1517, 2 September 1570, no.87.

³⁶ *Recueil des Lettres Missives* (ed. Xivrey), p.14, n.1, letter of Henry of Navarre to Villars, 24 January 1571, 'A Mon Cousin Monsieur le Marquis de Villars Lieutenant General pour le Roy mon Seigneur en ses Pays de Guyenne et Poitou, en mon absence,' and, p.26, letter of Henry to Villars, 6 August 1571.

³⁷ Henry of Navarre to Charles IX, La Rochelle, 9 March 1571, in *Recueil des Lettres Missives* (ed. Xivrey), cited as 'Simancas B.31, pièce 63' (old AN code), now Simancas MS K.1520, no.42.

³⁸ Noted in chapter two, section *e.* above.

noting the restrictions placed on Henry of Navarre's revenues from the Crown during the period 1568-1575, Eurich adds that in practice, admiralty of Guyenne revenues from the confiscation of ships and cargoes at the port of La Rochelle continued, during the period when he was officially out of the office, to enrich the family through his one-tenth share, and the Reformed cause through its one-fifth portion, and concludes that 'In one year alone, Henri's portion of the admiralty prize amounted to 300,000 livres.'³⁹

Eurich's assessment depends on Marcel Gouron's work, *L'Amirauté de Guienne* (1938).⁴⁰ While Gouron's is still the best work on the subject, and Eurich's use of it is accurate, problems of interpretation of the data remain. The amounts given by Gouron could well, as previously noted, have produced 300,000 livres for Henry's tenth. Gouron's footnote does not provide the source for the figure of 300,000 livres.⁴¹ Confirming evidence is to be found, however, in La Noue's memoirs, where the single year in question is situated approximately in the period of the third war (1568-1570). Moreover, La Noue states that in 1574, the admiral's tenth was increased to a fifth.⁴²

Therefore, while it is probable that the year cited was extraordinary, indicated by Gouron's use of the phrase 'as much as',⁴³ it can be concluded that 'privateering' was an important source of Protestant revenues during this period. No precise conclusion can be reached on just how important, unless or until year-by-year data – if it exists – is reviewed and evaluated.

From the time peace negotiations were begun in January 1570, Jeanne had taken the lead in initiatives for the protection and recognition of the Reformed of France, and to ensure and enforce the Reformed establishment in her own realm.⁴⁴ During the period of her

³⁹ Eurich, *Economics of Power*, p.64.

⁴⁰ In *ibid.*, n.78, p.64, Eurich cites Gouron, *L'Amirauté*, p.164.

⁴¹ Gouron's footnote to the statement (*L'Amirauté*, p.164, n.2) cites BNF, MS Coll. Moreau 1340, fol.23, but only in respect to 15,000 pounds given by Henry to his sister Catherine from his admiralty revenue.

⁴² La Noue, *Mémoires*, ed. Michaud and Poujoulat (an edition of La Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires*, 1587), vol.9, p.639.

⁴³ Gouron states that the Huguenot cause got one-fifth of the admiralty total of 'as much as 800,000 écus a year.' (*L'Amirauté*, p.164.)

⁴⁴ BNF, fr 3239, fols.11-13, 'Remonstrances au Roy des deputez de la Royne de Navarre en l'an MDLXX,' and fols.17-22, 'Responce faite par le Roy aux articles

stay in La Rochelle, she produced a series of ordinances between March 1570 and March 1571 enforcing the Reformed religion in Béarn and Navarre, and led the Synod of La Rochelle (April 1571), at which a definitive Confession and Ecclesiastical Discipline were created for the ensemble of the Reformed churches of France. Then, during her brief return to Pau, she drew up and published the *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* of November 1571, by which the Reformed religion would operate as the establishment in her own realm. These three sets of documents are separate and distinct, but are confusingly similar in name and description, and have been confused by historians. To avoid compounding such confusions, the three documents will be examined separately, in the three sections which follow.

b. 'By baton blows': Jeanne's Ordonnances of March 1570 – March 1571

In late 1569 and early 1570, while Queen Jeanne presided over the council at La Rochelle and the battle for Guyenne was still being fought, Darros, her lieutenant-general in Béarn and Navarre, began the process of the seizure and redistribution of Roman Catholic belongings and revenues in her realm. Many manuscripts held in the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques attest to this process. A supplication to Queen Jeanne by the parishioners of Sarrance, south of Oloron, seeking restitution for the burning and pillaging of the abbey of Sarrance by her general Montgomery is followed, in November 1569, by a grant by Darros, representing Queen Jeanne, of the revenue of the dime of the house and abbey to the adjoining village.⁴⁵ An account of Montgomery alone for the period

presentees a sa Maieste par les deputez de la Royne de Navarre,' 4 Feb. 1570. These are cited in Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p.19, nn.3 and 4, adding the comment that Jeanne had sought the king's protection for the unrestricted practice of the Reformed religion in France, but 'The king and queen mother were well aware of the danger which such a situation might provoke, and they quickly dispersed the queen of Navarre's deputies with a firm reply.'

⁴⁵ ADPA, MSS B.2189, described as 1571-1573, actually 1569-70, 44 paper pieces (listed as 35), fol.1 (original), supplication to 'La Regine' from parishioners of Sarrance; fol.3, November 1569, original paper with seals, oval upper seal intact, wheels of Navarre upper left and lower right, flanked by triple chevrons. Signed by Darros by his command as lieutenant general of the queen, granting the dime of the house and abbey of Sarrance to the village of la Borce (or la Borde).

from 1569 to 1572 is recorded as amounting to 4,422 pounds 10 shillings.⁴⁶ Claims by the Protestant faithful, especially the widows or other survivors of deceased ministers, resulting from the period of Montgomery's reconquest in 1569, were still being pursued in 1571-73.⁴⁷

While these manuscripts are not a matter of direct importance for this book, they are indirectly important in two ways. First, they raise questions about the nature of Jeanne's government – specifically, whether such a government could have been applied successfully to a wider Reformed territory of Guyenne. Second, errors have been made in identifying the source of the relevant documents, and, for the sake of clarification, it is imperative to correct these errors.

A fine original parchment held in the Archives des Pyrénées-Atlantiques at Pau, signed and sealed by 'Jehanne par la grace de dieu Royné de Navarre' and dated at La Rochelle 26 March 1570, formally authorises and grants powers for actions against Roman Catholics of Orthez, Oloron, Pau, and other places in her realm.⁴⁸ On an unspecified day at about this time, another document by Jeanne's commissioner lists properties seized in Béarn of Roman Catholic convents, houses, belongings, rights, priories, abbeys, commanderies, archpresbyteries, seigneuries, and baronies, of curates, abbots, canons, judges, seigneurs, barons, and councillors, including the belongings of Bernard de Poey, poet and ex-counsellor of the queen.⁴⁹

Later in 1570, a dispatch from Alava to Philip II reports 'new insolences by the Duchess of Vendôme' in Béarn and Basse-Navarre,⁵⁰ and another Spanish manuscript of this time, purporting to be a transcription (but of suspect appearance) of acts of the queen of Navarre,

⁴⁶ ADPA, MSS B.2188, 1569-1572, fol.8.

⁴⁷ ADPA, MSS B.2188, 1571-73, 18 loose papers plus one original parchment. Various accounts of Montgomery, fols.1-10; claims and attestations by Robert de Taulade, Protestant minister, regarding a gift of 250 gold écus by Queen Jeanne, signed for by Montgomery, to his dead brother Artus, fols. 11-17; fol.16, 17 October 1571, original with seal signed 'Jehanne', countersigned by her secretary Pelletier, with added note of 28 October 1571 signed 'Montgonmeri'; fol.17, July 1571, original with partly-broken seal of queen of Navarre still in its intact pouch.

⁴⁸ ADPA, MS B.1463, La Rochelle, 26 March 1570. (A covering note corrects the day to 25 from 26, but it nevertheless appears to be 'xxvi' – see *Illustrations*.)

⁴⁹ ADPA, MSS E.340, 'vers 1570', 'Rôle des benefices saisis en Béarn par M. de Fenario, commissaire de Jeanne d'Albret.' 7 folios, paper. A printed summary is given in the ADPA, catalogue, 'Série E. – Titres de Famille,' p.95.

⁵⁰ Simancas MS K.1518, no.64, Alava to Philip II, 22 December 1570.

speaks of the destruction of the churches and penalties for moral misconduct which would include death.⁵¹ This dispatch sent from 'Ste Palaye' (probably St Palais in Basse Navarre) appears to indicate that Spanish spies were operating in Basse Navarre or Guyenne to transmit intelligence – perhaps largely fabricated – from within Jeanne's realm. An earlier dispatch from Pamplona had reported on Jeanne's activities 'in San Palai in Vascos,' which the Spanish source had described as her attempt 'to extend Lutheranism throughout her state.'⁵²

The most important, and indisputably genuine, document of Jeanne's actions against the Catholics of her realm during this period is her *Ordonnances de Jeanne d'Albret relatives à la saisie des biens ecclésiastiques en Béarn et en Navarre*, a signed copy, dated 7 March 1571, of her original *Ordonnances* of 18 October 1570.⁵³ These papers have been crudely bound together so as to begin with a first section excerpt of Jeanne's *Ordonnances*,⁵⁴ followed, in a second section, by a *Mémoire* of instructions from Jeanne to Darros for the execution of the ordinance.⁵⁵ The third section is a long two-part letter of supplication, 'A La Regine,' by Jeanne's discontented Catholic subjects, addressed to her in La Rochelle.⁵⁶ Answers to these complaints are given by Jeanne's own interpolations within the body of the same letter, facili-

⁵¹ Simancas MS K.1517, no.115, fol.1r-v, Ste Palaye, 22 September 1570. 'Actes émanant de la Reine, et concernant les habitans du Bearn; en date de Pau (18 Septembre) envoyés à Ste Palaye,' a Spanish transcription in cramped writing.

⁵² Simancas MS K.1509, no.14, Notices from France, Pamplona, 13 February 1568, transcribed and published in *Archivo documental Espanol*, vol.14, p.200.

⁵³ ADPA, MSS E.587, *Ordonnances de Jeanne d'Albret relatives à la saisie des biens ecclésiastiques en Béarn et en Navarre*, 7 March 1571.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fol.1r-1v, La Rochelle, 7 March 1571, extract from original *Ordonnance* of 18 October 1570, made and signed by 'Genssane A. [Arnauld].'

⁵⁵ Ibid., 'Memoires et instructions que la Royne a comise au Sr de Darros Guy de Auillars son lieutenant general tant de son royaume que pais souverain de bearn,' La Rochelle, 7 March 1571, 2 folios (3 pages), signed 'Jehanne' and beneath that 'Pelletier', copy extracted from the original and signed by 'Arnauld Genssane'.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 'A La Regine,' 5 folios (9 pages), copy made and collated from a true original by de Serdoy at La Rochelle, 7 March 1571, signed for the supplicants by Juan de Villanova, and for Her Majesty's council by de Brannoix and de Francourt; then signed by Jehanne (Jeanne), after her attestation, and below that, by Pelletier (Jeanne's secretary Jean Le Pelletier). On Jeanne's chancellor Barbier, seigneur of Francourt, see de Gaulle, 'Le Conseil de La Reine de Navarre,' (*BSHPF*, 3, p.133, n.3). This 'cahier' is followed by a second part, also 'A La Regine,' of four further folios (6 pages) made and copied by Serdoy at the council of Her Majesty at La Rochelle on the same date, and signed as before by Villanova, Jehanne, Pelletier, and Serdoy. See *Illustrations*.

tating confusion on the part of the reader.⁵⁷ This single document contains a survey of Jeanne's orders as applied to the Roman Catholics of her realm, and the reaction to them by her Catholic subjects.

In the first section of the document, Jeanne, after giving one of the most complete statements of her titles,⁵⁸ seeks to prevent any further action by her 'rebellious and seditious subjects' who have 'traitorously taken the king's authority' to rebel against her.⁵⁹ Here, the attack is not aimed directly at the king of France as the enemy but, as will be seen below, the section dealing with the execution of Jeanne's orders by Darros comes much closer to identifying the king as the leader of her enemies.

In the second section, Jeanne's 'memoirs and instructions' to her lieutenant-general Darros, she repeats that her ordinances are to be carried out 'point by point' by July 1571.⁶⁰

The third and longest section, containing Catholic complaints and Jeanne's replies, begins with a sorry tale of demolished churches stripped of their ornaments, and Catholics compelled by force and by 'coups de bastons'⁶¹ – 'by baton blows' – to attend the preaching of the ministers. With the sacraments of the Roman Catholic faith, even that of Holy Burial, prohibited to their priests, and their benefices and privileges taken away, Jeanne's Catholic subjects say that it has become impossible for them to live in her realm, that they have been compelled to live in Alta Navarra, Aragon, and other countries, and in consequence, women, children, and whole families have become separated.⁶² Jeanne's imperious response, worthy of the Duchess in *Alice*, is

⁵⁷ The Queen's responses to her Catholic subjects' supplications can usually be identified by the wider lines running out into the left margin.

⁵⁸ ADPA, MS E.587, fol.1r, 'Jehanne par la grace de dieu Royne de navarre, dame souveraine de bearn, duchesse de vendosmois, de Beaumont, nemours, gandie, montblanc, penfiel et albret, contesse de foix, larmaignac, de rodez, annexsay, marsac, bigorre et perigort, viscontesse de Limoges, Lautrec, Vilmure, marsan, tursan, gavardan, nebouzan, tartas, ailhas, et de marenpuc.' (See *Illustrations*.)

⁵⁹ Ibid., fol.1r, 'la poursuyte qui aucunes de noz subjects rebelles et seditieux ont faicts et fons encore de leur auctorite prinde pres la personne du roy traistrestres tous.'

⁶⁰ Ibid., section two, fol.1r.

⁶¹ Ibid., section three, part one, fol.1r: 'compelliy par force et des coups de bastons'. (See *Illustrations*.) The phrase 'coups de baston' appears also in AN, K 100/b, no.57, fol.1, La Jarrie (near La Rochelle), 2 August 1571, and as transcribed in BP MSS 882.

⁶² Ibid., fol.2r.

that no one will be forced or constrained by conscience – but all subjects of her realm are equally required to attend the Reformed services, abide by its discipline and its ministers, and obey her ordinances point by point.⁶³ Jeanne has resolved that Darros will have carried out her orders concerning religion by July, but declares that all promises and obligations made before the troubles are nullified, and orders that all persons imprisoned because of the troubles be set at liberty. She also allows that, subject to confirmation by the next assembly of the Estates, liberty of Holy Burial will not be constrained.⁶⁴

The rigour of Jeanne's legislation and her strong determination that it be carried out is particularly evident in her responses in the second part or 'cahier' of the letter of supplication, which is concerned especially with her realm of Navarre, whereas the preceding section dealt with Béarn. When the supplicants speak of the loss of their houses, belongings, *honors*, privileges, laws, liberties, estates and offices, Jeanne replies that she has already satisfied their main points in the preceding 'cahier', and that it remains for her to declare, for all her good and loyal subjects, the confirmation and maintenance of their privileges, customs, and accustomed liberties.⁶⁵

Then comes the strong medicine: 'they have carried out the pursuit so that no rebels and seditious persons remain close to the king of France against her and her Estates.'⁶⁶ This statement, while repeating a similar one already noted in the first section of the ordinance above, is worded here in such a way as to remove the usual disguise, briefly revealing the king of France as the enemy. And this in peacetime, eight months after the Edict of Pacification, in an official document signed by Queen Jeanne. Finally, Jeanne orders that the regulations set by lord Darros on the seizure and employment of church properties and benefices, and of personal wealth,⁶⁷ be maintained unless otherwise ordered at the next assembly of her Estates.⁶⁸

⁶³ 'que lefs ordonnanz seront entieremens gardes et observez de point par point' ... Ladictre dame n'entendant touttefois qu'aucun soit forcé ni contraint par sa conscience.' (Ibid.)

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ 'qui restens elle declare quelle veult confirmer et entretenir tous ses bons et fidelles subjectz en leurs privezges franchises et libertez acoustumes.' (Ibid., section three, part two, fol. 1; see *Illustrations*.)

⁶⁶ 'ils ont faict de la poursuite qu'aucunes Rebelles et Seditieux sones pres du Roy de france contre soy dame et soy estats.' (Ibid.)

⁶⁷ 'biens propres et non ecclesiastiques', *ibid.*, fol. 3r.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

*c. 'The battle between theocracy and democracy':
The Synod and Confession of La Rochelle, April 1571*

At La Rochelle in April 1571, within weeks of having issued the orders for the seizure of Catholic church properties and revenues described in the preceding section, Queen Jeanne presided over the seventh national synod of the Reformed churches of France. At her invitation, Theodore Beza came from Geneva to act as moderator.⁶⁹ In a letter from Henry of Navarre at La Rochelle, delivered to the *syndics* of the council of Geneva, Henry says that the *porteur* will tell them of the state of the churches in France, and will make a request to Theodore Beza. While unstated, the request may have concerned the invitation to La Rochelle. The editor's note is that Henry writes as chief of the Protestant party. That is true, but, as we have seen, only in title, the office actually having been exercised by Jeanne. The resultant 'Confession of La Rochelle' codified the structure of the Reformed religion in France, and, with the authorisation of the king of France, tackled the thorny problem 'of harmonising the principals of Geneva with those of the public law of the kingdom of France,' with a view to achieving 'a legitimate right of community under the sovereign power.'⁷⁰

The document commonly referred to as 'The Confession of La Rochelle' actually consists of two parts: a 'Confession of Faith' (La Rochelle, 2 April 1571), and a 'Discipline' (La Rochelle, 12 April 1571). The 'Confession of Faith,' beginning, since the first Reformed national Synod was held at Paris in 1559, with the words 'We believe that there is but one God,' has been defined as that through which 'a church gives expression to its identity and assures its internal cohesion through a coherent expression of its beliefs.'⁷¹ The 'Discipline' has been described as 'defining how the principles of church government set forth in the Confession of Faith were to be worked out in the churches' particular historical and cultural circumstan-

⁶⁹ Xivrey, ed., *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV*, vol.1, p.7, and n.1, cited from a copy of an original manuscript of Arch. Ville de Genève (date given as 5 January 1570, but surely 1571, Henry having been with Coligny's army in the Agenais on the stated date).

⁷⁰ Michel Reulos, 'Le synode national de La Rochelle (1571) et la constitution d'un "parti" protestant,' *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, pp.707-716: p.715 (cited by Reulos from Jean Bodin, *République*, Book 3, Chapter 7).

⁷¹ Bornert, *La Réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVIe Siècle*, p.285.

ces.⁷² It was to this working-out of the principles of the Reformed religion of France as they were to be applied in the government of their churches and congregations that the makers of the 'Confession of La Rochelle' turned their attention.

The 'Confession of La Rochelle' was drawn up in three original parchment examples, one each for La Rochelle, Béarn, and Geneva,⁷³ signed by, in order, Queen Jeanne of Navarre, Prince Henry of Navarre, Prince Henry of Condé, Prince Louis of Nassau, Admiral Coligny, and Theodore Beza, Moderator.⁷⁴ While it is not my intention in this book to analyse the articles of which the document is composed, their organisation into principal categories of Ministers (38 articles), Elders and Deacons (8), Consistories (22), Synods (17 or 18), Baptism (11 or 13), The Lord's Supper (10), Marriage (21), and Matters of Misbehaviour and Correction⁷⁵ (22 or 24) gives a general indication of the areas of concern, and the relative weightings apportioned to them.⁷⁶

⁷² Sunshine, 'French Protestantism on the Eve of St. Bartholomew,' 340, citing Michel Reulos, 'Les sources du droit ecclésiastique des Eglises réformées de France aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: écriture et discipline,' in *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel le Bras* (1965), 343-52.

⁷³ A surviving original parchment copy is held by the Bibliothèque de l'Université de Genève, MS fr. 405, fols. 1-20. A paper copy of later provenance is in the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français as BP MSS 174, 'Synode tenu à la Rochelle 1571,' fols. 1-18, 'La discipline ecclésiastique des eglises reformées du royaume de France,' and fols. 19-24, 'Extraict des actes du Synode tenu à la Rochelle au mois d'Avril 1571,' followed by approval and ratification by French churches, fols. 25-29. I have used this copy, in conjunction with a printed version in English contained in Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, vol. 1, pp. 89-111. A previously cited article, published in 1990, by Glenn S. Sunshine, 'French Protestantism on the Eve of St. Bartholomew: The Ecclesiastical Discipline of the French Reformed Churches, 1571-1572,' *French History*, 4, 3 (September 1990), 340-77, contains an edition of the text, 'La Discipline Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées de France selon qu'elle a este arrestée aux Synodes nationaux par les deputes des provinces et ratifiée par toutes les Eglises, reveue et confirmée par le dernier Synode tenu a La Rochelle le 12^e Avril 1571 et a Nismes le 7^e May 1572, regnant Charles 9 par la grace de Dieu Roy de France,' 352-77. See also Robert M. Kingdon, '"Disciplines" réformées du XVI^e siècle français: une découverte faite aux Etats-Unis,' *BSHPP*, 130 (1984), 69-71. Sunshine's has now become the best accessible printed edition of the Discipline of La Rochelle, for which I am grateful; I cite it as Sunshine, 'Ecclesiastical Discipline.'

⁷⁴ BP MSS 174, fol. 18v; Quick, *Synodicon*, vol. 1, pp. 90-91, 111; Sunshine, 'Ecclesiastical Discipline,' 376. See also Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572: A Contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Calvinist Resistance Theory*, Madison (Wisc), University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, pp. 152, 195.

⁷⁵ 'Advertissements pour le reglement des particuliers.' (Sunshine, 'Ecclesiastical Discipline,' 373.)

⁷⁶ BP MSS 174, fols. 1r-18v; Sunshine, 'Ecclesiastical Discipline,' 352-76, and table, 350.

The relatively high weightings devoted to ministers and consistories suggests that there was a concern about whether the balance of power in the churches was to reside above (through ministers, elders, and their consistories), or below (in the congregation). The Reformed religion of France, in the absence of a hierarchy of pope or archbishop, cardinals and bishops, and having the rule that no church could have precedence over any other church,⁷⁷ was consequently perceived by itself as vulnerable to the assumption of control from above, below, or without – especially from Geneva. This debate has been seen as a ‘battle between theocracy and democracy.’⁷⁸ Most notably, Peter Ramus, in *De religione christiana libri quatuor* (1572), published after his ‘martyrdom’ on St Bartholomew’s night, wrote that ‘the church is a council of the people of a city or republic.’⁷⁹ Ramus saw in the Synod of La Rochelle the introduction of an oligarchical, tyrannical tendency which made the Reformed churches of France more like the Calvinist state of Geneva, where the delicate balance between church and civil power, between the Consistory and the Councils, had depended on the strong personality of Calvin.⁸⁰ Beza, Calvin’s successor and the architect of the Confession of La Rochelle, was opposed to Ramus’ ideas.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the problem of the relation between ministers of the Reformed church and civil magistrates, which had caused such deep conflict in Geneva, was far more difficult and dangerous in the Catholic kingdom of France – a danger which was not lost on the delegates at the Synod of La Rochelle.⁸²

⁷⁷ On the Consistory, Article 1: ‘Nulle Eglise ne pourra pretendre primante ou domination sur l’autre.’ (BP MSS 174, fol.7r; Sunshine, ‘Ecclesiastical Discipline,’ 361.)

⁷⁸ ‘En 1571 fut tenu un important Synode dans lequel à l’instigation de Remus agita si, en cas de doute ou de discipline, c’était à l’église entière ou au consistoire seul à prononcer. C’était la lutte de la théocratie et de la démocratie.’ (Papiers de Ruble, Boîte 135, enveloppe 38, ‘Les précurseurs des principes de 1789 et du code civil au XVIème: De la démocratie à la réforme,’ a two-page outline in Ruble’s hand, p.1, citing Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, vol.IX, p.277, n.2.)

⁷⁹ ‘Ecclesia est concio seu populus vel civitas, vel resp[ublicae].’ Peter Ramus, *De religione christiana libri quatuor*, 1572, reprint Frankfurt, 1969, p.76.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.108, 110. Sunshine points out, in ‘Ecclesiastical Discipline,’ 341, that in Geneva the *syndics*, officers of the civil government, presided over the consistory, whereas in France it was the ministers who did so.

⁸¹ Bèze, *Correspondance*, vol.13, pp.144-5 and n.7, p.145, letter to Camerarius, 1 July 1572. See also Bèze, *Du droit des magistrats* (1574), ed. Robert M. Kingdon, Geneva, Droz, 1970.

⁸² ‘The Nine and twenty Articles of the Confession of our Faith, and the others concerning Church-discipline, being read and propounded by the Minister of Bor-

Four letters of this time attest to Queen Jeanne's indefatigable energy, sense of purpose, long memory, stubborn persistence, and bold impertinence. The very day before she was to sign the Ecclesiastical Discipline of La Rochelle, she sent a letter addressed to 'Monsieur mon frère',⁸³ saying that she had need of him to obtain what her just cause deserved – the return to her, as countess of Périgord, of the dowry of her ancestor Mathe d'Albret, whose castellany on the south side of the river Dordogne at Bergerac, a key strategic element in the Protestant 'diagonal' or safe route between La Rochelle and Nérac-Montauban,⁸⁴ had been unjustly taken from the Albret inheritance, and given to Roger-Bernard, count of Périgord, by King Philip VI of France in 1340.⁸⁵ Eventually, the appeal was granted. Jeanne was winning concessions from the king, except for the main prize – the duchy of Guyenne.⁸⁶

In August 1571, during the few days remaining before she was to leave at last for Pau, Jeanne sent a series of letters.⁸⁷ Of these, three

deaux, notice was given concerning a certain Physician who maintained the Supremacy of the Magistrate as Head of the Church ... Whereupon the whole Assembly ratified the said articles of its Confession, and rejected the Error of the said Physician, and of all others who would abolish Church discipline, confounding it with the Civil Government of the Magistrate.' (Quick, *Synodicon*, vol.1, p.78.)

⁸³ 'Monsieur mon frère' is not specified by name. Henry of Anjou would usually be 'Monsieur frère du Roy'. Jeanne's brother-in-law Charles, cardinal of Bourbon, is a probability, but the term 'brother' could have been used figuratively, as in Jeanne's use of 'sister' to Elizabeth I of England (letter of 15 October 1568, already cited).

⁸⁴ Bryson, 'Labadie,' maps 9 and 10, pp.116-17, 180-83.

⁸⁵ 'à en obtenir ce que le mérite de la juste cause requierte, estant question d'estre maintenue et conservée aulx anciens privilèges qui m'ont esté et à mes predecesseurs donnez et concedez par les feux roys de ceste couronne de très heureuse memoire pour amenes aux offices de notaires et secretaires en mesdiz comté et vicomté en récompense de la ville de Bergerac que tant s'enfault quelle retourne à l'ancien profession mais seulement à une autorité qui m'a ese laissée de pourvoirs ausditz estatz et offices de notaires et procureures, et qui neantmoins m'a esté tellement ancantye.' (BP MSS 882, Jeanne d'Albret, La Rochelle, 11 April 1571, to 'Monsieur mon frère' transcription of AN, K 100/b, no.56, fols.24-25; 'la ville de Bergerac' is on fol.25r.) On the origin of the claim, see Charet, *Le Bergeracois*, pp.310-11; also, BNF, Périgord 10, Armoire d'Albret, VIIe cahier, fol.20, 'la terre de Bayanès'; VIIIe cahier, 218, Archives de Nérac, fol.2, 'Terre de Bayanès' and 'cappellam de montibus sive mons dependant de cette terre de Banezio ou Bayanezie.'

⁸⁶ BNF, Doat 246, fol.319 (copy), May 1571, confirmation by Charles IX in favour of Jeanne of Navarre of the privileges enjoyed in 1356 by Roger Bernard, count of Périgord.

⁸⁷ A number of these letters are held in AN, K 100/b, no.57, fols.1r-16v. Their form, including scribbles, interpolations, marginal notations, and omissions of day numbers, indicates that these manuscripts are secretarial drafts or minutes, not the letters themselves.

are remarkable for their arrogance: one each to King Charles IX, Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis, and Jeanne's recalcitrant Catholic nobles in Béarn and Navarre.

In her letter to the king, Jeanne complained that, as authorised by the king's own letters patent, she had caused the town of Laverdun in her county of Foix to proceed with the exercise of the Reformed religion for all who wish it, but the insolent consuls of the town opposed her initiative. Therefore, she wanted the king's enforcement in this town, and also in Pamiers. Thus, she placed Charles IX, the Catholic king of France, in the awkward position of having to force Protestantism on places opposed to it.⁸⁸

Next, Jeanne responded to an invitation to come to court by Catherine de Médicis, who said that she wanted to see Jeanne and her children. Catherine's statement that she 'will not harm them' brought out Jeanne's cutting sense of humour:

pardon me if, reading that, I want to laugh, because you want to relieve me of a fear that I've never had. I've never thought that, as they say, you eat little children.⁸⁹

In the same letter, Jeanne then wrote of her concern for the Reformed of France, whose survival, it could be assumed in this context, was one of the goals she was seeking to cement by using the leverage of the marriage negotiations. Her wording seems to contain a veiled threat of withdrawal, and even the vague possibility of a resumption of hostilities:

I would like to place in guarantee the generality of the cause of the [Reformed] Religion, from which I do not want to depart, to show my fidelity, and the desire to see the King's edicts obeyed, and his kingdom peaceable.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.43, La Jarrie, 5 August 1571, Jeanne to Charles IX.

⁸⁹ 'pardonné moy sy, lisant cella, j'ay eu envie de rire, car vous me voullés assurer d'une peur que je n'ay jamais eue et ne pansay jamais, comme l'on dit, que vous mangisiez les petitz enfens.' (BNF, n.a.f. 21603 [copies], no.53, fol.41, La Rochelle, 7 August 1571, Jeanne to Catherine de Médicis. Also printed in *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* [ed. La Ferrière], pp.65-6.) As I have already noted, Catherine's invitation to come to court, with Henry, relates to the marriage negotiations, and Jeanne's long delay.

⁹⁰ 'voudroys metre a guarant la generalité de la cause de la Religion dont je ne veus despartir pour monstrier ma fidellité et le desir de voir le Roy obey en ses edictz et son royaume paisible.' (Ibid.) Compare 'la generalité de la cause' here in 1571, with 'la cause generale' in the title of Jeanne's letters from Bergerac of 1568, in chapter five, section *d.*, above.

Finally, Jeanne sent a letter to her realm in advance of her coming, reminding those of her subjects, most particularly the Catholic barons of Béarn and Navarre, who may remain opposed to her, that

as we have diligently striven, both through our ordinances and those of our lieutenants, and notably by the latest edict of the lord Darros, our lieutenant general, enacted for the establishment of the [Reformed] Religion, we will cut the roots⁹¹ of all who would divide or hinder the course of any of them, in order that our subjects may live in sanctity and peaceably under our sceptre.⁹²

Confusion resulting from the incorrect citation of this open letter, and other documents of the Archives nationales, Paris, Série K, 100/b, is clarified in the immediately following footnote.⁹³

A particularly fine parchment heading precedes this document, beginning 'Jehanne par la grace de dieu Royne de Navarre dame souveraine de Bearn,' followed by her usual titles, but then continued by other most irregular claims of authority, such as 'legitime administrasse' which, it could be concluded, reflect the insecurity caused by the royal suspension of Jeanne's titles during the war, and her continued isolation from her realm.⁹⁴

⁹¹ The image in Jeanne's letter of 'cutting the roots' of transgressors will reappear in Jeanne's *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, article 10, as shown in section *d.*, below.

⁹² 'Jehanne etc Salut. ... et comme nous avons soigneusement taché, tant par noz ordonnances que celles de noz lieutenans, notamment par le dernier edit du Sr. darros nostre lieutenant general dressé sur l'establissement de la Relligion de couper la racine à tous ce qui pourroy et trancher ou retarder le cours de lun et de laultre a fin que dessoubz nostre ceptie noz subjectz penssent vivre saintement et paisiblement.' (AN, K 100/b, no.57, fol.1r-1v, Jeanne at La Jarrie, 2 August 1571.) This letter has also been transcribed in BP MSS 882, in which 'saintement' appears to have been transcribed as 'varistement'.

⁹³ Portions of this letter are quoted in translation in Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.277, and p.277, n.38, in which note the letter is incorrectly cited, on p.471, as 'Simancas K, 100 B no.57, fol. 1.' In *Queen of Navarre*, p.287, Roelker writes: 'The Simancas Archives contain about seventy-five letters and several hundred orders of Jeanne's for the year 1571, only a handful of which have been published.' Also, the citation to this in n.67 reads, on p.473, 'Simancas K, 100 B, nos. 54 (1570), 55-57 (1571) (55 and 56 are bound together). Registres du Secrétariat de la Reine de Navarre.' (The subsequent French edition, *Jeanne d'Albret*, repeats all the errors of citation listed above, but entirely omits the quotations.) To clarify this matter and avoid further confusion: these documents are held in the Archives nationales, Paris, Série K 100/b, 'Monuments historiques, Cartons des rois, documents relatives à Jeanne d'Albret, reine de Navarre.' None of them has ever formed part of the 'K' holdings of the archives of Simancas, Spain.

⁹⁴ This parchment heading has been inserted after the final folio 50 of AN, K 100/b, no.56. It is rolled over the left side of the blank folio 51r, and its blank

While the letters to Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis, above, suggest that marriage negotiations were still delaying Jeanne's departure, and that until the last moment her intended destination may have been the court at Blois, so relatively near at hand to La Rochelle, the 'open letter' to her subjects indicates that Jeanne was preparing for a more distant destination. Before the end of August,⁹⁵ having sent her threatening letter ahead of her, Queen Jeanne set out with Prince Henry⁹⁶ from La Jarrie to return at last to her realm of Béarn and Navarre which she had left in haste as a fugitive and exile three years before. By 1 September, Jeanne was in Langon,⁹⁷ having crossed the Garonne, and within a week she had arrived at Pau.

*d. 'The entire restoration of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ':
Jeanne's Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, Pau, 26 November 1571*

In her first letter from Pau to the king on 7 September 1571, Jeanne speaks of the joyous greeting of her subjects, but somehow it sounds flat by comparison with her triumphant arrival at the head of the armies at La Rochelle in September 1568, when blood had not yet been shed, nor battles lost.⁹⁸ To Catherine de Médicis, Jeanne complained that despite the Edict of Pacification, she had seen that her towns in Guyenne were still full of royal garrisons.⁹⁹ She is not well, she says, and will go to take the waters at Eaux-Chaudes.¹⁰⁰ But, it is clear that Jeanne had not come all the way back to Béarn for her health. Two things remained to be done urgently: to arrive at accept-

remainder reappears on the right side of fol.51v. Then follows the title page of the next cahier no.57, of which fol.1 is Jeanne's open letter of 2 August 1571.

⁹⁵ A letter of 17 August 1571 from Jeanne to the king (BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.42) indicates that she was still at La Rochelle on that date. It could be assumed that she left on or before 24 August, in that there are confirmed datings, noted below, that she was at Lonzac and then Langon on 27 August and 1 September.

⁹⁶ BNF, fr 15553, fol.179, 27 August 1571, signed original letter of Jeanne from Lonzac (south of Saintes) in Guyenne, on her way back to Béarn from La Rochelle with 'mondit filz qui me vient accompagner en mon pais de Béarn.'

⁹⁷ AN, K 100/b, no.57, fol.15v, letter of Jeanne from Langon.

⁹⁸ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.40, 9 September 1571, Jeanne from Pau to Charles IX. See also Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, p.352-3.

⁹⁹ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.10, published in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.392, Jeanne to Catherine de Médicis, 25 September 1571, cited as being from La Rochelle, but at that date Jeanne was already at Pau.

¹⁰⁰ BNF, n.a.f. 21603, no.53, fol.40, 9 September 1571, already cited.

able terms for Henry's marriage, and to devise and impose a precise set of ordinances for 'the entire restoration of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ in her sovereign land of Béarn,' and so procure salvation for all her subjects.¹⁰¹ In Jeanne's ordinance of March, she had set a timetable which called for the seizure by Darros of Catholic properties and incomes in Béarn by the end of July 1571.¹⁰² It was already September, and a mechanism was needed for the safekeeping and orderly redistribution of the wealth.

In terms of tangible achievement – like it or not – Jeanne of Navarre's *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, Pau, 26 November 1571, is her major monument;¹⁰³ more so than her *Mémoires* or her *Lettres* from Bergerac and La Rochelle, which were written as wartime propaganda; more so than the 'Confession of La Rochelle,' which was not really hers; and more so than her letters to Gourdon – whether or not their authenticity is proven.

After the initial greeting and statement of titles,¹⁰⁴ a preamble states that all Jeanne's subjects must publicly profess and adhere to the Confession of Faith of the Reformed churches of France. Although unstated, it is inherent in this statement that they must give up the practice of the Roman Catholic religion:

nous avons déclaré et ordonné, disons déclarons et ordonnons par nostre edict present perpétuel et irrévocable que nous voulons que tous les subjects de nostre dict pays de quelque qualité condition, sexe, et estat qu'ils soient facent profession publique de la confession de foy que

¹⁰¹ 'procurer le salut de tout nostre peuple et subjects' (Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes*, p.188).

¹⁰² ADPA, MSS E.587, 7 March 1571, cited in section *b.*, above.

¹⁰³ BNF, n.a.f. 7188 (Brienne 217), *Ordonnances de la Reine de Navarre*, Pau, 26 November 1571, 'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques de Jehanne Royne de Navarre Dame Souveraine de Bearn sur le restablissement entier Du Royaume de Jésus-Christ En Son Pais Souverain de Béarn, en 77 articles,' fols. 147 – 181 (certified copy, 1652). There are several printed examples. After checking it against the BNF manuscript copy, I have used the text published in Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes Illustres*, pp.187-213. The differences between the two texts are insignificant. In 1995-97, Philippe Chareyre of the Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour was preparing a critical edition of the 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques' of Jeanne d'Albret.

¹⁰⁴ 'Jehanne par la grace de Dieu, Royne de Navarre, Dame souveraine de Bearn et ... [Jeanne's titles follow precisely as in ADPA, MSS E.587, quoted above, with the following exceptions: here she is also 'Dame souveraine de Donnesan, comtesse de Marle'; in E.587 she is also countess of 'Annexsay'.] (Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes*, p.187.)

nous publions maintenant soubz notre autorité comme estant seurement fondée sur la doctrine et les escripts des prophetes et des apostres. Et affin que nul ne l'ignore, nous avons ordonné qu'elle soit icy inserée de mot en mot comme il s'ensuyt.

Nous croyons et confessons qu'il y a un seul Dieu qui est une seul et simple essence spirituelle, éternelle, invisible, immuable, infinie, incompréhensible, inefable qui peult toutes choses, qui est toute sage, toute bonne, toute juste et toute miséricordieuse. Et ce qui s'ensuit, suyvant de mot en mot la confession des églises de France.¹⁰⁵

In her 'open letter' of August 1571 from La Jarrie to her Catholic barons of Béarn, before her return to Pau, Jeanne had spoken of 'cutting their roots' if they continued to oppose her, and the Reformed government of her realm.¹⁰⁶ Now, in these ordinances, she again evokes the image, and clarifies its meaning. Tolerance will not henceforth be observed in her policy. The 'bad sowing' of Roman Catholicism in her realm will be pulled out by the roots so that the 'good seed' of the true Reformed religion can flourish. She ordered:

que tous les fidelles ministres advisent et regardent en toute diligence a la vie et aux moeurs de ceulx qui en ont la charge affin de les faire marcher et avancer autant qu'il leur sera possible au chemin de la vye celeste, d'en corriger et repurger le mal de peur que le seigneur ne redemande de leurs mains ceux qui périront par leur faute. Pour cest effect ce qui est perverty es moeurs soit amandé par une bonne discipline. Ce qui est corrompu soit incisé par le glaive spirituel et que la mauvaise semence en soit ostée et arachée jusqu'à la moindre racine, de peur que le bon grain semé par le père celeste ne soit à la fin surmonté et estouffé par les mauvaises herbes.¹⁰⁷

The seventy-seven ordinances of this document differ substantially from the articles of the discipline of La Rochelle, and indeed from other ecclesiastical ordinances,¹⁰⁸ in that they apply specifically to Jeanne's sovereign country of Béarn, are highly detailed in their descriptions of actions, fines and punishments, and are concentrated on two areas of activity: marriage, and the collection, administration

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.188.

¹⁰⁶ AN, K 100/b, no.57, 2 August 1571, quoted above, section c.

¹⁰⁷ Order no.10, Rochambeau, *Galerie des Hommes*, p.192.

¹⁰⁸ René Bornert, *La Réforme protestante*, p.1, describes an 'Ordonnance ecclésiastique' (that of Strasbourg in 1598) as giving to the church a uniform organisation and a liturgy. Jeanne's 'Ordonnances' vary from this description by their specific emphasis on properties and revenues, and on marriage.

and distribution of church properties and incomes, including those of the Roman Catholic church and orders. Instructions for the expropriation and distribution of church property and incomes include all the 'biens' held by bishops, canons, abbots, deans, archdeacons, arch-presbyters, priors, curates, prebend monks and nuns, whether from lay or ecclesiastical patrons, and all their benefices and titles, whether from ordinary or papal sources, commanderies, 'maladeries', hospitals, brotherhoods, chapters; all other religious property of whatever quality, such as dimes, is in future to be administered and dispensed by the ecclesiastical council under Jeanne's name without exception, other than feudal dimes held under seigneurial succession since time immemorial.¹⁰⁹ A comparison with the *Discipline ecclésiastique* of La Rochelle is instructive: properties and revenues account for none of the 159 articles of the *Discipline*,¹¹⁰ but 16 of the 77 orders (21%) of the *Ordonnances*,¹¹¹ marriage represents 21 of the articles (13%) of the *Discipline*, but 35 of the orders (45%) of the *Ordonnances*.¹¹² The consistory, by contrast, which accounts for 14% of the *Discipline*, is represented in only 1% of the *Ordonnances*.¹¹³

The ordinances provided a complex mechanism for the collection, inventory, safekeeping, and redistribution of the revenues from church properties and incomes, including those seized from the Roman Catholic church.¹¹⁴ This was to be carried out by a receiver and an ecclesiastical council of nine, elected under Jeanne's authority at the annual national Synod of Béarn.¹¹⁵ A second committee of fourteen was also elected to check against fraud by the first ecclesiastical council.¹¹⁶

The relative weight given to marriage in Jeanne's ordinances is particularly striking, with detail on such diverse aspects as child wel-

¹⁰⁹ Order no.22, Rochambeau, pp.196-7.

¹¹⁰ Sunshine, 'Ecclesiastical Discipline,' table, 350.

¹¹¹ Orders on 'biens', numbers 15-30.

¹¹² On marriage, numbers 34-68.

¹¹³ Consistory, order no.11.

¹¹⁴ Richard Nürnberger, in *Die Politiesierung des französischen Protestantismus*, pp.43-46, cites a letter of 1557 to the king of France proposing the confiscation of Church property to fund and educate the poor and needy.

¹¹⁵ Order no.15.

¹¹⁶ The fourteen were to be composed of 2 nobles, 2 ministers, 2 members of the ordinary council, 2 members of Jeanne's treasury, 2 deacons, 2 'surveillans', and 2 judges of important towns who were not already on the ecclesiastical council (order no.18).

fare, promises, desertion, separation and divorce, adultery, sodomy, debauchery and vagrancy.¹¹⁷ The special attention given to consanguinity and non-consummation may have resulted from Jeanne's personal experiences. Matters of social misconduct – gambling, drunkenness, gluttony, immodesty, and lewd singing and dancing – attract relatively mild punishments. In these misdemeanours, as in the obligatory requirement of church attendance, the penalties become severe only with repetition.¹¹⁸ Although some penalties are extreme – that for sodomy, for instance¹¹⁹ – others seem liberal and humane by modern standards. Indeed, some of the ordinances display a high concern for the vulnerability of women in marriage, and offer married women the right to seek legal action against delinquent husbands through the ecclesiastical council and the magistrates. Other ordinances protect the situations of widows, orphans, and the poor, and provide for the education, marriageability, or employment of young women lacking the support of parents or a working husband.¹²⁰

Despite the high aspirations and humane aspects of Queen Jeanne's ordinances for Béarn, where she was sovereign, it is evident that any attempt to impose such measures beyond the borders of her small realm, within the wider territory of Guyenne, even had the military effort of 1569 succeeded, would have given rise to intense opposition, and an almost certain renewal of violence. The seizure and redistribution of Catholic church properties and revenues in, for example, the diocese of Bordeaux, were it to have been attempted, would surely have been resisted with all the authority of the Gallican Church and the papacy, and the military power of royal Catholic France.

But one course still lay open, through the blood. Marriage was a way to achieve Jeanne's dynastic and religious goals. Henry was First Prince of the Royal Blood of France. Henry was Reformed. Henry

¹¹⁷ 'Paillardise' can have the twin meanings of debauchery and vagrancy. Here (order no.68), the focus appears to be on male and female vagrants. The fact that so much attention is given to drifters – or debauched drifters – in this ordinance, and in other documents of Jeanne's government, suggests that they represented a considerable problem in the region at that time, particularly for a social order based on the strict regulation of conduct and its enforcement.

¹¹⁸ For non-attendance at church without a legitimate excuse, a first offence was fined 5 sous for the poor, 10 for the rich; a second offence, poor, 100 sous, rich, 10 pounds; a third offence was punishable by imprisonment.

¹¹⁹ Burning alive – or at least the threat of it. (Order no.68.)

¹²⁰ Orders no.26, 27, 31-33.

could be king. If the king was Reformed, the court would follow. If the court were to be Reformed, France would surely follow. Or if not king of France, Henry would be duke of Guyenne. Henry then would hold Guyenne safe, a Protestant sanctuary.

At last, Jeanne had made up her mind to come to court at Blois. For months, she had been arguing marriage terms through the royal negotiators, Armand de Gontault, baron of Biron, and Galéas Frégose,¹²¹ apparently without satisfaction.¹²² On 6 November, she had written from Pau to her friend and ally the duke of Caumont-La Force, asking him to accompany her, telling him, 'I am leaving on Monday to pass by Biron, and from there to Poitiers, and then to the court.' But, Caumont-La Force's daughter had died, and he was unable to go.¹²³ Three days after the promulgation of her ordinances at Pau, Jeanne wrote what was to be her last letter to her mentor, the viscount of Gourdon, the full text of which has been transcribed and translated in the *Appendix*.¹²⁴

The opening paragraph of this letter shows Jeanne's concern that the execution in Béarn, by Jeanne's general Montgomery, of Antoine de Lomagne, seigneur of Terride, who was by her reckoning Gourdon's 'cousin',¹²⁵ may have harmed the viscount's friendship for her. 'As you know,' Jeanne tells Gourdon, 'having had your own troops with his [Montgomery's] and those of the other viscounts, your cousin Terride was only condemned to death after taking many oth-

¹²¹ Janus Frégose, bishop of Agen, was a protégé of Catherine de Médicis. (*Lettres inédites de Janus Frégose*, ed. P. Tamizey de Larroque, Bordeaux, C. Lefebvre, 1873.) Jean Galéas Frégose, envoy of the duke of Florence, was an agent and 'spy' for Catherine de Médicis, who sent him to La Rochelle to negotiate with Jeanne for the marriage of Henry and Marguerite. (*Michel de La Huguerye, Mémoires inédits de Michel de La Huguerye*, publiés d'après les manuscrits autographes pour la Société de l'Histoire de France, ed. A. de Ruble, 3 vols., Paris, Renouard, 1877-1880, vol.1, 1570-1577 (1877), pp.14-22, 96-97.)

¹²² *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 92, November-December 1571, negotiations of Biron with Jeanne d'Albret on the subject of the marriage of Marguerite.

¹²³ BNF, Périgord 6, vol.1, IIIe liasse, 'Receuil de Lettres des Rois, Reines, Ministres, Généraux et grands seigneurs, adressés aus seigneurs de Caumont La Force, *Lettres de la Reine Jeanne d'Albret*, fol.10v: 'J'en parts lundy pour aller passer par Biron et de là Poitiers, et puis à la cour.'

¹²⁴ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1, copies), fol.454, Pau, 29 November 1571.

¹²⁵ Terride had married Flotard de Gourdon's wife's sister Jeanne de Cardillac. (BNF, fr 20227, 'Extrait d'un manuscrit d'Antoine Vicomte de Gourdon es Quercy,' fol.220r-v. On the assumption that 'the viscount of Gourdon' here is Flotard's son Antoine, Terride would have been, by our reckoning, Antoine's uncle by marriage.

ers into consideration besides yourself. I ask for your calm recognition of this.' Clearly, Jeanne is anxious to maintain their very close personal bond. In closing, she writes to her old friend in what is – if authentic – a sudden, surprising shift to the level of intimacy:

When I must soon return to La Rochelle – I pray God only briefly – I will let you know the day I will be at Bergerac, and even if I will be able to go to your place to pass a few days, and take you with me.

This letter, it will be seen, contains two statements which could provide ammunition for those who argue that the Vallant letters are not genuine. One of these is contained in Jeanne's otherwise accurate description, in the body of the letter, of her new ordinances: her statement that the penalty for missing the Lord's Supper more than once is banishment. The penalty of banishment in the ordinance only applies – and then only for a half-year – if the communicant, having failed to take communion once, wishes to defer still longer, and does not promptly confess his or her fault. However, what appears to be an error here is, in my view, only the result of an omission of details which Jeanne may have seen fit not to add, for simplicity's sake, or to emphasise the severity of the discipline.

The other apparently incorrect statement is made by Jeanne about her forthcoming journey. As shown in the quotation above, Jeanne tells Gourdon she must return briefly to La Rochelle, whereas, as we have seen, her intention stated to Caumont-La Force is to go to Blois via Biron and Poitiers, as she will do. Our judgement of this is, however, made with hindsight. Jeanne's statement could have been true at the time of writing; she may well have planned, but been unable, to stop at La Rochelle as well as Poitiers on the way to Tours and Blois. Bergerac would have been directly on her way no matter what route she might follow on her journey to the court. Her proposal to stay at Gourdon's place near Bergerac (presumably a residence other than his far off-course castle of Cénevières), and take him with her in the entourage, even if it did not come to pass, is a charming departure from the gritty and dangerous world of politics, religion and war, and a fleeting window on a possible world of peace and tranquility.

Sometime in December, Jeanne left Pau for Nérac. The date is uncertain, because one source has her still taking the waters at Eaux-Chaudes when another has her already installed at her palace of

Nérac.¹²⁶ Once there, she showed herself still stubbornly reluctant to come to court, still complaining to the king, and still holding out for concessions from him, using the leverage to be gained from the marriage negotiations. When she protested to Charles IX that she had been unable to enter some of her towns and castles in Guyenne – Lectoure, for example – she wrote that ‘everyone is watching the way you have been and will be treating me, in view of the honour you have been pleased to grant me in calling me and my son to such a close alliance,’ and added that she had made the king’s negotiator, Biron, understand that before leaving for the court, she would discuss nothing except the wedding.¹²⁷ On her right of entry into Lectoure, Jeanne won, as usual.¹²⁸

On 17 December 1571, Jeanne wrote from Nérac to Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis, advising the king, in a darkly forshadowing comment, to write to Biron and tell him how the Guises are arming themselves, and how Admiral Coligny is therefore forced to do the same in order to protect himself. As for herself, she added, ambiguously, ‘I will never approve the carrying of arms in your realm.’¹²⁹

Jeanne entered her town of Lectoure on 12 January 1572, to receive a quadruple oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, as queen of Navarre, viscountess of Béarn, countess of Armagnac, and ‘lord’ of Lectoure.¹³⁰ By 21 January, she was at the castle of Biron in Périgord, on her way at last to Poitiers and the court of France at Blois.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Letters of Jeanne d’Albret dated 19 December 1571 from Eaux-Chaudes, and 12 December 1571 from Nérac, are cited in the footnote immediately following.

¹²⁷ ‘tout le monde a l’oeil sur le tretement que vous me faictes es me ferès, veu mesme l’honneur qu’il vous plaist me faire de m’apeller et mon filz à une sy proche aliance.’ (BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fols.48-49, Jeanne to Charles IX, Nérac, 12 December 1571.) Note that another letter, BNF, fr 1553, fol.340 (copy), in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.337, appears to have been written by Jeanne from Eaux-Chaudes on 19 December 1571. Other letters (see below) indicate, however, that she was at Nérac.

¹²⁸ BNF, Doat 238, fols.225-231, 12 January 1572.

¹²⁹ BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), no.53, fol.33, Nérac, 17 December 1571, Jeanne to Catherine de Médicis; fol.34, Jeanne to Charles IX.

¹³⁰ BNF, Doat 238, fol.231, Lectoure, 12 January 1572, Oath of fidelity pledged by the inhabitants of Lectoure to Jeanne as queen of Navarre and countess of Armagnac: ‘Dominum Joannem [as heiress of Jean d’Armagnac, 1340]. In dictis comitatibus, vicecomitatibus, et terris suis Vascoine citra Garonam.’ Jeanne had, as previously noted, bought the bishopric of Lectoure on 26 May 1563 (BNF, Doat 237, fols.312-337).

¹³¹ BNF, Dupuy 211, fol.42, in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.337, castle of Biron, 21 January 1572. Jeanne was to be accompanied by Henry of Condé from Biron.

e. To the City of Blood, January-August 1572

It was a measure of her distrust of the outcome that Jeanne left her son Henry behind, travelling with her nephew Henry of Condé instead. Passing through Issigeac, Bergerac (with no indication of a rendezvous with Gourdon), Mussidan, Ribérac, Chaunay, Lusignan, Poitiers, and Tours,¹³² Jeanne was at Chenonceaux, where Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis were in temporary residence, on 12 February 1572.¹³³ Charles had in fact been staying in and hunting from the various royal houses along the Loire – Chenonceaux, Blois, le Lude, and Amboise – except for a brief return to Paris at Christmas, since late August 1571; but by February 1572, the court had settled at Blois, no doubt in expectation of Jeanne's arrival.¹³⁴ Jeanne did not, however, move directly from Chenonceaux to Blois. On 21 February, she wrote to Henry from Tours, to tell him not to budge from Béarn until she tells him. She is holding out for Marguerite's conversion to Protestantism as a condition of the marriage, in order that (she writes with accurate foreboding, employing the usual ironic mode when speaking of the queen mother), 'ce mariage ne fust la ruine premièrement de nos amis et de nos pays, et ung tel suport aux papystes qu'avecq la bonne voullonté que nous porte la royne mère, nous serons ruiné avec les eglises [Reformed] de France.'¹³⁵

By early March, Jeanne had moved to the court at Blois, the marriage settlement confrontation had begun in earnest, and young Henry was holding himself in readiness at Mont-de-Marsan, south of Bordeaux.¹³⁶

From this point, Jeanne's world turned, in her perception, into a gothic nightmare. She began seeing herself as Jesus, being mocked by Catherine de Médicis, who had spy-holes drilled through the walls of

¹³² Rochambeau, *Lettres*, pp.395-99; the indicated route passing via Pluviers (near Nontron) between Ribérac and Chaunay would have involved a considerable detour.

¹³³ La Ferrière, *Le XVI^e siècle*, p.311.

¹³⁴ Papiers de Ruble, *Registre 1570-1573* (chronological).

¹³⁵ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, pp.339-42, Jeanne d'Albret to Henry, Tours, 21 Feb 1572 (BNF, Dupuy 211, fol.38, autograph).

¹³⁶ Hector de la Ferrière, *Le XVI^e siècle et les Valois d'après les documents inédits du British Museum et du Record Office*, Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1879, p.312. It seems, however, that by April, Henry, suffering from a fever, had gone back to Pau (*ibid.*, p.114). See also Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.343.

Jeanne's bedroom and wardrobe at Blois.¹³⁷ Even her own 'squadron' of Huguenots, she thought, were not there for her support, but to act as spies. In a well-known letter, she asked Henry to send her Francourt, her chancellor, to help her, saying, once again with dark foreboding, and again evoking the image of herself as the martyred Jesus, 'you would pity me, because they subject me to all the hardships in the world, and vain and mocking proposals ... I fear it will make me fall ill ... If you were here, you would never escape except by the great grace of God ... they only try to separate you from God and from me.'¹³⁸

Things went from bad to worse. In her famous letter of 11 March,¹³⁹ Jeanne wrote that the king and queen mother had gone back on all that they had given her hope to understand. They said Henry would go to the Roman Catholic mass, and that only Jeanne insisted on his remaining Protestant. The queen mother, Jeanne said, laughed at her, and disclaimed all the things she had proposed to Jeanne through the negotiator, Biron. King Charles, meantime, was away hunting and love-making with his mistresses. This long letter was written over a period of three days. On the evening of the third day, Jeanne added a postscript in which, for the third time, she invoked the image of herself as the martyred Jesus – but not without a certain sense of humour, which brings up a question of whether the following dramatic passage was a spontaneous outburst of feeling, or an artfully-worded statement designed for a wider audience: 'l'on me gratte, l'on me picque, l'on me flatte, l'on me brave, l'on me veult tirer les vers de nez.'¹⁴⁰

Still, there were positive results: at Blois on 8 March, Charles IX signed an order annulling all charges brought against officers in Jeanne's lands.¹⁴¹ That Henry's Reformed religion was, for her, the most important element in the marriage negotiations is shown by Jeanne's letters, but the matter of the inclusion of Guyenne in the dowry – no mean

¹³⁷ BNF, fr 2748, fol.119, letter of Jeanne d'Albret to M. de Beauvoir (Louis Goulard, seigneur of Beauvoir, Henry's governor since 1562, killed in massacre of St Bartholomew's), 11 March 1572, in Rochambault, *Lettres*, p.352.

¹³⁸ Letter of Jeanne d'Albret to Henry of Navarre, Blois, 8 March 1572, ('BNF, Harlay St Germain vol.255, pièce 81'), in Xivrey, *Recueil*, pp.32-4.

¹³⁹ BNF, fr 2748, fol.119, in Rochambault, *Lettres*, pp.345-53, cited above. This letter seems to have been delivered from Blois in three or four days, so it must be assumed that M. de Beauvoir was not staying as far distant as Pau or Nérac.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.352.

¹⁴¹ BNF, Doat 247, fols.109-18, at the Blois court, 8 March 1572.

prize – was proving even more difficult. As Shakespeare wrote, in setting the yet-to-be stage for Henry and Marguerite at Nérac, circa 1578:

Matchless Navarre; the plea of no less weight
Than Aquitaine, a dowry for a queen.¹⁴²

Clearly, from the twin, allied, and apparently inseparable viewpoints of the Albret dynasty and the Reformed cause, there were great advantages in an Aquitaine or Guyenne as a duchy to be held in apanage – in hereditary title as duke by Henry of Navarre and his male successors – as compared to his hereditary governorship of it as a province of the Crown; that is to say, at the pleasure of the Most Catholic King of France. It was in the king's power to give a portion of the royal domain to a brother, and 'brothers', in the sixteenth century, was a word inclusive of brothers-in-law of the king, which Henry would be, after the marriage. Jeanne's argument for the inclusion of Guyenne in Marguerite's dowry had historical grounds, which she used as her bargaining chip. As we have seen, in 1469 King Louis XI granted the duchy of Guyenne to his brother Charles in 1469 in exchange for his duchy of Berry, but when Charles died without legitimate male issue, Guyenne reverted to the Crown in 1472, and was declared to be a province of France.¹⁴³ In 1521, King Francis I declared that in his union of the domains of France, he did not include that which he had given to his sister Marguerite of Angoulême-Navarre, Jeanne's mother, as duchess of Berry.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, the duchy of Berry remained one of Marguerite's 'biens paraphernaux', hers to hold personally, administer, and exclude in 1526 from the dowry she brought to her marriage to Henry, King of Navarre, Jeanne's father. Berry, so Jeanne argued, should have been Henry's by inheritance, not the Crown's; let the king now bestow the rightful dowry on his brother-by-marriage Henry, by granting Guyenne in exchange for Berry, just as his predecessor Louis XI had done.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act 2, Scene I, ll.7-8 (eds. Johnson and Steevens, vol.2).

¹⁴³ Chapter one, section *a.*

¹⁴⁴ BNF, n.a.f. 7271 (Brienne 300), fol.259, 11 August 1521, 'Declaration du Roy françois I qu'il n'entend comprendre en sa reunion du Domaine, les dons faicte des Duchez d'Angoumois et d'Anjou avec la Comté du Mayne à sa mere ni celles qu'il a données aux Duchesses de Berry et de Nemours ses soeur et tante.'

¹⁴⁵ BNF, Périgord 10, VII, fol.31, 3 January 1526, contract of marriage between Henry d'Albret and Marguerite de France, exclusion of the duchy of Berry, to the pleasure of the Crown. See also Haag, *La France Protestante*, vol.1, p.32, Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême*, vol.1, p.146, and Harris, *Valois Guyenne*, pp.11-12.

To be sure, the duchy of Guyenne as a *quid quo pro* was a greater prize than that of Berry, but the Albret-Navarre-Bourbon dynasty had already governed Guyenne by inheritance since 1528. According to Hector de la Ferrière, the editor of Catherine de Médicis' letters, the matter of the dowering of Guyenne was the central sticking point of the marriage negotiations – the line in the sand from which the king and queen mother would not yield. Henry could marry as a Reformed Protestant, but not as duke of Guyenne:

If she [Jeanne] persisted in keeping her distance [from the court], it was solely to impose her conditions: stressing the relinquishment of the duchy of Berry to Marguerite of France as dower,¹⁴⁶ she asked for Guyenne, and numerous strongholds. Galeas Frégose, the first of those whom Catherine had sent to Béarn, had great difficulty making her understand that such a dismemberment was impossible.¹⁴⁷

A report, dated at Paris, 19-30 March 1572, from Jean-Marie Petrucci, ambassador of duke Cosimo I de' Medici of Tuscany to the court of France, provides us with a contemporary view of the marriage negotiations. With due allowance for the particular bias of such 'spy' reports, and the probability that they may be based on hearsay, this document is the strongest evidence we have in support of the historicity of Jeanne's demands for the inclusion of Guyenne in the marriage settlement. The Tuscan ambassador, in stating Jeanne's demand for the inclusion of Guyenne in the dowry to be brought by Marguerite to her marriage with Henry, describes the argument against it in terms that are curiously similar to Monluc's assessment of the same transfer of control of Guyenne through Protestant military conquest, had it happened, in 1570. Then, Monluc wrote, 'having taken Bordeaux and holding La Rochelle, they would have the best and strongest part of the realm of France';¹⁴⁸ now, in 1572, Petrucci writes, the cession to Marguerite and Henry of the territory of

¹⁴⁶ 'Marguerite de France' could apply, ambiguously, to Jeanne's mother Marguerite, or her prospective daughter-in-law Marguerite; in this instance, it appears to refer to her mother, who was also named 'Marguerite de France' in her marriage contract (BNF, Périgord 10, VII, fol.31, 3 January 1526, already cited).

¹⁴⁷ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. La Ferrière, vol.4 (1891), introduction, pp.xl-xli. In his earlier work, *Le XVI^e Siècle et les Valois* (1879), La Ferrière, citing a document of 20 March 1572 in the Archives of Mantua, had written (p.313), 'others say that she [Jeanne] wanted the king to give Berry in sovereignty, and one of the king's brothers to Henry's sister.'

¹⁴⁸ Monluc, *Commentaires* (ed. Courteault), p.757; see above, chapter six, section *f*.

Guyenne, 'from Rochelle to Bayonne,' would entail the loss of 'the best part of the Realm.' Jeanne's demand was, Petrucci reports, strongly opposed on the grounds that it would require an unacceptable diminution of the power and dominion of the French crown, and result in an equally unacceptable augmentation of the power and dominion of Navarre, and even, potentially, of the English.¹⁴⁹

In the end, it was Jeanne who gave way. It would appear that a tentative agreement was reached on or about 25 March,¹⁵⁰ and that a firm agreement was made by 4 April,¹⁵¹ although the official settlement is dated at Blois 11 April 1572.¹⁵² There was no provision in it for the Reformed of France, and no dukedom of Guyenne for Henry. On 5 April, Queen Jeanne wrote to Queen Elizabeth, confirming the impending marriage, and suggesting, optimistically, that this marriage alliance would open the parallel prospect of a future alliance between England and a France which would 'extend its branches to its neighbours.'¹⁵³

Towards the end of April, Jeanne left the court at Blois, and travelled the short distance north to her duchy of Vendôme, on the route to Paris. Meantime, Biron had gone to Nérac to fetch the groom

¹⁴⁹ 'Dimandava la Regina di Navarra la soprintendenza della Guienna, del contado d'Armagnac, e della miglior parte di Gascogna; ed insieme che tutto quello tratto, della Rochelle sino a Bayonne (parlo di mare e di terra), cedesso per partaggio a Madama, sorella del Re, e fusse come patrimonio usuale o dote. E su queste dimande vi è gran disputa, non si potendo mai alienare il domino del Re, nè sminuire le forze della corona; oltre che pare essere troppo vantaggiosa cosa per loco, i quali averieno commodità di Inghilesi, e la miglior parte del Regno, in bontà di paese ed industrie d'uomini, e marziali a loro volere, e possanza congiunto con Navarra.' (Abel Desjardins, *Negotiations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, 6 vols., Paris, 1859-1886 [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ed. Giuseppe Canestrini], vol.3, LXII, 'Le commandeur Petrucci à François de Médicis,' Paris, 19-30 March 1572, p.756, and n.84, to 'Notice biographique,' p.514.)

¹⁵⁰ Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, pp.381-2, citing, in n.42, p.483, a letter of Jeanne to Henry, 25 March 1572, from Rochambeau, *Lettres*, pp.343-4.

¹⁵¹ On the same day as her letter to Elizabeth I (5 April 1572, see below), Jeanne wrote to Charlotte de Bourbon to tell her of the 'bonne nouvelle de la conclusion du mariage de Madame [Princess Marguerite] et mon filz.' (Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.354.)

¹⁵² Goulart, *Memoires*, pp.212-15, marriage agreement 'Articles du pourparler,' Blois, 11 April 1572.

¹⁵³ This letter from Jeanne of Navarre to Elizabeth I of England, Blois, 5 April 1572 (BM Cotton Vespas, vol.VI, fols.16-17, autograph; BNF, Breg. vol.95, fol.4), has been transcribed and printed in La Ferrière, *Le XVIe siècle*, pp.313-14, and in Rochambeau, *Lettres*, p.354.

Henry, who was not there, and had left no message.¹⁵⁴ In a letter from Vendôme on 5 May, Jeanne speaks of the sickness of her children, but makes no mention of her own health.¹⁵⁵ In the absence of Henry, Jeanne went on to Vincennes, where she received the Eucharist with 'an infinity of Huguenots', before entering Paris.¹⁵⁶

In Paris, during her preparations for the wedding between Tuesday the third and Thursday the fifth of June, Jeanne came down with a fever, and took to her bed at the house where she was staying. This was, according to a contemporary account, the house of the bishop of Chartres, rue de Grenelle.¹⁵⁷ In the traditional scene, Jeanne's ministers are singing psalms at the foot of her bed, while Admiral Coligny and his chaplain, Merlin, kneel in prayer at her sides. At 8:45 in the morning of Monday 9 June 1572, Queen Jeanne died.

Agrippa d'Aubigné insisted that Jeanne had been poisoned by a pair of scented gloves given her by Catherine de Médicis' Florentine perfumer, but most accounts attribute her death to either pneumonia or tuberculosis.¹⁵⁸ In *Les Tragiques*, Aubigné casts the dead Queen Jeanne as 'our Deborah':

Premièrement entroit en Paris infidelle
Une troupe funebre: on void au millieu d'elle
Deux Princes, des Chrestiens l'humain et foible espoir;

¹⁵⁴ Biron, *Letters* (ed. Thompson), vol.2, pp.37-8, no.XXIII, 22 April 1572.

¹⁵⁵ Rochambeau, *Lettres*, 5 May 1572, Jeanne from Vendôme, p.357.

¹⁵⁶ La Ferrière, *Le XVI^e siècle*, pp.313-14.

¹⁵⁷ La Huguerye, *Mémoires*, vol.1, p.102. According to Roelker (*Queen of Navarre*, p.386, citing, in n.5, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, I, 675), this was not the present rue de Grenelle in the area of St Germain des Prés, but rue St Honoré-Grenelle, now rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau, near the Louvre and the Palais Royal. Note, however, that it has been said (without citation of a source) that Jeanne died in 'the house of the prince of Condé' (Patrick Van Kerrebrouck, *Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'auguste Maison de France*, vol.4., *La Maison de Bourbon, 1256-1987*, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1987, p.107). The 'Hotel d'Albret' was at 31 rue des Franks-Bourgeois, in the Marais. (Jeanne-Claude Garreta, 'L'Hotel d'Albret, 31 rue des Franks-Bourgeois [à Paris]', in *La rue des Franks-Bourgeois au Marais*, 1992, pp.257-9.)

¹⁵⁸ Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, ed. Thierry, vol.3, pp.306-7. The editor's note, p.306, n.19, states that the origin of this was Protestant stories of 1574-5. Simon Goulart, in *Mémoires*, vol.1, p.222, attributes Jeanne's death to an apple poisoned by the same René Florentin. Beza clearly believed she died of natural causes (letter to Camerarius, 1 July 1572, *Correspondance*, vol.13, p.145, and n.8, p.146). On Jeanne's death, see also 'Brief discours sur la mort de la royne de Navarre, advenue à Paris le ix jour de Juin 1572,' in Lindsay and Neu, *French Political Pamphlets*, p.52, no.719; Jules Bonnet, 'Bref discours sur la mort de la Royne de Navarre,' *BSHPF*, 31 (1882), 12-30; and Roelker, *Queen of Navarre*, pp.387-94.

Pour presage et pour marque ils se paroient de noir,
 Sur le coup de poizon qui de la tragedie
 Joïa l'acte premier en arrachant la vie
 A notre Debora¹⁵⁹

On Monday 18 August, in the porch of Notre-Dame, Henry of Navarre, Protestant, and Marguerite of France, Roman Catholic, were married.¹⁶⁰ Six days later, in the bloodbath of St Bartholomew's night, Sunday 24 August 1572, Coligny and many of Queen Jeanne's closest Protestant allies were killed. On the death of Jeanne's captain Piles in the St Bartholomew's massacre, Aubigné wrote: 'Est-ce la paix et la foi royale? Venge ô Dieu, ceste perfidie.'¹⁶¹ Jeanne's hope of replacing the bloodshed of war by the blood-ties of marriage ended in this 'blood wedding'.¹⁶² Among the survivors was Coligny's chaplain, Merlin. His miraculous escape is recounted in this small story:

He leapt out of a Window, and hid himself in an Hayloft, where an Hen came and lay an Egg by him three days successively, till the Lord opened a Door for him to get out of this bloody City.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Aubigné, *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. E. Réaume, F. de Caussade, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1967, vol.2, *Les Tragiques*, 'Les Fers,' pp.214-15. Aubigné's better-known epitaph for Jeanne d'Albret is in *Histoire universelle*, vol.3, pp.291-2: 'Ainsi mourut ceste princesse, n'ayant de femme que le sexe, l'âme entière ès choses viriles, l'esprit puissant aux grandes affaires, le coeur invincible ès adversitez.'

¹⁶⁰ On 3 July 1572, Catherine de Médicis had written to Pope Gregory XIII, saying that 'the queen of Navarre is now dead,' and asking for dispensation for consanguinity in the third degree. (*Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. La Ferrière, p.106.) On papal reaction to the death of Queen Jeanne, see A. Lynn Martin, ed., *Correspondance du Nonce en France Fabio Mirto Frangipani (1568-1572 et 1586-1587)*, Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae 16, Rome, Ecole Française de Rome, Université Pontificale Grégorienne, 1984, p.191, letter of the papal nuncio Frangipani to Gregory XIII, Paris, 9 June 1572 (Nunziatura de Francia, V, autograph); import of death of Jeanne, p.192, Frangipani to Galli, Paris, 20 June 1572 (NF V, original).

¹⁶¹ *Histoire universelle*, ed. Thierry, vol.3, p.325.) See also Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572-1576*, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1988.

¹⁶² 'Les nocces de sang': Babelon, *Henry IV*, p.159.

¹⁶³ Quick, *Synodicon*, vol.1, p.125. In 1578, Merlin was present as moderator at the ninth national Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, held at Ste-Foy. (Christophe Lafont, 'Le rôle d'Henri de Navarre dans la paix de Bergerac et du Fleix,' *BSHAP*, 125, 2 (1998), 199.

f. Aftermath

In her will, Queen Jeanne had emphasised her wish that Henry remain constant in the Reformed religion.¹⁶⁴ In a letter to Darros in Béarn, Henry instructed Darros to follow all of Jeanne's ecclesiastical ordinances, as his mother had charged him to do in her will.¹⁶⁵ Soon, however, Henry, under the keeping and pressure of the Paris court, and still only eighteen, was making decisions which were contrary to Jeanne's principal wishes and instructions. These began with the burial of Jeanne's body with her husband Antoine's in the Bourbon chapel at Vendôme – ironically, the very place her Protestant followers had sacked a decade before – instead of with those of her father Henry and mother Marguerite in the Albret-Navarre family tombs in the cathedral of Lescar in Béarn, as she had instructed. Olaizola states, without indication of source, that Jeanne was put into a lead casket and buried in the cathedral of Lescar.¹⁶⁶ That belief, which is contrary to other evidence, appears to have its source, directly or indirectly, in the 1818 Vauvilliers biography of Jeanne, in which she says 'a memoir' states that Jeanne's body was eventually taken from Vendôme, and transported to Lescar.¹⁶⁷ The 'memoir' to which Vauvilliers referred may have been Sainte-Marthe's *Histoire genealogique de la Maison de France* of 1648, in which it is stated that:

Her body, as she had ordered in her Will, was taken to Lescar in Béarn, and buried beside that of the King her father; which no one has remarked upon. Nevertheless, the inscription, which one sees below, witnesses that she had the honour of the sepulchre at Vendôme next to

¹⁶⁴ Goulart, *Memoires*, vol.1, pp.168-170. A text of Jeanne's will is in Le Riche, *Journal*, vol.2, p.153.

¹⁶⁵ BNF, Cabinet des titres, vol.35, Henry king of Navarre to Darros (copy), 13 June 1572, in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.143. A contrary claim by Castries, 'Jeanne d'Albret,' 45, that Jeanne let it be understood that after the marriage, she would abdicate, and also that she agreed that Henry would give up the Protestant religion, is clearly unfounded.

¹⁶⁶ Olaizola, *Historia del protestantismo*, p.160. There is yet another layer of irony in Jeanne's burial at Vendôme, which her Protestants had profaned: the Albret tombs at Casteljaloux were also profaned by Protestants in 1568 (Guillemain, *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*, p.109.)

¹⁶⁷ Vauvilliers, *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, Reine de Navarre*, vol.3 (1818), p.194. This tradition is repeated in Camille Jouhannaud, *Jeanne d'Albret et les Limousins*, Limoges, H. Ducourtieux, 1897, pp.33-34.

the King her husband, which could be so, if her body had been brought there at a later date.¹⁶⁸

The Sainte-Marthe explanation, however, seems to be the opposite to that offered by Vauvilliers; namely, that at some time after her initial burial, Jeanne's corpse was taken from Lescar to Vendôme, not from Vendôme to Lescar, and later evidence supports either that explanation or – as seems more likely – the usually accepted view that Jeanne's body was buried at Vendôme, and remained there until the Revolution. Rochambeau tells us that in 1791, Jeanne's tomb at Vendôme was opened, and her hair and skeleton found to be intact, before the Bourbon tombs were sacked again by soldiers on 27 May 1793, and the bones of Jeanne and Antoine thrown to the winds.¹⁶⁹ Queen Jeanne's epitaph, in the Bourbon chapel of the collegiate church of St Georges in Vendôme, is reported to have read, before its destruction:

En le mesme lieu [with Antoine] gist tres haulte et tres sage et tres vertueuse dame Madame Jehanne d'Albret, royne de Navarre, souverainc de Bearn et duchesse de Vendosme, fille unique et seule heretiere de Henri d'Albret, roy de Navarre et de Marguerite de France sa femme et espouze, soeur unique de François 1er de ce nom, roy de France, laquelle deceda à Paris le neufviesme juin mil cinq cens soixante et douze.¹⁷⁰

In his account of these events, Castries, unaccountably, blames Jeanne for the massacre of St Bartholomew's: 'she who, after a life of sadness, would be the cause of one of the most destructive events of our history.'¹⁷¹ Within two months, Henry ordered the restoration of the Catholic religion and the expulsion of Protestant ministers in his

¹⁶⁸ 'Son corps, comme elle avait ordonné par Testament, fut conduit à Lescar en Bearn, & inhumé près celui du Roy son pere; ce qu'aucune ont remarqué: neantmoins l'inscription, qu'on void cy-après, témoigne, qu'elle eut l'honneur de la sepulture à Vendome près le Roy son mary, se pouvant faire, que depuis son corps y ait esté apporté.' (Sainte-Marthe, *Histoire genealogique de la Maison de France*, 3rd ed., Paris, Sebastien Cramoisy, 1648, Book 25, 'Les Comtes et Ducs de Vendome,' p.183.)

¹⁶⁹ Le comte de Rochambeau, *Le vendômois; epigraphie et iconographie*, Paris, H. Champion, 1889-1894, vol.1, p.39.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.30.

¹⁷¹ 'Celle qui, au lendemain d'une vie douloureuse, fut la cause d'un des plus grands bouleversements de notre histoire.' Castries, 'Jeanne d'Albret,' 46.

domains,¹⁷² and remonstrated with Darros for opposing this order, as imposed by Gramont in Béarn, saying, 'I urge you to believe what he will tell you on my part, because I have told him of my own free will.'¹⁷³ Eventually, Henry discharged Jeanne's old ally Darros from his office as lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Navarre and sovereign country of Béarn.¹⁷⁴

Shortly after his mother's death, Henry had written to Queen Elizabeth, hoping for her continued support.¹⁷⁵ After the St Bartholomew's massacre, the Reformed minister Languillier also wrote a letter to Elizabeth, to which was attached an appeal from the people of La Rochelle, underlined by them for emphasis, that 'your Majesty cannot, must not be in league with those who would exterminate *your people of Guyenne, who are yours for all eternity and are subject to you*.'¹⁷⁶ The justification for this remarkable appeal, apart from the obvious fear of further bloodshed after St Bartholomew's, can be seen in two letters of early 1573 by Catherine de Médicis. In the first, she writes, enigmatically, that 'once La Rochelle is taken, all our enemies will be friends';¹⁷⁷ the second letter does not clarify the intended sense of the double meaning: Catherine hopes to take La Rochelle without total ruin, 'so that all the Protestant princes understand the sincerity of the intention of the King my son and lord, and how far he is from the desire that they believe he has, the extermination of those of the

¹⁷² BNF, n.a.f. 7177 (Brienne 206), 16 October 1572. In Lindsay and Neu, *French Political Pamphlets*, no.745-6, 'Ordonnance du roy de Navarre, par laquelle il veut que la religion Catholique Apostolique & Romane soit remise en tous les endriectz de ses pays & royaume.' Paris, P. l'Huillier, 1572. See also Salefranque, *Histoire*, 16, pp.64-67; and *Recueil des Lettres Missives* (ed. Xivrey), p.xxxiii, and p.165, Béarn council of 25 November 1573, on the sale of belongings of the Reformed church.

¹⁷³ BNF, Cabinet des titres, vol.35, 8 June 1573, camp of Nieul near La Rochelle, Henry of Navarre, in his own hand, to the baron of Arros, in Communay, *Huguenots*, p.153: 'Je vous prie croire se qu'il vous dira de ma par car je luy ey dit ma volonté particulièrement.' See also, in *Bull. Soc. des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau*, IV, p.166, treaty of 3 August 1573 between baron Bernard d'Arros and Antoine, count of Gramont, signed by de Sponde (notarised copy of 14 November 1664).

¹⁷⁴ BNF, Cabinet des titres, vol.35, 10 May 1575 (copy), in Communay, *Histoire*, p.171.

¹⁷⁵ Coll. Auguis, 11 July 1572 (copy), in Xivrey, ed., *Recueil des Lettres Missives*, p.32.

¹⁷⁶ 'vostre Majesté ne peult, ny ne doit tenir la ligue à ceux qui veulent exterminer *vostre peuple de la Guienne, qui de toute éternité vous appartient et vous est subject*.' Record Office, State Papers France, vol.LIII, 12-13 November 1572, in la Ferrière, *Le XVIIe siècle*, p.334-5, and pp.336-7.

¹⁷⁷ In *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, vol.4, p.196, 4 April 1573, original communiqué by Catherine de Médicis, cited as held by 'John Walker, libraire à Londres.'

new religion.¹⁷⁸ What is clear, is a recognition of a general perception that the king seeks the elimination of the Protestants of France.

Events after Henry's escape from the court of France on 15 February 1576¹⁷⁹ bear out the view that he wanted stability more than he wanted Protestantism, and more than he felt the need to remain faithful to Jeanne's wishes – though the records of the administration of Béarn do show that he honoured many of the claims of Jeanne's subjects for promises made prior to her death.¹⁸⁰ Henry soon resumed the Reformed religion, but he did not do so immediately.¹⁸¹ Aubigné cites a message of 25 February 1576 at Saumur from 'Monsieur', Francis of Alençon, brother of King Henry III (Charles IX having died in 1574), in which – so Aubigné relates – it was proposed that, if Henry of Navarre were to remain Catholic, they would give him Guyenne in apanage, together with the fortresses of Blaye, Château-Trompette in Bordeaux, and Bayonne.¹⁸² This plan, if it existed, would represent the continuance, four years later, of the two opposing elements of the marriage negotiations at Blois: Jeanne's, that the king should and could give Guyenne to Henry; Catherine de Médicis' and Charles IX's, that Henry would become Catholic if the price were right.

The price, as it turned out, was not Guyenne, but France. As the editor of the *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV* wrote in his preface, Henry of Navarre was 'profoundly national in thought and heart.'¹⁸³ Less than a year after his escape from the royal court of France, and having been refused entry to Bordeaux, 'the capital city of my government', Henry addressed an open letter from Agen 'A la Noblesse,

¹⁷⁸ 'affin que tous les princes protestans congnoissent la sincérité de l'intention du Roy mondict sieur et filz et combien il est esloigné du désir que l'on veult faire croire qu'il a l'extermination de ceulx de la nouvelle religion.' Ibid., p.233, 15 June 1573, Catherine de Médicis to M. de Schomberg [BNF, Cinq cents Colbert, no.400].)

¹⁷⁹ Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, vol.5, pp.7-15.

¹⁸⁰ ADPA, MSS B.2190 (folder), 1571-1573, fols.4-9.

¹⁸¹ BNF, fr 17044 (Vallant vol.1, copies), fol.455, first letter of Henry of Navarre to Gourdon, Saumur, 2 May 1576. On Henry of Navarre's not having abjured the Catholic religion until 13 June 1576, see Babelon, *Henry IV*, p.219.

¹⁸² Aubigné, *Histoire universelle* (ed. of 1891), vol.5, p.16, 'C'estoit que, demeurant Katholique, on lui donneroit la Guyenne pour apennage, Blaye, le Chasteau-Trompette et Bayonne pour assurance.'

¹⁸³ Xivrey, ed., *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV*, vol.1, preface, p.xxx. This collection was presented to Louis-Philippe as an 'official history', because Henry was 'profondement national de coeur et de pensée.'

Ville et Communauté du Gouvernement de Guyenne.' This letter is a profoundly French-royalist, pro-Catholic document, while espousing equal treatment for both sides. It blames the wars to exterminate those of the Reformed Religion on the enemies of the king.¹⁸⁴ In 1578, King Henry and Queen Marguerite took up residence in the palace at Nérac, in the period celebrated by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*.¹⁸⁵ Another historical appearance of the viscount of Gourdon took place during this period: in 1577, that faithful advisor the viscount of Gourdon was at the side of Henry of Navarre, during the peace negotiations of that year, in Bergerac.¹⁸⁶

The letters to the viscount of Gourdon as recorded in the Vallant copies did not end with Jeanne's death in 1572. The correspondence, as already noted, is renewed in a first letter from Henry after his escape from court in 1576, and continues until 1605. This includes copies of twelve letters from Henry as king of Navarre, and then king of France, plus a letter from Henry's secretary to Gourdon, and three letters from Gourdon to Henry. In addition, there are copies of a letter from king Henry III of France to Gourdon, and a letter of reply from Gourdon to Henry III; in all, there are copies of eighteen letters in the Albret – Gourdon series dated after Jeanne's death.¹⁸⁷ Only one of these, Henry's third letter to Gourdon of 1580, has been published, in 1843.¹⁸⁸ All have been ignored by Jeanne's biographers, and by those who have previously argued for or against the authenticity of the Vallant manuscript copies. Yet they provide not only a fascinating unpublished perception of Henry from his time of 'exile' in Guyenne until five years before his own death, but also, in conjunction with the separately-published letters of Antoine, viscount of Gourdon during the same period,¹⁸⁹ an essential element for any informed judgement about the authenticity

¹⁸⁴ Henry of Navarre, Agen, 21 December 1576, in *ibid.*, pp.113-17.

¹⁸⁵ ADPA, MS A.4, November 1578, inventory of furnishings moved from Pau to Nérac by order of Henry, king of Navarre. See also Babelon, *Henry IV*, pp.250-68.

¹⁸⁶ Lafont, 'Le rôle d'Henri de Navarre,' 197.

¹⁸⁷ BNF, fr 17044 (Portefeuilles Vallant, copies, vol.1), fols.455-474, *Lettres d'Henry Roy de Navarre*, 1576-1605.

¹⁸⁸ Xivrey, *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV*, vol.1, pp.315-316, is a transcription of BNF, fr 17044, fol.458, third letter of Henry of Navarre to the viscount of Gourdon, La Force (Dordogne), 3 August 1580.

¹⁸⁹ Cabié, *Guerres de religion* (1905, reprint 1975), transcriptions of correspondence of Antoine de Gourdon and Henry of Navarre, 1579-1588, originals and contemporary copies, pp.201, 208, 443 *et passim*.

question.¹⁹⁰ In the Vallant copies of the letters of Henry IV to Gourdon from August 1589 until October 1605, for example, Henry addresses Gourdon as 'count'.¹⁹¹ We might be inclined to doubt this elevation in title, were it not for the evidence of the contemporary memoirs of Jacques Gaches (1558-1612), in which he refers, in 1611, to a further elevation, to 'marquis' of Cénevières.¹⁹²

After his return to Guyenne, while his sister Catherine as regent faithfully administered a restored Reformed realm of Béarn and Navarre,¹⁹³ Henry of Navarre, as the Reformed governor of Guyenne, joined with the 'politique' Catholic governor of Languedoc, Henry of Montmorency-Damville, to govern what has become known as the 'Provinces-Unies du Midi' (usually translated as 'United Provinces of the Midi',¹⁹⁴ or 'United Provinces of the South'), a federation, which had been formed at Millau and Nîmes in 1574-5, of the southern provinces of Languedoc, Guyenne, Dauphiné, and the ensemble of Poitou, Saintonge, and Aunis-La Rochelle. The accounts and justice of this federation were to be administered independently, for the 'liberty of conscience' of its people.¹⁹⁵ Was this, then, the Promised Land of Protestant Aquitaine or Guyenne, a realisation of Queen Jeanne's failed attempt?

¹⁹⁰ *Appendix*. See also my article, 'The Vallant letters of Jeanne d'Albret: Fact or forgery?', *French History* (publication scheduled for 1999).

¹⁹¹ BNF, fr 17044, vol.1, *Lettres d'Henry Roy de Navarre*, fol.465r, St Cloud, 4 August 1589; fol.466r, Meulan, 5 August 1589; 467r-v, Dieppe, 21 September 1589; fols.468r-469r, 'Rhony', 25 March 1590; fols.472r-473r, Bergerac, 14 July 1593; fol.474r, Limoges, 14 October 1605.

¹⁹² Gaches, *Mémoire sur les guerres de Religion à Castres*, 'Suite des Mémoires de J. Gaches,' p.2 (1611), and p.2, n.4.

¹⁹³ On the maintenance of the Protestant regime in Béarn/Navarre by Catherine of Bourbon as regent for Henry of Navarre, see Greengrass, 'The Calvinist experiment in Béarn,' in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.119-142; in particular, p.139 (in French, 'L'expérience Calviniste en Béarn', *Revue de Pau et du Béarn*, no.21 [1994], 37-60); and see also Tucoc-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon*, pp.41-65, 79-129.

¹⁹⁴ A modern problem in dealing with this name is that much of the geographical area of the political union, particularly the portion north of the Dordogne, would not be included in the current understanding of the French regional term 'le Midi'.

¹⁹⁵ 'Déclaration et protestation de monseigneur de Dampville marechal de France. Avec la protestation des Eglises Reformées de France, assemblées à Millau en Rouergue, sur les troubles de presant,' Strasbourg, 1575, (Microfilm, 'French Political Pamphlets,' Woodbridge [Ct], 1978, reel 13, no.864). Also, on The Articles of the assembly of Nîmes, 12 January 1575, see De Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol.2, pp.589-90, and vol.12, p.1539; the articles are cited in vol.12, 'Preuves,' p.1138, n.338, from BNF, Brienne 207, p.134.

The question is one deserving of a monograph in itself. There is a substantial variety of source material on the matter, but no major work of historical synthesis. Recent work, by Garrisson, Cocula, and others, has helped clarify the issue as it relates to this book.¹⁹⁶ The 'United Provinces of the Midi', intriguing as it potentially was, never functioned as a fully integrated territorial entity.¹⁹⁷ It was, moreover, a temporary measure, born of the vacuum of fear after the St Bartholomew's massacre, a regional entity whose continued existence depended on the instability of the realm of France, and the Protestant need to unify for sheer survival. As the anonymous Catholic author of 'La Plainte de la Guienne au Roy' complained to Henry III of France in or before 1577:

Alas! Sire, here is indeed an awful fall
That yawns before me. Not that one would call
To question that religion, or that liberty
For which they have so often claimed to carry
Arms against you. It is a matter of their taking
So many towns, and thus by stages making
Themselves masters of Guyenne, and so by sovereign right
Subjecting, unopposed, the country to their might.¹⁹⁸

Perhaps even more to the point was the attitude of the 'commons' of Guyenne, as reported in the *Journal de Guillaume et de Michel Le Riche* for the year 1576:

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp.177-224; *La Saint-Barthélemy*, Bruxelles, Editions Complexe, 1987, p.206; 'Les Saint-Barthélemy des villes du Midi,' in *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny (1972)*, p.729; Cocula, 'Le rôle de la Guyenne dans la conquête du royaume 1576-1589,' in *Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume*, p.137; Heller, *Iron and Blood*, chapter 3, 'The Huguenot Republic,' pp.71-85.

¹⁹⁷ That the 'United Provinces of the Midi' remained only a plan or project is discussed in *Papiers de Ruble*, Boîte 135, envelope 38, 'Les précurseurs des principes de 1789 et du code civil au XVIème: De la démocratie à la réforme,' previously cited.

¹⁹⁸ Helas! Sire, voici une dure recheute
Qui s'apreste sur moi. Non qu'on mette en dispute
Ne la religion, ne celle liberté,
Pour laquelle ils ont dit souvent avoir porté
Les armes contre vous. Il est question de prendre
Tant de villes qu'on peut, et peu à peu se rendre
Maistres de la Guienne, et par droit souverain
Plier, sans contredit, le pais sous sa main.

(Anon., 'Plainte de la Guienne au Roy,' Bordeaux, Simon Millanges, 1577, ed. Jules Delpit, in M.H. Barckhausen, *Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne*, vol.1, Bordeaux, G. Gounuillhou, 1868, p.262.)

In this time, it is said that the commons of Gascony, Agenais, Quercy and Périgord have risen and taken up arms. They have adopted as their motto these words: "We are fed up."¹⁹⁹

But, Henry of Navarre's ambitions were not regional, as subsequent events were to make clear.²⁰⁰ When he succeeded Henry III in 1589, Henry of Navarre, not yet crowned as Henry IV of France, remained Protestant, kept his titles and independent domains, but promised to maintain the Catholic religion in the realm of France.²⁰¹ After he had abjured the Protestant religion at St Denis on 25 July 1593, and was crowned king, at Chartres – not Reims – in 1594, he ordered, symbolically at least, freedom of religion for French Protestants by the Edict of Nantes, 13 April 1598. He then ordered, in 1607, the unification of his titles and domains within the realm of France.²⁰²

After Henry IV's assassination in 1610, his son Louis XIII, having taken care to disarm Jeanne's fortress Navarrenx,²⁰³ dissolved the kingdom of Navarre and the sovereign state of Béarn by uniting them with the French crown in 1620,²⁰⁴ and in 1685 Henry's grandson Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. France was a united state; but within it, here and there in the towns, villages, and vineyards of old Aquitaine, Jeanne of Navarre's dream of a Protestant promised land of Guyenne flickers on, and on...

¹⁹⁹ *Journal de Guillaume et de Michel Le Riche, avocats du roi à Saint-Maixent de 1534 à 1586*, ed. A.D. de la Fontanelle de Vaudoré, Saint-Maixent, Reversé, 1984, and Geneva, Slatkine, 1971, vol.2, p.254, translated in Heller, *Iron and Blood*, pp.86-7.

²⁰⁰ 'Henri est bien plus gouverneur de Guyenne que vicomte de Béarn, car sa destinée est maintenant résolument tournée vers la France.' (Babelon, *Henry IV*, p.237.) As Philip Benedict observed about the Protestants of Rouen after 1594, 'In fact, it was less municipal authority which Henry worked consistently to weaken than local autonomy in whatever form it might take.' (Benedict, *Rouen*, p.231.)

²⁰¹ See Christian Desplat, 'La religion d'Henri IV,' in *Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume*, pp.223-267.

²⁰² The text of the Edict of 1607 is given in Olhagary, *Histoire*, pp.726-8.

²⁰³ A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989, p.123.

²⁰⁴ The text of the unification document of 20 October 1620 is transcribed in Tucuo-Chala, *La vicomté*, pp.198-199. See also Jacques Nompard de Caumont, duc de La Force (1558-1652), 'Harangue faicte au roy, par monsieur le marquis de La Force. Au nom de messieurs de Bearn, pour les conclusions des affaires de ladite province,' Paris, S. Moreau, 1620, 13 pp. (Microfilm: Woodbridge, Ct., Research Publications, Inc., 1978, Reel 59, No. 4395, 'French Political Pamphlets'; Reel 62, No. 4632, La Rochelle, 1621); and see Christian Desplat, 'Louis XIII and the Union of Béarn to France,' in Mark Greengrass, ed., *Conquest and Coalescence. The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*, London, Edward Arnold, 1991, pp.68-83.

CONCLUSION

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the land of Aquitaine, then the provincial territory of the French royal government of Guyenne, presented the appearance of a natural unity, bounded by the Atlantic ocean, the river Loire, the Central Massif, and the Pyrenees mountains. Culturally and historically, however, it was a patchwork of disparate regions and peoples whose seeming unity had often shifted in accordance with the winds of dynastic and political change. Distant from the centre of power at the Paris court, it had developed its wine exports to England from small, isolated rural towns such as Bergerac on the Dordogne, which administered their own affairs, and retained distinctive cultures of regional language, independence, and a spirit of local place and landscape – ‘l’amour du pays’ – that did not encourage identity with royal France north of the Loire.

Distance and isolation from the Most Catholic royal court of France, and the existence of semi-autonomous towns, were undoubtedly reasons why, in the 1540s, Calvin sought to concentrate the Genevan Reformed missionary effort on Guyenne. A result of this strategy for the avoidance of conflict with royal authority and power was a failure to establish Protestant strength in the provincial capital cities of Bordeaux in Guyenne, and Toulouse in Languedoc, where royal Catholic power was exercised through the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse.

The major reason for this concentration of missionary effort in Guyenne – particularly after 1555 – was, however, the power that the sovereign rulers of Béarn and monarchs of Navarre, inheritors of a remnant of the old Spanish kingdom of Navarre and the titles and lands of the powerful house of Albret, exercised over the whole territory of Guyenne. This power was combined with the sympathy and protection shown initially by Jeanne’s mother Queen Marguerite, and then by Queen Jeanne, for those of the New Religion.

In Part One, chapters one to three, I have shown how these three elements – the land of Guyenne, the power of the Albret-Navarre dynasty, and the Reformed religion as extended into France from Geneva – were conjoined in the period before 1560 to create the possibility that Guyenne could be made to be a ‘Promised Land’ for Protestants.

In presenting the evidence of Jeanne d'Albret's role in the effort to realise this possibility, I have drawn on the testimony of the seventeenth-century manuscripts, held in the Vallant collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, purporting to be transcriptions of letters from Queen Jeanne to the viscount of Gourdon. In so doing, I have also presented the evidence for and against the authenticity of these copies. My research has been based on a more thorough investigation of the Vallant collection in its entirety, and the other contemporary records of the viscounts of Gourdon, than has been done before. I have found evidence that the 'viscount of Gourdon' of these letters was not one, but two viscounts, Flotard the father, and his son and heir Antoine. This finding has opened my investigation to the comparative examination of other Albret-Gourdon letters, original and in contemporary copies. I have concluded that, since the strongest arguments made for forgery can be shown to be invalid, the evidence of the letters can and should be used, with caution. The letters show that the evangelised Jeanne, as queen of Navarre, was active in support of the Reformed cause in Guyenne by 1555, five years before her public conversion to the Reformed faith in Pau at Christmas of 1560. They paint a harder-edged image of a militant Queen Jeanne than has been portrayed by the historians who have rejected the Vallant letters. The authenticity of the Vallant letters is not, however, an essential element in support of my argument. The incontestably authentic letters of Calvin to Antoine of Navarre from 1557, and of Calvin and Beza to Jeanne from January 1561 onwards, show that at first Antoine, and then Jeanne alone, were enlisted by Calvin and Beza, and expected by them to lead the Reformed mission in Béarn and Navarre, in Guyenne, and – until 1562 – at the court of France.

In Part Two, chapters four and five, I have focused on Jeanne's politicisation, and her leading role in the attempt to establish the Reformed religion, first at the French court, then in her realm of Béarn and Navarre, and in wider Guyenne, from 1561 to 1567. If the Spanish ambassador had exaggerated in likening her entry into Orléans in August 1561 to that of 'the Messiah', it was she who represented the French Reformed cause at the colloquy of Poissy. If, after the first war had begun, it had not been at her order that her followers looted the Bourbon tombs at Vendôme, she was an accomplice – though perhaps only after the fact – in the abortive attempt by

Duras and Pardaillan to take Bordeaux by stealth in June 1562, and her rural Protestant captains such as Armand of Piles in the Bergeracois carried out feats of guerrilla warfare that caused Beza to exclaim, in January 1563, 'Christ is risen again in Aquitaine.'

To portray Queen Jeanne as 'neutral' during this whole period until 1568 is to represent her by the public image her Reformed advisers urged her to maintain, and not by the private reality. As I have shown, Jeanne's letter to Gourdon of May 1562 reveals her to have been committed to the Reformed political cause by that relatively early date; but, even if the letter were to be shown not to be authentic, the same commitment is revealed by Jeanne's actions in the same period, during the first war.

After the death of Antoine, Jeanne's dedication to the Reformed cause became determined to the point of fanaticism, as shown by her intemperate letter to the cardinal Georges of Armagnac, and the resulting papal attempt to have her excommunicated. At the same time, the authority and power by which she was able to establish and extend the cause was dramatically greater as sole sovereign queen and ruler under the custom of Béarn and Navarre – 'in Béarn I recognise only God,' she told the cardinal – and as governor and admiral of Guyenne *de facto* for her minor son Henry III. This authority and power, backed by the strong bureaucracy created by her father Henry II, enabled Queen Jeanne to consolidate the establishment of a Reformed government not only in Béarn and Navarre, but in places farther afield in Guyenne, such as her 'republic' of Mont-de-Marsan.

The 'miraculous' crossing of the Loire by Condé and Coligny and their families in August 1568 marked the beginning of the third war. Jeanne's letter to Gourdon of 1 September echoes the biblical language of her previous letter, but now strengthened with specific reference to the escape of the Reformed 'Children of Abraham' from the 'world of Babylon' of Paris and the Catholic court of royal France, and entry into the 'Promised Land' of Protestant Guyenne.

Jeanne's daring escape from Nérac with her children demonstrated both her militancy, expressed in her invocation of the 'God of Armies' in the above letter, and her ability to attract and hold the fidelity of the Protestant minor nobility of the local towns and rural territories. It also demonstrated the strategic importance to the cause of the 'safe route' between Nérac-Montauban and La Rochelle, and of the bridge over the Dordogne at Bergerac. In the five letters she

wrote from Bergerac and La Rochelle in September and October 1568, Jeanne gave her clearest expression of the three main themes of her 'justification' for having taken arms: the service of her God, through the Reformed religion; her homeland, 'ma patrie', which was the Béarn and Navarre of her subjects, and the Guyenne of her vassals; and her blood, which was that of her dynasty as exemplified in her son Henry as 'first prince of the royal blood of France'. In the context of her *Mémoires*, written and published soon after Jeanne's entry in triumph into La Rochelle at the head of her armies, 'blood' takes on, from our retrospective view, a more sinister connotation: that of the blood of coming battle.

The royal edicts by which the first two wars of religion were ended promised the Reformed of France a limited number of isolated 'places of security', and a restricted number of places in which their religion could be practised. In each instance, these Edicts of Pacification did not hold. In Part Three, 'Sanctuary,' chapters six and seven, I have investigated the military and dynastic strategies planned and attempted by Queen Jeanne and the Reformed leaders from 1569 to 1572, to break the pattern of failure and renewed bloodshed which had resulted from the previous edicts of pacification.

In the third war, Condé and Coligny built up a massive Protestant army at La Rochelle in order to draw out and defeat the royal forces in the field, advance northwards to the gates of Paris, and force from the monarchy a stronger agreement for the safety and liberty of conscience of the Reformed of France. That strategy failed with the Protestant defeats at Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569, and the death of Condé.

The evidence of original field dispatches held in the Baluze Collection of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France is that, even before the stunning success of the recovery of Béarn and Navarre by the small southern army under Jeanne's general Montgomery, an advance on Bordeaux by the combined Protestant armies of the north and south was under active consideration. This two-stage 'Parthenay Strategy'¹ may have been conceived by analogy with the Old Testament model of the Israelite exodus and successful advance around the land of the Amorites to the banks of the river Arnon, and

¹ Chapter six, section *e.*.

on to the Promised Land, as described in Judges 11, verses 12 to 28. The making of military decisions after consulting biblical precedent was, as Beza explained, to be encouraged because biblical models of conduct expressed the will of God.

I have argued that the breaking of the 'bridge of boats' built for the crossing of the Garonne by Coligny's army and its union with the army of Montgomery on the south bank, aborted a plan for the taking of Bordeaux, and hence effectively Guyenne, devised by Queen Jeanne and her military advisers, and carried out until that point by Coligny and Montgomery. A direct statement of this plan and failed attempt was made by the Catholic military leader and eyewitness Monluc, in his *Commentaires*.² I have reviewed in detail the evidence of the existing manuscripts of Catholic and Protestant participants in the event, and have concluded that in every instance, the remaining testimony of contemporary participants and witnesses supports Monluc's view. Courteault, the historian of Monluc and heretofore the author of the only detailed secondary account of the incident, took the opposing view, that there was no such plan, and no such attempt had been made. Courteault's primary interest was in the controversy over whether the bridge was broken by Monluc's actions, or by flood. It was not necessary for him to defend the view that Monluc fabricated the Protestant plan to attack Bordeaux. He had only to point to what actually happened next: the junction of the armies of Montgomery and Coligny north of the river, and their great retreat southwards, the 'journey to the end of night' through Languedoc, followed by their northward return to threaten Paris.³ My argument, by contrast, entails the burden and notorious difficulty of 'proving' intent, when the intent is at odds with the outcome. Despite this obstacle, the contemporary testimony of Coligny himself, of Coligny's secretary Hotman, and of Coligny's biographer Delaborde, all support Monluc's claim, and my assertion, that the aborted Protestant strategy in late 1569-1570 had as its goal the military conquest of Guyenne and its capital, Bordeaux.

The Protestant failure was presented as a victory when the new Edict of Pacification was promulgated in 1570, but the terms of agreement for peace rested in reality on the same temporary and

² Monluc, *Commentaires*, 1571, (ed. Courteault), pp.751-7. Chapter six above, section *f*.

³ Chapter six, above, section *f*; see Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien*, pp.567-70.

unenforceable royal guarantees of isolated places of Protestant safety and worship. Queen Jeanne's reaction was first to eliminate opposition and tighten her grip on the Reformed government of her realm through the seizure of Catholic assets and incomes, and the strict imposition of a uniquely Reformed church establishment and society, 'the entire restoration of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ,' through her *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* of 1571.

Jeanne's effort to replace the blood of violence by the marriage bond of blood ended, nevertheless, in the 'city of blood' with her own death, the assassination of Coligny, and the massacre of St Bartholomew's. There is an abundance of evidence supporting the argument for the Protestant military attempt on Bordeaux in 1569-70. By contrast, only the Spanish, and with greater conviction and stronger credibility the Tuscan, diplomatic reports provide primary evidence for the contention that Jeanne tried to get the duchy of Guyenne in apanage for Henry in the marriage agreement of Marguerite. The arguments for the existence of both failures are arguments from intent. And yet, that Jeanne negotiated for the duchy of Guyenne, and failed, remains unquestioned in the historiography, while the failed attack on Bordeaux is generally unmentioned or unaccepted. It seems probable that there are two reasons for this difference of opinion among historians: first, Aubigné had said that, four years after the marriage, the duchy of Guyenne was to be offered to Henry if Henry would remain Catholic, and Aubigné had nothing to gain by his statement, whereas Monluc had by his; and second, La Ferrière, the historian of Catherine de Médicis, said the marriage negotiations for Guyenne were real, whereas Courteault, the historian of Monluc, said the intended attack on Bordeaux was not. Assuming, as I have, that Jeanne did negotiate for Guyenne and lost, the failure displays the fundamental weakness and vulnerability of the Protestant position in the France of 1572; a vulnerability soon demonstrated by the massacre of St Bartholomew's night.

What was the nature of this apparent Protestant weakness and vulnerability? In the first instance, the Protestant justification for taking up arms against the king's armies was based on an argument which, if not purely hypocritical, was at the very least open to general disbelief: that they did so as the king's loyal subjects defending him against his own false counsellors. In the second instance, the French Reformed Protestants had isolated themselves from the general population in a

number of ways: they held to separate places such as La Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban, which were apart from the mainstream of French court culture; they persisted in modes of dress and conduct which were not only different, but were regarded with dislike or fear; but most damagingly, they regarded themselves as God's chosen, and the others as Satan's tool. Thirdly, their origin, leadership, and support was seen to have been foreign, imposed from Geneva; a problem which also affected the Gallican Catholic church in its fear of Rome. And, fourthly, the Reformed of France lacked a single religious head, and a hierarchy through which its churches and adherents could be controlled and unified.

These are all well-known general factors which, while not necessarily 'weaknesses' in themselves, tended to keep the Protestants of France in the position of a minority within a Catholic monarchical state, who were vulnerable in direct relation to the strength of the king, and whose continued existence after 1559 was to a considerable extent owing to the weakness of the French kings. But, in my view, the principal reason for the failure of Jeanne d'Albret's attempt to establish a Reformed homeland in Guyenne, beyond the borders of her own realm, was directly related to the Albret failure, dating from the time of her father Henry II, to assert their power in urban Bordeaux.

The Albret dynasty arose from the rural territory south and east of the city. Their power base in terms of land and noble followers was fundamentally rural. Bordeaux was the capital of Guyenne, the site of the Parlement through which French royal power was exercised, and the governor of Guyenne was the instrument of that power. The royal officers of Bordeaux and its Parlement were deeply dependent on the Paris court for money, favours, offices, honours and promotions. The roots of the Albret dynasty were not in Béarn, but in Guyenne; and specifically, in the Bordelais. And yet, both Henry II d'Albret and Antoine de Bourbon chose to exercise their offices, as governor and admiral of Guyenne, from the distant remoteness of Pau or the pastoral isolation of Nérac. They hardly ever went up to Bordeaux; they avoided it, in fact, as did many of the other rural nobles. One never knew what troubles and obligations might be awaiting one at the court of the Parlement. When Antoine and Jeanne travelled in pomp after their coronation, they went to La Rochelle, the old arch-enemy of Bordeaux. As for the minor Henry III of Navarre in his role as governor of Guyenne *in absentia*, and Queen Jeanne as the *de facto*

governor also *in absentia*, their absence from Bordeaux was almost total. When one looks at the record of the so frequent and laborious travels of the Albret rulers of Navarre and governors of Guyenne between Pau, Nérac and Paris, what eventually becomes clear is their nearly complete avoidance of Bordeaux.

The chief clerk of the Parlement at Bordeaux, de Pontac, was a hard-line, and very long-lived, Catholic royalist. It was Pontac who signed the orders for the execution of the Protestant rebels of Guyenne. The area or *ressort* over which the Parlement of Bordeaux was able to exercise its power extended eastwards far into rural Guyenne; similarly, the *ressort* of the Parlement of Toulouse, also strongly Catholic and royalist, extended westwards far beyond the borders of Languedoc into Guyenne, to overlap a considerable area of the *ressort* of Bordeaux.⁴

If Guyenne were to become the Promised Land for Protestants, and not a string of 'safe towns' perilously connected by a 'safe route' and held by the King's Grace, where would be the New Jerusalem at its centre? Not the peripheral La Rochelle, for all its qualities as a defensive sanctuary and escape route to Protestant England. Not the bucolic Bergerac or Nérac, or Montauban, well-established havens of rural Protestantism though they were, at the very core of Guyenne. Certainly not Pau, a particular case in its remoteness from the centres of power. None of these fulfils the necessary description of the urban symbol and heart of Guyenne. King Louis XI of France had proclaimed in 1483 that the 'boulevard of France' passed through Bordeaux, and in 1571 the dispatches to King Philip II of Spain still described the road from Bordeaux to Poitiers as 'the royal road'. Only Bordeaux would do, and Bordeaux was never gained. As Beza exclaimed, too optimistically, in 1569: 'All Aquitaine this side of the Garonne is ours, except Bordeaux.'

It is not usually productive to ask the question, requiring as it does a purely speculative answer, 'What if?' In this case, however, something may be gained by asking the question, 'What if the Protestant armies had not been "lost beneath the waves of the Garonne" at the bridge of boats, and Bordeaux had been taken?' Or, perhaps as valid-

⁴ Mentzer, *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*, map, p.6, reproduced in *Illustrations*, below.

ly, the same question in its alternate guise, 'What if Henry had been given his duchy of Guyenne?' If either or both had occurred, would Guyenne have become a Promised Land for Protestants?

It so happens that in this instance there are facts of subsequent history that make it unnecessary to enter into hypothetical argument, such as that the uniformly repressive style of Queen Jeanne's Reformed government of the small and relatively homogeneous state of Béarn – though even it was divided by isolated and culturally distinct valleys – could not have been applied successfully in the larger diversity of Guyenne. Those facts are, firstly, that it must be assumed that Jeanne d'Albret would still have died in 1572, more or less, and that Henry on his own would still have been only eighteen or nineteen, insufficiently experienced to command the loyalties of the nobles of Guyenne, and defy the might of royal Catholic France.

But, it is not even necessary to make such assumptions. As the popular jingle had it, the future for France after St Bartholomew's night was to be

Un Dieu, un baptesme, une foy, une loy.
Et vivre en paix sous un Roy.⁵

The historical record of Henry's later period as co-governor of the joint Catholic and Protestant 'United Provinces of the Midi', his eventual renunciation of the Reformed religion, assumption of the throne of France, and unification of the French nation, points to a single conclusion: even if Queen Jeanne's attempts to impose it had not failed, her dream of a Promised Land of Protestant Guyenne would not have become reality.

⁵ Slogan of 15 November 1572, in *Hist. ecclés.* (1580), vol.3, p.474.

APPENDIX

LETTERS OF JEANNE D'ALBRET TO THE VISCOUNT OF GOURDON

1. Texts

First letter (BNF, fr 17044, Portefeuilles Vallant, vol.1, fol.446r-446v [copy]), Pau, 22 August 1555

Monsr le viscomte je vous escript la presente pour vous dire que jusques a maintenant j'ay esté sur les voyes de la defuncte Royne Madame ma tres honorée Mere que Dieu absolue au regard du doute entre les Religions laquelle Royne induite par defunct son frere Monsieur le Roy françois premier de bonne et glorieuse memoire mon tres honoré Oncle, a ne se mettre en cervelle dogmes nouveaux ne se cuyda oncques que de Romans jovials, oultres plus me recordant toujours bien des noyses que loing auparavant le defunct Roy Monsieur mon tres honoré Pere et Seigneur que Dieu tienne en grace rechercha alors que la ditte Royne faisant dans sa chambre prieres avecques les Ministres Roussel et Farel quy dheure sesquiverent en grand esmoy luy bailla un soufflet sur la jouë dextre & me tanisa de verges en deffendant asprement de ne se mesler de Doctrine, ce quy me cousta larmes ameres & ma retenue en treneur et complainte jusques a leurs trepas advenus & partant de present libre par la mort du susdit Monsieur Roy mon pere arrivée deux mois y a des detroisses poignantes qui lassailirent alors que lassemblée de Marc se rompit sans luy faire tirer raison aulcune de la perverse invasion et detenue de son Royaume par Ferdinand Roy Darragon & l'Empereur Charles par grand dot & besoingnes tant enormes de Rome et oultre plus esquillonnée des Exemples & sermones de ma cousine la Duchesse de Ferrare il mapparoist que la reforme est tant juste & tant necessaire que j'estime a par moy que ce seroit couardise deloyale envers Dieu envers ma conscience et mon peuple de demourer plus longuement en suspend et perplexe, ainfin comme les desbats & altercations dentre Monsieur le Roy Henry mon tres honoré cousin et le Pape jules ont fait apparoitre de par ledit Roy trois ans y a un esdict tant severe a l'encontre de la ditte reforme il est mestier que les gens de bien couëtement tiennent colloques ensemble pour resouldre la maniere de gerer tant du present que dans l'advenir, Bien adverty qu'aves prez de vous doctes personages & que reconnois en vous esprit Noblesse & courage sy voulez avecques eux vous rendre au chasteau d'Odos en Bigorre je ne faudray a y estre devers la fin du prochain mois de Septembre. Esperant que viendrez je prie Dieu vous avoir Monsieur le Viscomte en sa tres sainte et digne garde. Escript a Pau le 22 aoust 1555.

Vre bien bonne & assurée Amye
Signé jehanne Royne.

Subscription
a Monsr le Viscomte de Gourdon.

[Viscount,¹ Sir, I am writing the present letter to tell you that until now I have been following the deceased Queen, Madame my most honoured Mother,² whom God absolve regarding the doubt between the Religions in which she engaged through her deceased brother King Francis the First of good and glorious memory, my most honoured Uncle, not to put new dogmas in her head, nor to occupy herself with other than amusing literature, and being always mindful of the disputes when long before, the deceased King my much honoured Father and Lord,³ whom God keep in his grace, discovered the Queen at prayer in her chambers with the Ministers Rousset⁴ and Farel,⁵ who straightaway fled in great dismay. He slapped my mother on the right cheek, and gave me a caning, while severely forbidding involvement in Doctrine, which cost me bitter tears and kept me in fear and sadness until their passing. Now free, by the death of the King my father two months ago, from the poignant distresses that assailed him when the assembly of Marck⁶ broke up without giving him any reason for the perverse invasion and seizure of his Realm by King Ferdinand of Aragon and the Emperor Charles, through the great power and enormous greed of Rome, and more than flavoured with the actions and orders of my cousin the Duchess of Ferrara, it appears to me that the reform is so just and so necessary, I myself consider that it would be disloyal cowardice towards God, my conscience, and my people, to remain any longer in indecision and confusion, now that the debates and altercations between my much honoured cousin King Henry and Pope Julius have resulted in the appearance, three years ago, of an edict⁷ which is so severe in its treatment of the aforesaid reform, that it is necessary for people of good standing to hold meetings together secretly in order to resolve the way to proceed, whether now or in future. Being well advised that you have knowledgeable people close to you, and recognising the spirit of Nobility and courage in you, I ask if you would come with those people to the castle of Odos in Bigorre,⁸ where I expect to be towards the end of September next. Hoping that you will come, I pray God to keep you, Vis-

¹ 'Monsieur le viscomte,' assumed to be Nicolas de Flotard de Cénevières, viscount of Gourdon.

² Marguerite de Valois d'Angoulême, queen of Navarre, died 1549.

³ Henry II d'Albret, king of Navarre, died May 1555.

⁴ Gérard Roussel, chaplain at the court of Marguerite of Navarre, later bishop of Oloron.

⁵ Guillaume Farel, presumed not to have been present at Marguerite's court at the estimated date of the incident, before 1536; perhaps another of Marguerite's ministers was mistaken for him in Jeanne's recollection of her childhood.

⁶ Conference held at Marck, near Calais (which was then English territory), in May 1555, between leading representatives of Catholic Europe, in an unsuccessful attempt to resolve the conflict between Catholic France and the Holy Roman Empire. See Jasper Ridley, *John Knox*, Oxford, 1968, pp.244-245.

⁷ The edict of Châteaubriant or Châteaubriand (June 1551) is mentioned by Jeanne in her second letter to Gourdon of 10 January 1557, in which she expresses her sadness at the cruelties of its application to Protestants (BNF, fr 17044, fol.447). It is probable that the reference in this letter is to the same edict. 'Three years ago' (1553) is a date consistent with its application in Guyenne (*Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*, previously cited in chapter three, section b.). On 7 December 1556, Henry II of France directed a further order to the court of the Parlement of Bordeaux for the extirpation of heresy, which suggests that the preceding edicts had been ineffective. (Gaulleir, *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux*, p.144.)

⁸ Castle inherited by Jeanne from her mother Marguerite.

count, Sir, in his very holy and worthy protection. Written at Pau the 22 August 1555.

Your very good and sure Friend,
Signed Jeanne Queen.

Written below:
to Monsieur the Viscount of Gourdon]

Third letter (BNF, fr 17044, Portefeuilles Vallant, vol.1, fol.447v [copy]), Nérac, 28 October 1560⁹

Monsr le Viscomte es precedents regnes la puissance enorme & loutrecuidance des Guises au regard des Princes de la maison de Bourbon, la condamnation & execution a mort du conseiller du Bourg¹⁰ daultres personages notables vray croians de l'Evangile, la cognoissance concedée par prestiges de Rome aux Evesques bien que parties obsénées es cas de religion & d'en juger les debats aprez que les juges royaux en auroient instruit; avoient tant contristé mon ame, que jay senty tourments aspres & poignantes detroisses, sans mot dire quoyque reconfortée de la croisement de la veritable Doctrine. De present le Roy Monsieur mon mary & son frere le Prince de Condé acortement receus de Madame la Royne Mere destourneront les tant sinistres & perverses calamitez controuvées es enfers a lencontre des reformez; lesditt de fontainebleau¹¹ rendu ces mois passez apres le sacre de Monsieur le jeune Roy mon tres honoré Cousin,¹² arreste cours au suplices et au bourlement & contraincte des confiances, jusques a decision de concile libre et ecumenique; en oultre & attente diceluy, jour est assigné au lieu de Poissy pour debatre entre Ministres Evesques & Cardinaux devant Monsieur ledit Roy & son Conseil matieres controversées de Doctrine & de Moeurs; Theodore de Beze que bien connoissez sy trouvera portant parole avecques douze Ministres & maints desputez. Je pry Dieu quil les fortifie dans la force de pure verité, & de vous avoir Monsieur le Viscomte en sa tres sainte et digne garde attendant que me raporterez jovialement vous mesme responce a la presente. Escript a Nerac le 28 Octobre 1560.

Vre bien bonne & assurée Amye/ Jehanne Royne.

Subscription
a Monsr le Viscomte de Gourdon.

⁹ A date apparently inconsistent with events described in the letter, the edict of Fontainebleau and the coronation of Charles IX, noted below.

¹⁰ Ann du Bourg, burned at the stake in December 1559.

¹¹ Edict of Fontainebleau, 19 April 1561.

¹² Charles IX was crowned 15 May 1561.

Fifth letter (BNF, fr 17044, fol.450r-450v [copy]), Pau,¹³ 13 May 1562

Monsr le Viscomte jay reçu avecques bien grand contentement la vostre du 12 precedent mois d'avril par laquelle j'apprends que le jour de devant iceluy, mon beau frere le Prince de Condé dans l'assemblée d'Orléans¹⁴ avoit esté eslû chef des reformez pour le maintient de l'Esdict de janvier et pour liberer Monsieur le jeune Roy et Madame la Royne mere dettenus en captivité desprit et de puissance et pour procurer la liberté des consciences, je me refous doncques de me tenir couëtte et de travailler comme ay faict par cy devant, la cause est tant juste et bonne que je crois que Dieu la portera et fortifiera de sa force puissante et partant bien que je ne parle hault et clair je me comporteray tant dextrement et animeusement que je aideray par mes besoignes la cause commune a la gloire de l'Eternel et concorde publique car il est temps de sortir d'Egypte a travers la mer rouge et d'eslever Lhumble Eglise de Christ sur les ruynes du Throne de Tout orgueil de limmonde Babylone. Vostre Page le Sr Vassignac¹⁵ gentil esprit porteur de la vostre ma appris jovialement agreables choses advenues a laditte assemblée et que vostre nepheu de Mirabel avoit a commander des bandes de gens de pieds soubz son nom et ses enseignes et que doit exploiter conjointement avecques celles du bas Dauphiné commandees par des Adrets Montbrun et aultres Nobles. Je ne fais doulte aulcun qua vostre Exemple et Semonce tous ceulx de vos quartiers parens amys et vos Compagnies d'hommes darmes Argolets et Chevaux Legiers ne se comportent animeusement en gens de bien comme par cy devant et dont parties diceula soubz le defunct viscomte vostre Pere¹⁶ et dans vos premieres armes ont appris de bonne voye le mestier es Regnes des Roys François¹⁷ et Henry¹⁸ mes tres honnorez Oncle et Cousin dheureuse Memoire. Je pryé Dieu de bien bon Cœur Monsieur le Viscomte vous avoir en sa tres Sainte et digne Garde. Escript a Pau le 13 may 1562.

Vre bien bonne et assurée Amye
jehanne Royne

a Monsr le Viscomte de Gourdon

¹³ Place inconsistent with the date of this letter. Beza sent Jeanne a letter dated 23 May 1562 (corrected by the editors from 13 May 1561, in *Correspondance*, vol.4, p.94), replying from Orléans to her worries about the Protestant pillaging of Vendôme. Nothing in Beza's letter indicates Jeanne's address, but, according to the editors, she arrived at Vendôme on 3 May 1562. Therefore, she could not have been in Pau on 13 May. She did not arrive in Pau until August 1562 (Ruble, *Jeanne d'Albret et la Guerre Civile*, vol.1, p.199).

¹⁴ Orléans, 8 April 1562.

¹⁵ Gédéon de Vassignac, of Turenne, a Huguenot, was executed in effigy in 1602. (Lacoste, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, p.286.)

¹⁶ I take this to be a reference to the deceased viscount Flotard de Gourdon, and have assumed that the 'Monsieur le viscount' of this, and subsequent, letters is Antoine de Gourdon, Flotard's son and heir.

¹⁷ Francis I died 1547.

¹⁸ Henry II died 1559.

Eighth letter (BNF, fr 17044, Portefeuilles Vallant, vol.1, fols.453v-454r [copy]),
Nérac, 1 September 1568

Monsr le Viscomte je crois que bien duement estez informé que par le grace de Dieu sans faintise ny fallace jay declaré notoirement que je suyvois et professois le religion reformée et quasprement moy ma couronne mes biens et mon fils peririons a la poine de la exercer et pratiquer de cueur et publiquement avecques tous ceulx quy la suyvens et croyent. Sy il arriva meschés a vos terres bien[s] et chasteaux au regard des Edicts cruel et iniques donnez depuis ma susdite declaration ne vous en espouvanter pas hastivement; Le Dieu des armées soustiendra sa tant juste et bonne cause et benira les armes et labeurs des siens serviteur[s]. Le Prince de Condé mon mon[sic] beau frere reclame et recoit ayde et reconfort des Princes d'Allemagne, et La Royné d'Angleterre quy suynt animeusement une croyance en bref temps me secourra dhommes et de deniers et les fidelles quy ne sagenouillent plus devant Baal. Par le passé trop de tardineté et tant peu de resistance ont du tout devoyé les Enfans d'Abraham mais de presens sourdis d Egypte il fault faire le sault entier pour surgir a la terre promise et sortir de Limmonde Babylone. Vous et les autres Viscomtes roides comme moy apporteriez exemples forts et suyvis. L'Eternel ne veult tiedes et couards ainfin que nestes aulcunement et partant lheure benoite sapproche et monstre appertement quil fault que les enfans d'Israel es risques et despends de biens et vies establisent fermement un culte et dressent des temples ou Dieu soit adoré en esprit et verité et se retirent de cueur et de corps de ceulx ou se voyent idoles abominables devant le Dieu fort et jaloux et quilz suyvent sans retard ni treneur quelconques le Testament de leur pere Celeste lequiel a esté de longtemps par grande fraude et dol changie lasseré, augmenté et soubstrait en maintes manieres et maints endroits par les ruses des Papistes, a leur propice et avarice. A icelles fins susdites pour tout entreprendre vertueusement au maintient de Ste et Eternelle et franc exercice de pure croyance, sur la fin de present mois je me mettray en marche pour me joindre a tous et me rendre a la Rochelle avecques le Prince de Bearn mon fils quy tant vous estime et que tant aymez, Depuis quil est prez de moy il se est bien instruit en la Religion et se montre amateur de verité et darmes; arrivez que feront le verrez grand pour lage quil a et vous pryeray davoit souventes fois ensembles Colloques de doctrine et de guerre esquelles matières estes tant expert et luy tant aspre, Je prie Dieu vous avoir Monsr le Viscomte en sa tres Ste et digne Garde. Escript a Nerac le 1er Septembre 1568.

Vre bien bonne et assurée Amye
jehanne Royné.
Subscription
A Monsr Le Viscomte de Gourdon.

[Viscount, sir, I believe that you have been informed that I by the grace of God have, without trickery or falsehood, notably declared that I have followed and professed the reformed religion, and at the risk of my own crown, my wealth and my son, we would be ready to die by the sword to exercise and practise it by heart and in public with all those who follow and believe it. If harm comes to your lands, wealth and castles because of the cruel and iniquitous Edicts given since my declaration noted above, do not be too hastily horrified; The God of Armies will sustain his so just and good cause and will bless the arms and labours of his servants. The Prince of Condé my brother-in-law demands and receives aid and support from the Princes of Germany, and the Queen of England, who actively follows a faith, will soon secure men and money for me, and the faithful who no longer kneel before Baal. In the past, too great tardiness and too little resistance have always kept the Children of Abraham from the right path, but now, having gone out of Egypt, they must make the whole leap to surge forth to the promised land and leave vile Babylon. You and

the other Viscounts, unyielding like me, will make strong and enduring examples. The Eternal does not want the lukewarm and cowardly anywhere, and nevertheless the blessed hour is coming and shows clearly that the children of Israel must regardless of the risks and the sacrifice of their belongings and lives, firmly establish a religion and build temples where God will be adored in spirit and truth, and withdrawing in heart and body from where abominable idols are seen before a mighty and jealous God, and that they follow without hesitation or tremor whatsoever the Testament of their Heavenly father, which has long been changed by great fraud and trickery, cut up, added to and diminished in many ways and places by the ruses of the Papists, by their own advantage and avarice. To these aforesaid ends, to undertake everything virtuously for the maintenance of holy and Eternal truth and the free exercise of pure belief, at the end of the present month I will take action to join them all and go to La Rochelle with my son the Prince of Béarn who holds you in such esteem and whom you love so much. Since he has been with me he has been well instructed in the Religion and shows himself adept in truth and arms. You will see that he is big for his age, and it will please you often to have colloquies together on religious doctrine and war, on which matters you are so expert and he is so apt. I pray God to keep you, Viscount, Sir, in his very Holy and worthy Protection. Written at Nérac the first of September 1568.

Your very good and sure friend,
jeanne Quen.

Written below
To Monsieur the Viscount of Gourdon.]

Ninth letter (BNF, fr 17044, Portefeuilles Vallant, vol.1, fol.454v [copy]), Pau, 29 November 1571

Monsr le Viscomte lorsque jenvoyay le Comte de Montgomery pour mon lieutenant General en Bearn pour establir la reforme par tout comme le savez ayant avec luy de vos troupes et des autres Viscomtes, Terride vostre Cousin et maints aultres furent prins a vostre consideration seul entre iceulx na esté le susdit condamné à mort, je vous pry de le faire tenir en paix et reconnoissance. Je vous diray que de present ay fait un reglement general et ordonnance pour la discipline de l'Eglise de Bearn, pretendant que la religion reformée soit estable fermement en tous les lieux de ma souveraineté que toutes superstitions et idolatries en soient banies et que toutes personnes assistent es presches sous diverses poines aux deffailans et bannis ceux qui se trouveront sestre abstenus plus d'une fois de la Cene. En oultre, jay estably un conseil Ecclesiastique de deux Gentilshommes de deux Conseillers de deux Ministres et de deux personnes du tiers estat d'un procureur gardien des tiltres d'un diacre receveur des deniers. Pour tous iceulx regler et Gouverner tous les biens Ecclesiastiques pour estre annuellement employez premier a l'entretien des Ministres et Maîtres décoles, puis au soulagement des pauvres necessiteux et cachez de toutes conditions notamment aux Nobles, et le surplus et compte des gages des officiers du Conseil souverain des Gouverneurs Capitaines et officiers des garnisons au soulagement du pais. Ma susdite ordonnance conforme a la loy, permet es cousins Germains de se marier es marys qui convaineront leurs femmes d'adultere de se remarier a daultres. Lorsque le susdit conseil l'approuvera la libre licence es moines et nonnes de quiter les cloistres et aultres choses en consequence de nostre confession de foy. Je ne faudray lorsque rien retourneray a la Rochelle ce qui fera je plaist a Dieu en bref, de vous mander le jour que je feray a Bergerac et mesme sy puis iray chez vous passer quelques jours pour vous mener avecque moy. Je pry Dieu vous avoir

Monsieur le Viscomte en sa tres sainte et digne garde. Escript a Pau le 29 novembre 1571.

Vre bien bonne et assurée Amye
jeanne Roynie.

[Viscount, Sir, when I sent Count Montgomery as my lieutenant general in Béarn to establish the Reformed religion everywhere, as you know, having had your own troops with his and those of the other viscounts, your cousin Terride¹⁹ was only condemned to death after taking many others into consideration besides yourself. I ask for your calm recognition of this. I will tell you that I have now made a general rule and order for the discipline of the Church of Béarn,²⁰ maintaining that the Reformed Religion be firmly established in all the places of my sovereign territory, that all superstitions and idolatries be banished from it, and that all persons take part in church services, subject to various penalties against resisters, including banishment for those who abstain more than once from the Lord's Supper. Further, I have established an Ecclesiastical Council consisting of two Nobles, two Councillors, two Ministers, and two Commoners, one Treasurer, and one Receiver. For all those to account for and control all church property, to be used each year, firstly for the upkeep of Ministers and Schoolmasters, and then for the care of the needy poor, and keep it out of reach of all others, especially from the Nobles, with the surplus for the expenses of the officers of the sovereign council, and the governors, captains, and officers of garrisons for the maintenance of peace. My said ordinance, in conformity with the law, permits the children of first cousins to marry, as well as husbands to remarry whose wives have committed adultery. When the said council has approved it, monks and nuns will be free to leave their cloisters, and other things of our confession of faith. When I must soon return to La Rochelle – I pray God only briefly – I will let you know the day I will be at Bergerac, and even if I will be able to go to your place to pass a few days, and take you with me. I pray to God to have you in his most holy and worthy keeping. Written at Pau the 29 November 1571.

Your very good and sure Friend,
jeanne Queen.

2. Summary Comment on the Question of Authenticity

I have shown that most of the aspects upon which historians have based assertions that these letter copies are forgeries – that Gourdon was only 'a simple gentleman', that Gourdon was in Italy at the time of the first letter, that Farel could not have been at Marguerite's court at the time described in the first letter – are either wrong, or open to other interpretation. Such assertions were made without examining the manuscript and published evidence concerning the viscount of Gourdon, or the letters that continue after the death of Queen Jeanne, or Dr Jean Vallant and his collection as a whole.

¹⁹ Terride was Antoine de Gourdon's uncle by marriage.

²⁰ Pau, 26 November 1571.

My examination of those sources has shown that the correspondence is continued through two viscounts of Gourdon, Flotard and his well-known son Antoine, and that the transition from father to son is clear in the Vallant texts. We now know that we are not dealing with a single, simple gentleman, and that the complex divisions of the 'Gourdon' family must take account of Gourdons of Cénevières, Gaiffier, and other branches, often with the same given names.

Stylistic anomalies are not apparent in comparison with original letters and the contemporary published memoirs of Jeanne d'Albret, and many striking similarities are apparent. The autograph manuscripts and other copies in the collection that bears his name suggest that Dr Jean Vallant, a friend and confidant as well as doctor of members of the highest circles in Parisian society, and an unlikely forger, may himself have been the copyist of these transcriptions of the Albret-Gourdon letters – though there is no evidence that he copied them from originals.

There can be no doubt that the dates and/or places of sending given on at least three of Jeanne's letters to Gourdon,²¹ two of which are transcribed above, are inconsistent with either her known itinerary, or events mentioned within the letters. The frequency and nature of those inconsistencies is such that they cannot easily be attributed to simple scribal error. I have concluded that the errors are the result of deliberate embellishment by a copyist. The unchanging formula of the letter endings also supports this view. Possibly, the originals were either secretarial drafts of letters, or autographs, either of which would account for the later addition of dates, places, and formal endings.

My finding does not, however, support the dismissal of these texts as forgeries. They are, until shown to be otherwise, faulty copies of texts of which no originals exist, as are so many transcriptions in other collections. As such, they cannot be proved to be genuine. They can and should, in my view, continue to be carefully examined, and used with foreknowledge, as complete as possible, of the questions surrounding their authenticity.

²¹ Jeanne's fourth letter, fol.448, 25 January 1562, is addressed from Pau, whereas Jeanne was then in Paris until at least 6 March. There is, of course, the possibility that the copyist, assuming old calendar dating, simply changed 1561 to 1562, or the alternative possibility that the 1562 date was correctly copied, but is actually 1563 in the new calendar. Neither possibility holds up: the then recent massacre of Vassy (1 March 1562) is mentioned in the letter, as is the still-living Antoine, who died 17 November 1562. The misdating of this letter necessarily implies the misdating of Gourdon's letter of reply, fol.449, from 'Senevieres' (Cénevières), 9 February 1562.

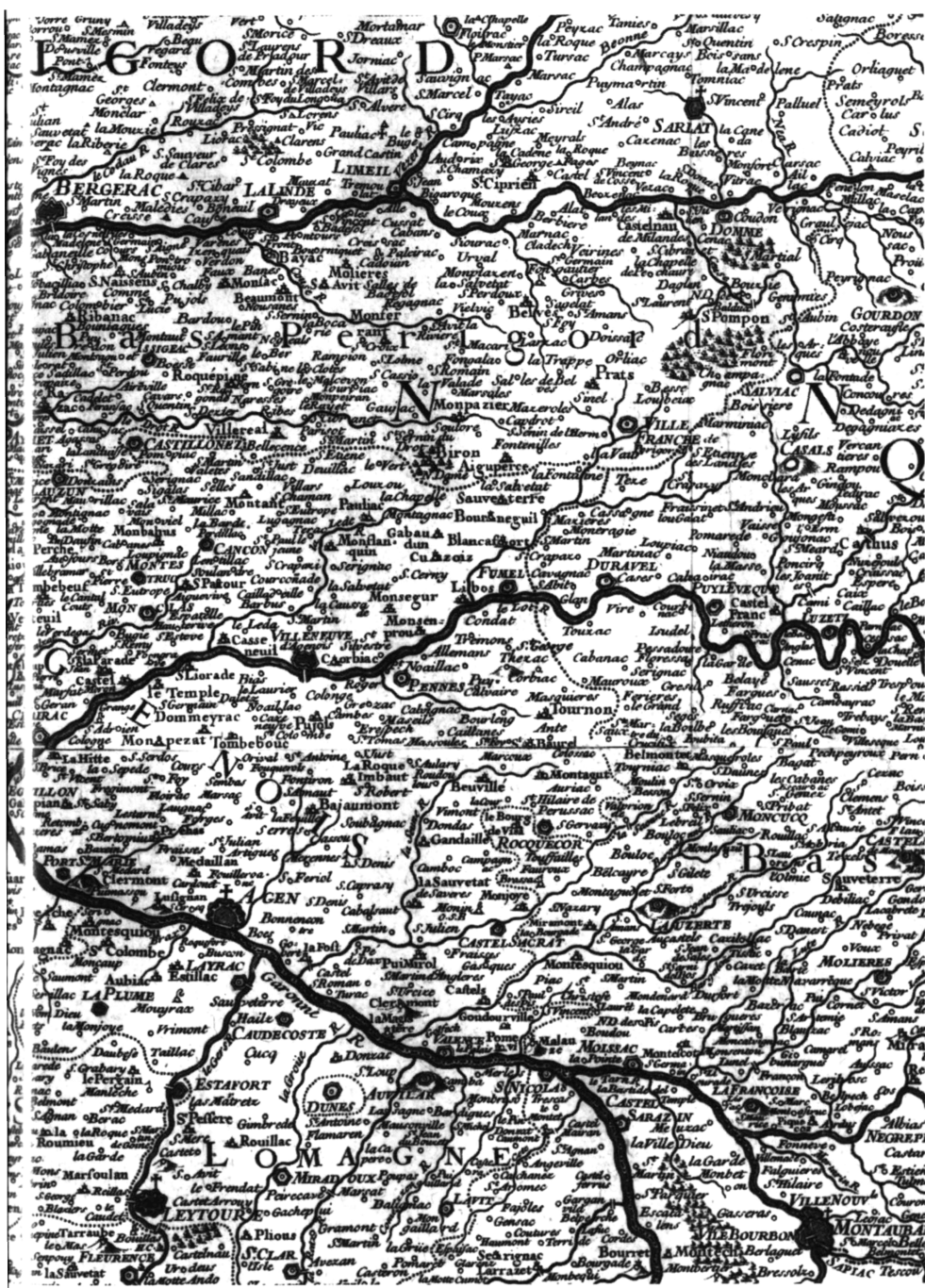
ILLUSTRATIONS SECTION

PLATES 3-14

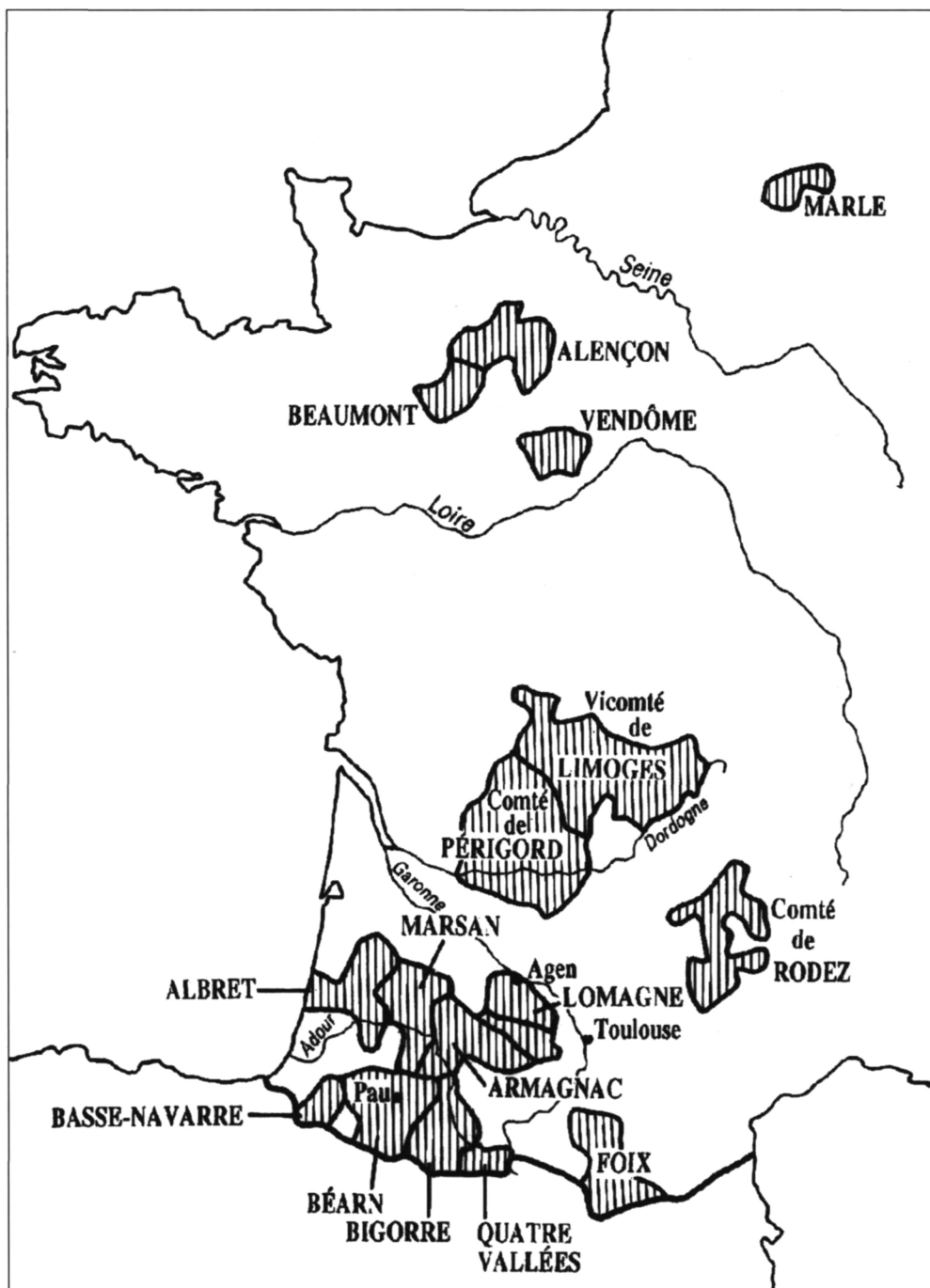


3. Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne (Bernard Antoine Jaillot, 1733)
Section One: La Rochelle to Bordeaux

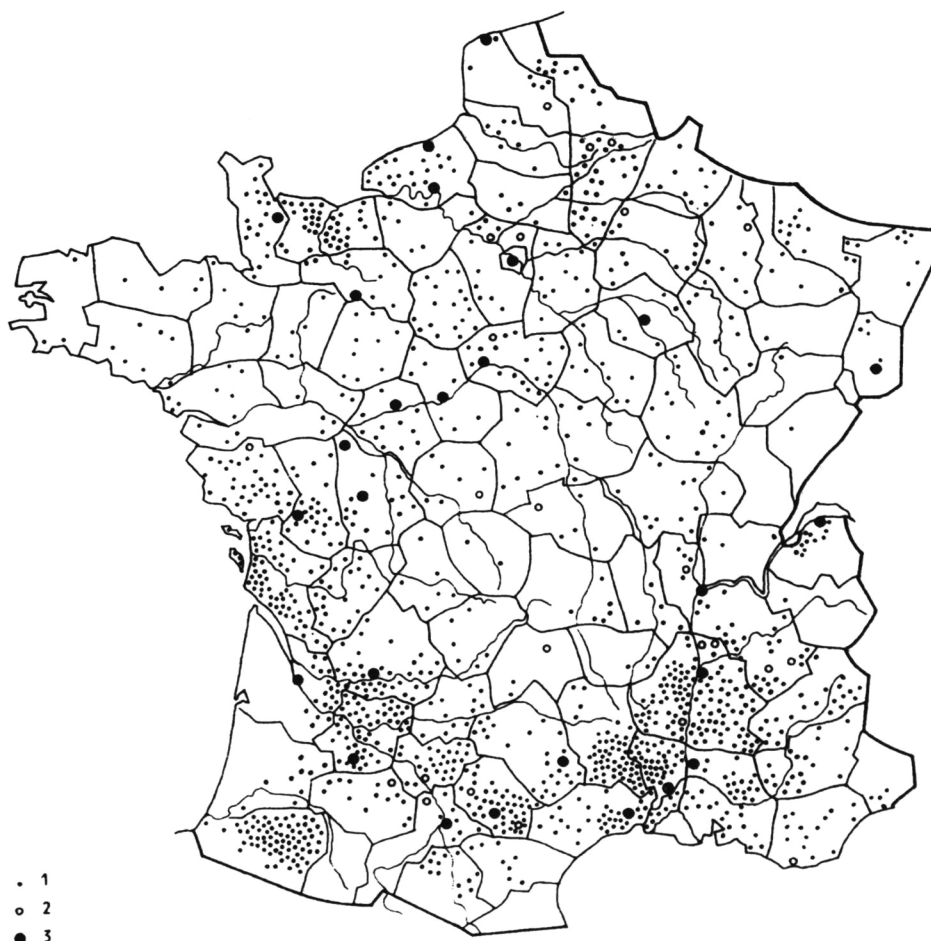




4. Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne
(Bernard Antoine Jaillot, 1733)
Section Two: Bordeaux to Nérac and Montauban



5. 'Les domaines de la maison de Bourbon-Navarre (1515-1589)'
(Pierre Tucoc-Chala, *Catherine de Bourbon*, Atlantica, 1997, p. 5)



1. EGLISES REFORMEES - XVI^e SIECLE

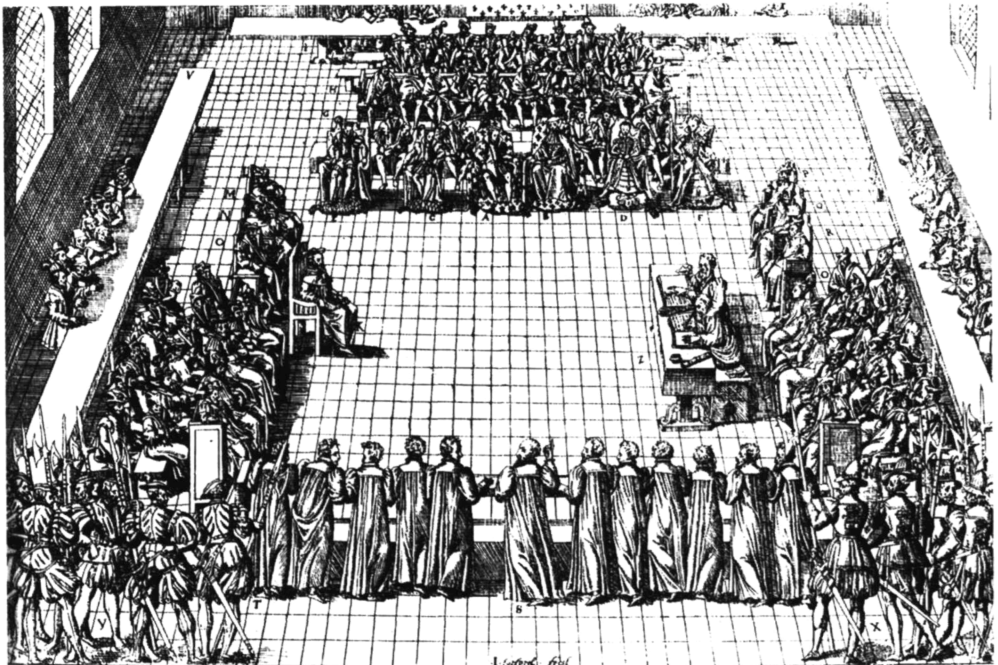
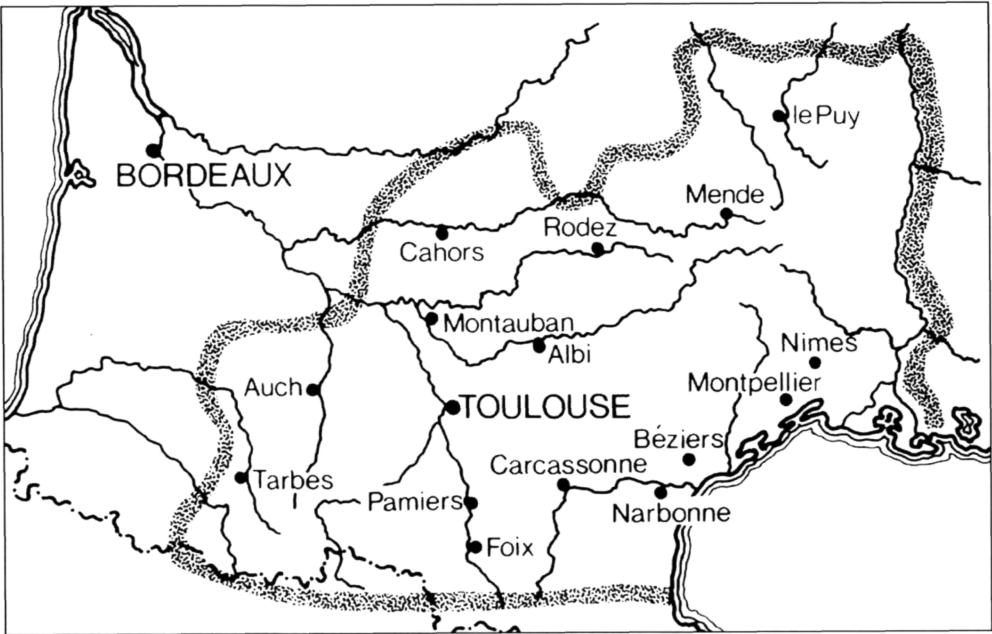
Le croissant huguenot du Midi de la France

(Carte extraite du livre du Pasteur Mours, *Les Eglises Réformées en France*, Paris-Strasbourg, 1958, p. 51).

1. Eglise « dressée » au XVI^e siècle (quelle que soit la durée de son existence).
2. Eglise dont nous ne savons si elle a pu être pleinement « dressée ».
3. Eglise ayant eu plusieurs pasteurs.

6. 'Le croissant huguenot du Midi de la France'

(Janine Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, from Samuel Mours, *Les Eglises Réformées en France*)



- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Le Roy. | F. La Reine le Navarre. | I. Table de l'Allevée. | O. Evêques & Docteurs. | T. Messieurs de la chambre. |
| B. La Reine Mere. | G. Princes du sang ains derniers le Roy. | K. Cardinaux de Lorraine. | P. Cardinal d'Armagnac. | V. Table des Religieuses. |
| C. Montmorency. | H. Gens hommes de la chambre du Roy. | L. Le Cardinal de Tournon. | Q. Cardinal de Bourbon. | X. Garçons & valets du Roy. |
| D. Madame. | | M. Cardinal de Châtillon. | R. Cardinal de Guise. | Y. Suppléants des Rois. |
| E. Le Roy de Navarre. | | N. Le Chancelier. | S. Theodore de Beze qui parle. | Z. Secrétaires d'Etat. |

8. Colloquy of Poissy, contemporary engraving, Tortorel and Pèrissin
(Henry Martyn Baird, *Theodore Beza*)

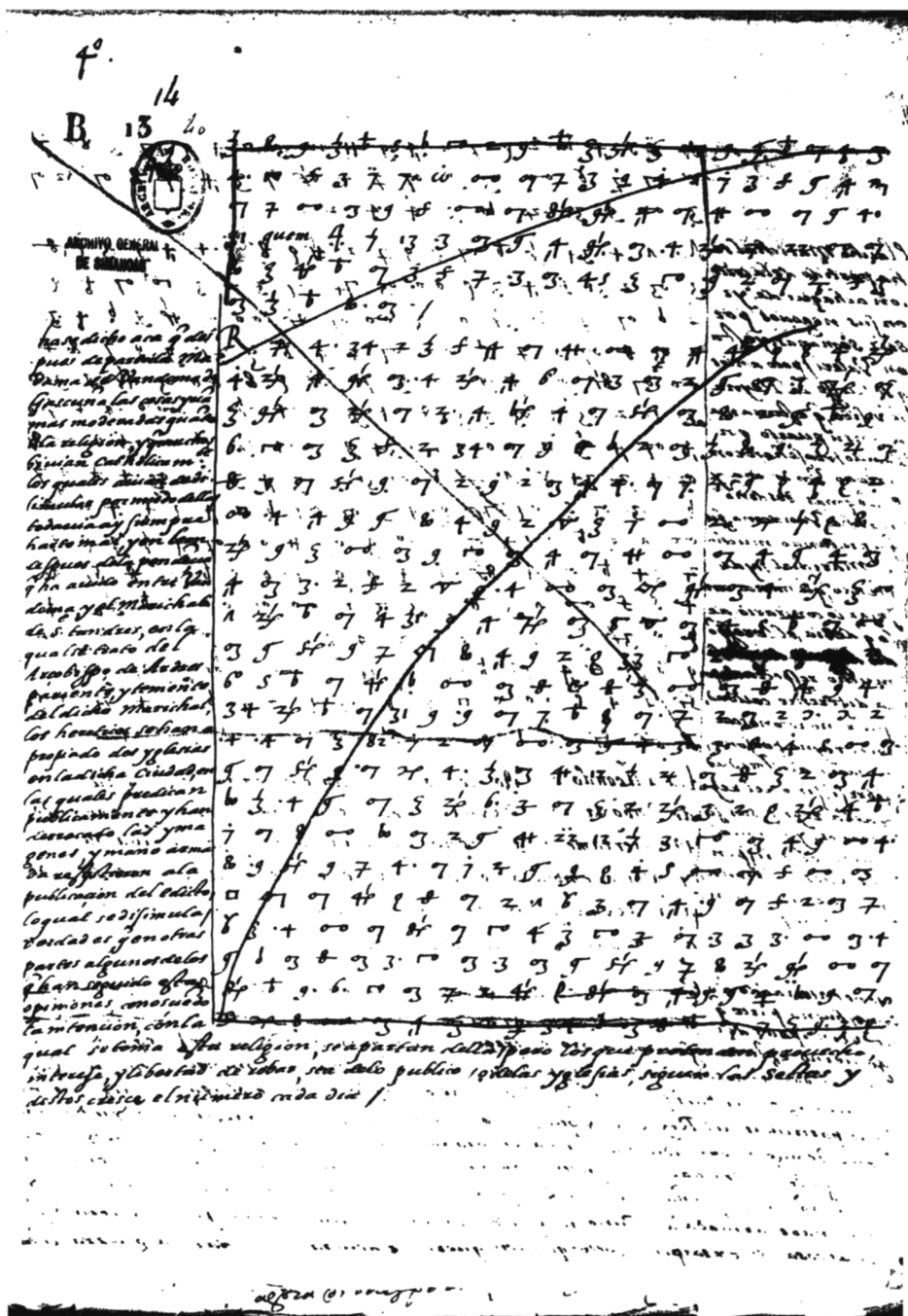
Recueil

290446

De plusieurs Lettres des Roys et des Reines
de France d'autres Souverains de L'Europe
& des Ministres d'Estats Escrites aux Viscontes
Comtes & Marquis de Gourdon Mirabel et Senevier
touts de meme Maison ou l'on a ajouté seulement
Les points & les Virgules

Premier Lettre de Jeanne D'albret
Reine de Navarre le 22 aoust 1555

Mons^r Le Visconte je vous escript la preste.
pour vous dire que jusques a maintenant j'ay eue
sur les voyes de la defuncte Roine Ma^{re} ma tres
honorie Mere que Dieu absolve au regard du doulx
entre les Religions laquelle Roine induire par defunct
son frere Mons^r Le Roy francois pr^{de} de bonne et glorieuse
memoire mon tres honnore Oncle, a ne se mettre en
Coruelle dogmes nouveaux ne se laisser oncques que de
Romans jovials, oultres plus me recordant toujours bien
des noyes que loing auparavant le defunct Roy Mons^r
mon tres honnore Pere et frere que Dieu tienn^e en grace
rechercha alors que laditte Roine. faisant dans sa chambre
prieres avecques les Ministres Roufel et Fabel qui d'au
sesquiverent en grand esmoy luy bailla un soufflet sur
la joue dextre & me tança de verges en defendant
absolument de ne se mester de Doctrinne, ce quy me cousta
armes ameres & ma revenue en treneur et Complainte
jusques a leurs trespas advenus & partant de present



10. Coded/decoded dispatch, Chantonnay to Philip II, St Cloud, 21 September 1561
(Ministerio de Educacion y Cultura de España. Archivo General de Simancas MS K.1495, no.70,
original)

Madame

L.A.

646.

[illegible]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

i. Manuscripts

Bordeaux, Bibliothèque de Lettres et Sciences humaines, Université de Bordeaux III
The collected papers of the historian Baron Alphonse de Ruble, 1831-1898, were purchased by the university in 1908. The collection consists of 139 cartons, each containing a dozen chronologically-organised file folders, plus a number of chronological registers. It is a largely unexploited treasure-trove of a great historian's lifetime of transcribing and analysing the unpublished manuscripts of the Wars of Religion.

Papiers de Ruble. Registre 1570-1573 (detailed chronology of Charles IX's itinerary); Boîte 91, Série chronologique 13, 1569, transcriptions of letters of Charles IX, Henry of Anjou, Montferand, and Lansac (on the royal Catholic defence of Bordeaux, 1 December 1569, 6 fols.); Boîte 92, 1570-71; Boîte 93, 1572; Boîte 126, Table de Brecquigny, 1561-63; Boîte 127, Table de Brecquigny, 1564-69; Boîte 128, Table de Brecquigny, 1569; 3 November 1569, letter of Charles IX to Pardaillan, governor of Blaye; Boîtes 134-137, 'Questions diverses.'

Paris, Archives nationales

The Series K 100/b of the AN 'Monuments historiques, Cartons des rois' is unrelated to the Simancas K series, listed below. (The AN did hold the Simancas K series prior to 1941, when it was removed and returned to Spain.) The AN, K 100/b manuscripts present a remarkable picture of the government of Jeanne d'Albret during the period of her residency in La Rochelle, 1569-1571.

AN, Série K 100/b, Monuments historiques, Cartons des rois, *Documents relatives à Jeanne d'Albret, reine de Navarre*. No.53, 1567 (51 fols.); no.54, 1569-70, 'Registre de 9 cahiers', *Registres des ordonnances & deliberations du conseil établis pres La Reine de Navarre a La Rochelle*, 23 fols., of which fol.9v is a list of the names of Jeanne's councillors, headed by 'La royne'; no.55, La Rochelle, January-March 1571, 'minutes et mandemens' (49 fols.); no.56, La Rochelle, March-May 1571 (50 fols. signed by Jeanne's secretary Pelletier); no.57, La Jarry (near La Rochelle), Langon, Pau, August-October 1571, of which fols.1-16, scribbled secretarial drafts of letters, with omissions, and incompletely dated: no.58, Henry, king of Navarre, Agen, 1577; no.59, Henry, king of Navarre, Nérac, 1579.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

BNF, Baluze 151, *Recueil de documents sur la reine Jeanne d'Albret* (originals, 1567-1570, volume of 60 original pieces, 1567-1570. Fols.1-16 are original field dispatches from Jeanne's military leaders in the field – Montamat, Montgomery, and Coligny – to her during the critical campaign of the 'Parthenay strategy' in Guyenne, 1569. These narrow scrolls are mounted on the pages of the collection out of chronological order, and the cramped and faded handwriting has in many cases become almost invisible. Some, but by no means all, of the folios have been partially transcribed or summarised in Communay, *Les Huguenots dans le Béarn et Navarre* (1885). Crucial folios are: fol.10, Castres, 27 July 1569, Montamat to Jeanne; fol.13, Pau, 23 August 1569, Montgomery to Jeanne; and (fol. unidentified), 19

September 1569, Peyre to Jeanne. Also noted, fol.28, Navarrenx, 24 September 1569, Gourdon to Jeanne.

BNF, Doat 237, *Titres et memoires Comtes de Foix, Vicomtes de Castelbon, Vicomtes de Bearn, de Bigorre, de Marsan et Gavardan, des Comtes de Rodés et d'Armagnac, des seigneurs d'Albret, des Rois de Navarre*, 1544-1563, fols.312-337, Jeanne's purchase of bishopric of Lectoure, 26 May 1563; Doat 238, 1564-1579, fol.231, Jeanne's rights and titles in Lectoure, 12 January 1572; Doat 246, fol.319, Jeanne's authority in Périgord, May 1570; Doat 247, fols.109-118, Jeanne at Blois court, 8 March 1572.

There are 258 volumes of folios in the Doat collection. Volumes 237 and 238 document many useful details about the Navarres' holdings and powers in Guyenne from 1544 until 1579. Their importance for this book is their documentation of Jeanne's attempts to extend her power and influence in the name of the Reformed religion into her territories within Guyenne, but beyond the limits of sovereign Béarn and Navarre after 1562.

BNF, fr 3239, fols.11-13, *Remonstrances au Roy des deputez de la Royne de Navarre en l'an MDLXX*; and fols.17-22, *Responce faite par le Roy aux articles presentees a sa Maïeste par les deputez de la Royne de Navarre*, 4 February 1570.

BNF, fr 15553 (ex Harlay 323), letters (originals and copies) of Jeanne d'Albret. Fols.12, 20, La Rochelle, 15, 27 January 1571; fol.179, to the Reformed of Lyon, Lonzac, 27 August 1571; fols.244, 246, 251, to de Luxe, 1 August-25 September 1571.

BNF, fr 15875, *Lettres et Dépêches Originales 1558-1566*, 528 folios. Fol.328, 8 October 1561, *Articles de la resolution prise en la ville d'Agen* (ordinance by the governor and lieutenant-general of Guyenne, Burie, in the absence of the king of Navarre).

BNF, fr 17044 (Portefeilles Vallant, vol.1), fols.446-474, *Recueil de plusieurs Lettres des Roys et des Reines de France d'autres Souverains de l'Europe et des Ministres d'Estats Escrites aux Viscomtes Comtes et marquis de Gourdon Mirabel et Senevieres tous de meme Maison ou L'on a ajouté seulement Les points et les virgules*. Fols.446-454, *Lettres de Jeanne d'Albret*, 1555-1571. Fols.455-474, *Lettres d'Henry Roy de Navarre*, 1576-1605. Copies received from the collection of Dr Jean Vallant by the Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de St-Germain des Prés between 1684 and 1687, and subsequently numbered and verified 6 October 1880.

The controversy over whether some or all of these Vallant letters are forgeries is discussed in general and in detail in the Introduction, Chapter Three, and Appendix. See *Illustrations*, fol.446r (photocopy from microfilm). In addition to my examination of the manuscript copies in the Salle des Manuscrits in 1995 and 1998, the microfilm copy provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France has permitted, and will continue to permit, further detailed examination.

BNF, fr 17045-17058 (Portefeilles Vallant), vols.2-15. These are the manuscript medical records and collected letters and papers, originals and copies, of Dr Jean Vallant. They were examined and selectively published in 1899 from a purely medical point of view, without mention of the Albret-Gourdon letters (see *Secondary Works*, Le Maguet, below). Each of the fifteen Vallant volumes consists of between 200 and 600 folios. I have examined several volumes, in addition to vol.1, selected for their potential comparative usefulness in the matter of the authenticity of the Albret-Gourdon letters: BNF, 17045 (Vallant vol.2), 297 fols., mainly letters of Madame de Sablé), BNF, 17047 (Vallant vol.4), 308 fols., and BNF, 17057 (Vallant vol.14), 410 fols., medical notes and letters of Dr Vallant.

BNF, fr 20227, fols.220r-227v, 'Extrait d'un manuscrit d'Antoine Vicomte de Gourdon en Quercy (communiqué par Mr le Marquis de Cardaillac La Capelle-Mari-

- val') In BNF, fr 20210-20233, 'Recueil de généalogies des maisons nobles de France, rédigées ou recueillies par les frères de Sainte-Marthe' (24 vols.), vol.18.
- BNF, n.a.f. 7177-7271 (Fonds Brienne, certified copies, 1652)
- BNF, n.a.f. 7177 (Brienne 206), T.II, *Edicts et autres actes touchant ceux de la religion depuis l'an 1562 jusques en 1572* (572 folios); fols.187-190, Edict of Pacification, 7 April 1563.
- BNF, n.a.f. 7188 (Brienne 217), *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de la Reine de Navarre*, Pau, 26 November 1571. (For printed editions, see Chareyre, and Rochambeau, below.) These are the most important of Queen Jeanne's ordinances.
- BNF, n.a.f. 7271, fol. 259, 11 August 1521, the exclusion of the duchy of Berry from the dowry of Jeanne's mother Marguerite.
- BNF, n.a.f. 21603 (copies), of Autographes, no.52, *Lettres originales d'Antoine, roi de Navarre. Ex museo Petri Dubrowski. Copie du manuscrit de Saint-Petersbourg*, and of Autographes, no.53, *Lettres originales de Jeanne d'Albret. Ex museo Petri Dubrowski. Copie du manuscrit de Saint-Petersbourg*. Folios 1-68 (54 letters). Copies made from originals acquired by Peter Dubrowskij in France, and deposited in what is now the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg. See also Lublinskaja, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire ...*, *Printed Sources*, ii., below.
- Note especially BNF, n.a.f. 21603, fol.46, La Rochelle, 22 February 1571, Jeanne d'Albret to Charles IX, on Jeanne's sole and sovereign authority; fol.41, La Rochelle, 7 August 1571, Jeanne d'Albret to Catherine de Médicis, on the general cause of the Reformed religion; fol.60, undated letter of Jeanne d'Albret to Catherine de Médicis on the importance of Henry of Navarre's governorship of Guyenne.
- BNF, Périgord. This collection contains useful documentation of the origins of Jeanne's powers in territories such as Périgord beyond her sovereign realm, and their application to the Protestant establishment in Guyenne.
- BNF, Périgord 6, vol.1, Leydet et Prunis, C.1 (copies), Liasse III, *Lettres de la Reine Jeanne d'Albret*, fol.10, letters of 18 September 1568, and 6 November 1571, from Jeanne to Caumont la Force.
- BNF, Périgord 10, vol.2, Leydet et Prunis, D.2 (copies), Cahiers V, VI, VII and VIII: Cahier VI, letter of Jeanne d'Albret to Montmorency-Damville, 21 November 1563; Cahier VII, Armoire d'Albret, fol.20, Albret lands in Bergeracois; fol.23, warrant against Piles, 23 February 1566; fol.28, *Lettres patentes de Jeanne de Navarre par lesquelles elle permet le libre exercice de la Religion Reformée dans les terres dépendantes de son Duché d'Albret*, April 1563; fol.30, Albret authority in Guyenne; Cahier VIII, Archives de Nérac, fols.2, 6, 14, 16, 45, Albret lands and authority in Bergeracois; fol.31, 3 January 1526, exclusion of Berry from the marriage contract of Henry d'Albret and Marguerite d'Angoulême.
- Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français
- MSS 882, *Correspondance de Jeanne d'Albret* (copies made in 1920, apparently by Jules Delaborde and Hyppolite Aubert de la Rue). Letters from Jeanne d'Albret at la Rochelle to 'her brother', 11 April 1571 (transcribed from AN 'Série K carton 100B, no.56, fo.24-25 [no.60]'); and at La Jarrie, 2 August 1571 ('Arch. Nat. K. carton 100B, no.57, reg. secret. J. d'Albret, no.1, fol.1').
- MSS 882bis, a box of chronological material on Jeanne.
- MS 174, *La discipline ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, 1571, unsigned paper copy, apparently of a 'Conferance tenue à Blassi le 15 Aougst 1571' (fol.29v), but basically a copy of the *Discipline ecclésiastique* of La Rochelle, 12 April 1571, often called the 'Confession of La Rochelle.' See also Aymon; Quick; Sunshine; below.

MSS 433, *Etats de Béarn et affaires de la religion 1527-1620*, fols.14-15, 19 July 1561, letter of Jeanne d'Albret from Nérac.

MSS 846.7. Ernest Gaullicur. 'Bergerac, église réformée'; 'Monbazillac 1600-1680.'

MSS 858.1. Papiers A. Mercat. 'Ste.-Foy-La-Grande' (4 parts). I, 1541-1562; II, 1562-1578; III, 1578; IV, 1578-1598.

Pau, Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques

I am grateful to Jacques Staes, director, for his advice on manuscript selection pertaining to Jeanne d'Albret.

Série A, MS A.4 (inventories of furnishings moved between castles of Nérac and Pau, 1561-1578).

Série B, *Chambre des Comptes de Pau et de Nérac*, MSS B.11-B.15, 1563-1569, *Compte des recettes et dépenses de la maison de Jeanne, reine de Navarre*. During the time of my research in the ADPA (Spring 1955), these five books of household accounts were accessible in microfilm only (Bob 3 Mi 6); they are, however, remarkably clear and easily read.

MS B.1463, 26 March 1570, Ordonnance at La Rochelle of Jeanne, queen of Navarre (original parchment with seal of Jeanne d'Albret; see *Illustrations*) against Roman Catholic persons and institutions in her realm.

MSS B.2188, 1569-1571; B.2189, 1571-1573 (actually 1569-70), 44 papers, some original, with seals; B.2190, 1571; B.2275, 1573-6, attesting to Henry of Navarre's honouring of the claims of Jeanne's subjects. (Note: my request for B.2150 was returned marked 'burned in the fire of 1908.')

Série C, *Etats de Béarn*, MSS C.681, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1521-1547,' fols.cc, ccvii, and ccix, fortification of Navarrenx; C.682, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1548-1576,' pp.78, 98, 121, fortification of Navarrenx; C.683, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1552-1555' (includes 1546); C.684, 'Etablissements de Béarn 1555-1571,' a folder of 200 paper folios, not always in numerical order, appearing to be contemporary copies; note especially fol.19, 22 August 1555, for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, and fols.119, 129-133, and 177-179, 1563-64, declarations of Queen Jeanne on liberty of conscience; C.692, 'Délibérations des Etats de Béarn 1558-1574'; C.1229, 1550-1557, fol.10, 18 August 1555, Coronation oaths of Jeanne and Antoine as queen and king of Navarre; C.1230, 'Estatz de Béarn 1566.'

Série E, *Titres de Famille*, MS E.340, 1570, *Rôle des benefices saisis en Béarn par M. de Fenario, commissaire de Jeanne d'Albret*. 7 folios, paper, listing seized houses and belongings of Roman Catholics in Béarn.

MS E.587, 1570-1579, *Ordonnances de Jeanne d'Albret relatives à la saisie des biens ecclésiastiques en Béarn et en Navarre*, fols.1-9, 7 March 1571 (in Béarn); fols.10-12, *Les reglements fait par le sr darros son lieutenant general sur la saisie* (in Navarre). This is, after her Ecclesiastical Ordonnances (BNF, n.a.f. 7188 [Brienne 217, noted above] of 26 November 1571, the most important document of Jeanne's Reformed government of Béarn and Navarre. See *Illustrations*.

Série E, *Trésor des Chartes d'Albret*, MSS E.17, 1254, Testament of Hélie Rudel, lord of Bergerac; E.21, 1338, Testament of Mathe d'Albret, dame of Moncuq; E.28, lawsuit of Mathe d'Albret, dame of Moncuq; E.605, Bergerac and Montignac, 1242-1544; E.699, ceding of Bergerac to Philippe de Valois, 1339.

Maps (Catalogue: See ii. *Printed Sources*. Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques, below).

Cote 1 Fi 3, Map, 'Gouvernement Général de Guienne et Gascogne et Pays circonvoisins, ou sont La Guienne, La Saintonge, Le Limousin, Le Perigort, Le Rouergue, Le Quercy et L'Agenois deça la Garonne; La Gascogne, Les Landes, Le Basadois, L'Albret, Le Condomois, L'Armagnac, Le Comminges, Le Bigorre, Le Béarn, et Le Basque; au dela de la Garonne,' Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville Geographe du Roy, Rue de l'Arbre secq pres S. Germain d'Auxerrois, 1651.

- Cote 1 Fi 8, recto: Map, 'Description de Guienne', Ioannis Iansonius, Amsterdam, 17th century; verso: text 'Descriptio Aquitaniae vulgo GUYENNE dictae.'
- Cote 1 Fi 18, Map, 'Partie Meridionale du Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne, ou se trouve Les Landes, Le Bazadois, L'Agenois, Le Bas Quercy, Le Rouergue, L'Armagnac, L'Estarac, Le Conserans, Le Cominges, Le Bigorre, Le Soule, Le Labour, Le Chalos, Le Marsan, et le Condomois. Le Gouvernement Particulier de Navarre et Bearn et celuy du Comté de Foix,' N. de Fer, Geographe de sa Majesté Cath. et de Monsr le Dauphin, Paris, chez Danet, 1711.
- Cote 1 Fi 9, Map, 'Tabula Aquitania complectens Gubernationem Guienna et Vasconiae,' Ioh. Bapt. Homann, Nuremburg, 17th century (ascribed catalogue date; possibly later).
- Cote 1 Fi 17, Map, 'Le Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne,' M.G. de l'Isle, Amsterdam, Chez Pierre Mortier, 'vers 1710' [catalogue]. Similar to Fi 9 above.

Pau, Musée National du Château de Pau

Map, (see *illustration*, frontispiece) 'Gouvernement General de Guienne et Guascogne, Et Pays circonvoisins ou sont La Guienne, La Saintonge, Le Limosin en Par., Le Rouergue, Le Quercy, et L'Agenois, deça La Garonne; Et au dela de La Garonne La Guascogne, Les Landes, Le Bazadois, L'Armagnac, Le Comminges, Le Bigorre, Le Bearn, et Le Basque,' N. Sanson d'Albeville, Geographe du Roy, Paris, chez Pierre Mariette, rue St. Jacques a l'Esperance, 1650. (Appears to be very similar to, but not identical with, ADPA map Cote 1 Fi 3, listed above, by the same geographer, dated 1651.)

See also Map (*Illustrations*), 'Gouvernement General de Guienne et Gascogne,' Bernard Antoine Jaillot, géographe, Paris, Quai des Grands Augustins, 1733.

Simancas, Archivo General de Simancas

I am grateful to D. Francisco Javier Alvarez Pinedo, director, Departamento de Referencias, Archivo General de Simancas, for his unfailing attention to my inquiries, and for providing me with microfilm copies of the following Series K manuscripts, 2,723 folio sides in all. These 'spy' messages to the king of Spain from the ambassadors of Spain in France offer a different perspective, and sometimes a more intimate portrayal, of Jeanne d'Albret, Guyenne, and the Wars of Religion, provided that the statements, rumours, and speculations in them are treated with due caution.

Simancas, MSS Series K (see also *Printed Sources*, *Archivo documental Espanol*, vol.14, *Negociaciones con Francia*, 21 October 1567-30, June 1568, below).

MSS K.1494 (1560-1561), K.1495 (1560-1561), diplomatic dispatches, often original, encoded and decoded, from the Spanish ambassador in France Perrenot de Chantonay (1560-1563) to Philip II of Spain, and others. See *Illustrations*, K.1495, no.70 (photocopy from microfilm). On Jeanne's arrival at Orléans likened to 'the Messiah', K.1494, no.94, 31 August 1561.

MS K.1510 (1568) 'Declaracion de la Duquesa de Vendôme y su hijo Principe de Bearn contra la Corona de Francia.' On the escapes of Condé and Jeanne to La Rochelle, see nos.32, 34, 45, and 71, of 4, 10, 30 September, and 30 October, 1568.

MS K.1517 (1566-1570), 'Ordonanzas que la Duquesa de Vendôme, Juana de Albret, hizo en su pais de Bearn,' includes K.1517, no.1, fol.1r, *Ordonnance de Jeanne d'Albret, Duchesse de Vendome, Princesse de Béarn*, Paris, [26?] July 1566 (copy in very bad condition), and K.1517, no.115, fol.1r, Ste Palaye, 22 September 1570, *Actes émanant de la Reine, et concernant les habitans du Bearn; en date de Pau (18 Septembre) envoyés à Ste Palaye*. On Protestant 'piracy' out of La Rochelle, nos.54-6, 85, 87, 89, 108, 112; on rumours of the forthcoming marriage of Henry and Marguerite, no.112, 20 September 1570.

MSS K.1518 (1570), K.1520 (1570-1571), K.1521 (1571), 'Entervistas del Rey con Mad. de Vendôme y negociaciones para el casamiento de Mad. Margarita con el

Principe de Bearn' (diplomatic dispatches, as above, from ambassador Francès de Alava [1564-1572], Chantonnay's successor, to Philip II, Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba [or Alva]), and others; concentration on Spanish perceptions of Protestant piracy out of La Rochelle, and gossip of the forthcoming marriage of Prince Henry of Navarre and Princess Marguerite of France). On the forthcoming marriage, K.1518, no.30, K.1520, nos.29, 48, 79, 85 (K.1520, no.85, fol.1r, Paris, 25 September 1571, Alava to Alba, deciphered, Guyenne to be in the marriage contract, risking loss of 'the royal road to Spain', Bordeaux to Poitiers). On piracy, K.1520, no.29, K.1521, nos.35, 42.

ii. Printed Sources

Albret, see Navarre, Jeanne III d'.

Anelier de Toulouse, Guillelmus. *Histoire de la Guerre de Navarre en 1276 et 1277* (Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France). Ed. Francisque-Michel. Paris: Imp. Impériale, 1856.

Angoulême, see Navarre, Marguerite de Valois d'.

Anon. *Ample discours des Actes de Poissy*. Poissy, 23 September 1561. Microfilm of original printed pamphlet held in Newberry Library, Chicago. 'French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648.' New Haven (Ct): Research Publications, Inc., Reel 3, No.219. (On that day Charles IX and Catherine de Médicis went to Poissy.)

Anon. *Histoire de ce qui est advenu depuis le parlement du duc de Guise, connestable, & autres de la cour, estant à saint Germain iusques à ce temps* Lyon, 1562. Microfilm of original held in Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin (Madison). 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 4, no.288. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978.

Anon. *Lettres patente*, 10 September, 1560 (King Francis II). Microfilm. 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 3, no.202. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978.

Anon. *Le vray discours des rebellions de ceux de la ville de la Rochelle, depuis l'an mille cinq cens soixante et sept*. Paris: chez Gervais Mallot, 1573. [BNF, Lb33 222]

Anon. 'Plainte de la Guiene au Roy.' Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1577. Ed. J. Delpet. In M. H. Barckhausen, *Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne*. Vol.1. Bordeaux: Imp. G. Gounouilhou, 1868, pp.235-279.

Anon. *Remonstrances faictes au roy de France par messieurs de la Court de Parlement de Paris, sur la publication de l'edict du mois de Janvier*. Cambray: Nicolas Coulard, 12 February 1562. Microfilm of original held in Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington (DC). 'French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648.' New Haven (Ct): Research Publications, Inc., Reel 3, No.230.

Antoine de Bourbon. See Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon de, below.

Antonini Augusti. *Itineraire d'Antonin*. Ed. Parthey et Pinder. Paris: 1848.

Antras, J. d' (Catholic captain). *Mémoires suivis de documents inédits sur les capitaines gascons pendant les guerres de religion*. Sauveterre: J. de Carselade and P. Tamisey de Larroque, 1880. See also *Revue de Gascogne* below.

Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques. *Catalogue des Cartes et Plans antérieurs à 1790*. Ed. Mme Dominique Pinzuti, Conservateur-Adjoint. Pau: Imp. Marrimpouey-Jeune, 1975.

Archives Historiques du Département de la Gironde. Vol.10, no.CCXXIX, 'Etat des biens des consistoires du diocèse de Sarlat,' p.533; Vol.13, no.CIII, *Journal de François de Syruellh*, ed. Jules Delpit, Bordeaux, C. Lefebvre, 1871-29, pp.121-446 (see Syruellh, below, archdeacon of Blaye, 1568-1585); Vol.17, p.239, 'Notice de la Generalité de Bordeaux'; pp. 280-281, 284-5, Monluc letters of 6 and 25 December 1562; pp.301-308, 'Pylles and la Rivière'; Vol.29 (1894), 'Documents relatifs aux guerres

- de religion tirés des archives municipales d'Agen – juillet 1558 – décembre 1595.' *Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*. See Communay, Durier, and Lestrade, below.
- Archivo documental Espanol*. Vol.14, *Negociaciones con Francia*, 21 October 1567-30 June 1568. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1959.
- Aubigné, Théodore Agrippa d' (1552-1630). *Histoire universelle*. Ed. Alphonse de Ruble. 10 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1886-1909. (Ed. of 1616.) Vol.1 (1886), 1550-1560. Vol.2 (1887), 1560-1568. Vol.3 (1889), 1568-1572. Vol.4 (1890), 1573-1575. Vol.5 (1891), 1576-1579.
- . *Histoire universelle*. Ed. André Thierry. 9 vols. Vols. 1-3 (1550-1572). Geneva: Lib. Droz, 1981-1985. (Ed. of 1626.)
- . *Oeuvres complètes*. Ed. E. Réaume, F. de Caussade. 6 vols. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1967. Vol.2 has *Traité sur les Guerres Civiles*; *Les Tragiques*, 'Les Fers,' pp.214-15, is about the death of Jeanne d'Albret.
- . *Oeuvres complètes*. Ed. Henri Webber. Paris: Gallimard, 1969.
- Aymon. *Les synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France*. 2 vols. La Haye: 1710.
- Bettenson, Henry. Ed. and trans. *The Early Christian Fathers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Beza, see Bèze
- Bèze, Théodore de (1519-1605) (attributed to). *L'Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*. Ed. G. Baum and E. Cunitz. 3 vols. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. Vol.1, 1883, Vol.2, 1884, Vol.3, 1889. (Reprint of edition of Antwerp: Imp. Jean Remy, 1580.) Chaix, Dufour and Moeckli (see below) say this Antwerp edition has been falsely attributed to Bèze, that the editor was Simon Goulart, and that it was printed by J. de Laon, Geneva, 1580.
- . *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*. Eds. Hippolyte Aubert, Fernand Aubert, Henri Meylan et al. Vols. 1-19 (1539-1578). Geneva: Droz, 1960-1996. Vol.1 (1539-1555), 1960. Vol.2 (1556-1558), 1962. Vol.3 (1559-1561), 1963. Vol.4 (1562-1563), 1965. Vol.5 (1564), 1968. Vol.6 (1565), 1970. Vol.7 (1566), 1973. Vol.8 (1567), 1976. Vol.9 (1568), 1978. Vol.10 (1569), 1980. Vol.11 (1570), 1983. Vol.12 (1571), 1986. Vol.13 (1572), 1988. Vol.14 (1573), 1990.
- . *Du droit des magistrats* (1574). Ed. R. M. Kingdon. Geneva: Droz, 1970.
- . 'Ad serenissam Elizabetham Angliae reginam Theodor Beza. Excusum Londini G.B. & R.N., 1588.' Microfilm 'French Books Before 1601,' Roll 204, Item 1.
- . 'La harangue faicte par M. Theodore de Beze,' Poissy, 23 September 1561. New York: New York Public Library. Microfilm 'French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648.' No.220, reel 3. New Haven (Ct): Research Publications, Inc.
- . 'Seconde harangue de M. Theodore de Besze,' Poissy, 26 September 1561. Reel 3, No.221.
- . *Psaulmes de David*. See Marot, below.
- Billon, Thomas. *Les presages du bon-heur du roy, et de la France*. Paris: A. Savgrain, 1617. Microfilm 'French Political Pamphlets.' No.3797, reel 53. Woodbridge (Ct): Research Publications, Inc..
- Biron, Baron de. *The Letters and Documents of Armand de Gontaut, Baron de Biron, Marshal of France (1524-1592)*. Ed. J.W. Thompson. Vol.1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936.
- . *Humble supplication aux Princes, Seigneurs et autres de qualité qui sont pres de la Majesté du Roy. Avec deux lettres des Seigneurs d'Aumale et de Biron*. Angoulême: Jean de Minieres, 1569.
- Book of Common Prayer* (Church of England). Sydney: Random House Australia, 1992. 'Public Baptism of Infants,' p.268.
- Bordenave, Nicolas de. *Histoire de Béarn et Navarre, 1517 à 1572*. Ed. Paul Raymond. Paris: J. Renouard, 1873. (Ed. of manuscript of 1591.)
- Bourbon, Antoine de, see Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon de.
- Bourdeilles, Pierre de. See Brantôme.
- Bouriac, Felix. *Ordonnances, sur Le Reiglement, Forme & gouvernement, que doivent tenir les sol-*

- Edits & gens de guerre, des bandes Chrestiennes: extraites & recueillies des Edits & Ordonnances du Roy: par monsieur Felix Bouriac, Conseillier du Roy, Seneschal des provinces de Valentinois & Dioys, maistre des requestes ordinaire de la Royne de Navarre. Avec une Epistre dudit Sieur Seneschal, aux Capitaines & Soldats de la Religion reformée, & certaines Annotations ausdites Ordonnances.* Lyon, 1562. Microfilm. 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 4, no.259. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978.
- Brantôme. *Oeuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme.* 11 vols. Ed. Lucovic Lalanne. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1864-1882. Vol. 8, *Des Dames.*
- Braun, Georg and F. Hogenbourg. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum.* Vol.1 (1572). Vols.2-6 (1575-1618). Published as *The City Maps of Europe.* Cleveland and New York: World Publishing, 1966. Bordeaux (vols.1, 10) and la Rochelle (vols.2, 11).
- Briçonnet, Guillaume. *Guillaume Briçonnet et Marguerite d'Angoulême, Correspondance (1521-4).* 2 vols. Ed. Christine Martineau and Michel Veissière, with Henry Heller. Geneva: 1975-9 (an edition of the contemporary copy of the letters held at the BNF, MS F fr 11495).
- Cabié, Edmond. *Documents sur les Troubles et les Guerres du Protestantisme à Rabastens et dans ses environs.* Albi: Imprimerie G-M Nouguiés, 1895.
- . *Guerres de Religion dans le Sud-Ouest de la France et Principalement dans le Quercy, d'après les papiers des seigneurs de Saint-Sulpice, de 1561 à 1590.* Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975 (reprint of Paris edition of 1906).
- Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series.* Reign of Elizabeth I 1558-1588. Ed. Joseph Stevenson. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1866. Vol.3, 1560-1561. Vol.4, 1561-1562 (Kronis Reprint. 10 vols. Liechtenstein: 1966).
- . Elizabeth I 1569-1574. Ed. A.J. Crosby. 22 vols. London: 1874. Vol.8, 1566-1568. Vol.9, 1569-1571.
- Calendar of Letters and State Papers, Spain.* Reign of Elizabeth I. Ed. Martin A.S. Hume. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1892-1894. Vol.1, 1558-1567. Vol.2, 1568-1579 (Kraus Reprint, 1971).
- Calvin, Jean (John). *Ioannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia.* Ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss. Brunswick and Berlin: 1863-1900 (reprinted 1964).
- . *Ioannis Calvini Opera Omnia.* Ed. B.G. Armstrong, C. Augustijn, I. Backus, O. Fatio, H. Feld, F.M. Higman, W.H. Neuser, B. Roussel, W. Van't Spijker, D.F. Wright. Geneva: Droz, 1996-.
- . *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* 2 vols. Ed. John T. McNeill, Eng. trans. Ford Lewis Battle. London: S.C.M. Press, 1960.
- . *Letters of John Calvin.* Ed. Jules Bonnet, Eng. trans. M.R. Gilchrist. 4 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, 1972 (reprint of 1858). Vol.1 (1528-1545). Vol.2 (1545-1553). Vol.3 (1554-1558). Vol.4 (1559-1564 and Appendices, 1534-1558).
- . *Commentary on the Book of Psalms.* Ed. and tr. Rev. James Anderson. Grand Rapids (Mich.): Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1949 (ed. of Edinburgh, 1845-7). Trans. of Fr. ed. François Estiene, 1563.
- . *Tracts and Treatises in Defense of the Reformed Faith.* Trans. Henry Beveridge. Historical notes T. F. Torrance. 3 vols. Grand Rapids, 1958.
- Castelnau, Michel de (1520-92). *Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau.* Ed. Michaud and Poujoulat ('Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France,' vol.9). Paris: Didier, 1857.
- Cayet, Pierre-Victor (Palma). *Chronologie Novenaire (1589-1598). Chronologie Septenaire (1598-1604).* Ed. Michaud and Poujoulat ('Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France'). Paris: 1838 (edition of 1605-1608).
- Council of Trent, The Canons and Decrees of the (1545-1563).* Ed. and trans. H.J. Schroeder. St Louis: B. Herder, 1960 (ed. of 1941. Latin text based on the Neapolitan edition of 1859, with English trans.).
- Chareyre, Philippe. Maître de conférences, Département d'histoire, Université de Pau, advises (1995-1997) that he is preparing a critical edition of the *Ordonnances*

- ecclésiastiques of Jeanne d'Albret. See *Manuscripts*, Paris, BNF, n.a.f. 7188 (Fonds Brienne 217) above; Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret de, below; and Rochambeau, below.
- Charrier, G. *Les Jurades de la Ville de Bergerac Tirées des Registres de l'Hotel de Ville*. Bergerac: Imp. Générale du Sud-Ouest, 1894-98.
- Clement V, Pope. *Regestum Clementis Papae V. Annus Sextus* (Regestorum vol. LVIII). Rome: Ex Typographia Vaticana, 1887, p.411, no.7501, 'Rex glorie ...,' Avignon, 27 April 1311.
- Clive, H. P. *Marguerite de Navarre: An Annotated Bibliography*. London: Grant & Cutler, 1983.
- Communay, Arnaud. *Les Huguenots dans le Béarn et la Navarre*. Paris: H. Champion, 1885. (*Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*, I, vol.6.)
- Condé, Louis I de Bourbon, Prince de (1530-1569). *Mémoires de Condé*. 6 vols. London: Claude du Bosc et Guillaume Darrés, 1743.
- . *Declaration faite par monsieur le prince de Condé, pour monstrier les raisons qui l'ont contrainct d'entreprendre la defence de l'autorité du roy, du gouvernement de la royne, & du repos de ce royaume. Avec la protestation sur ce requise*. Orléans, 8 April 1562. Original signed 'Loys de Bourbon'. Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin. Madison (Wisc). Microfilm. 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 4, no.261. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978.
- . *Sommaire declaration et confession de foy, faite par monseigneur le prince de Condé, contre les calomnies & impostures de enemies de Dieu, du roy, et de luy.* 1562. Microfilm. 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 4, no.270. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978. (No.269, *Seconde declaration* No. 267, *Remonstrance de*)
- 'Confession of La Rochelle': see *Discipline ecclésiastique*, below.
- Coulon, le Sieur Louis P. (1605-1664). *Les rivières de France ou Description Geographique et Historique des cours et débordement des Fleuves, Rivières, Fontaines, Lacs et Etangz qui arrosent les Provinces du Royaume de France. Avec un Denombrement des Villes, Ponts, Passages, Batailles qui ont esté données sur leurs rivages*. Paris: F. Clousier, 1644.
- Crespin, Jean. *Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis à mort pour la verité de l'evangile, depuis le temps des apostres iusques à present*. Ed. Daniel Benoit. 3 vols. Toulouse: Soc. Des Livres Religieux, 1885-1889 (ed. of Simon Goulart, 1619).
- De Thou. See Thou.
- Desjardins, Abel. *Negotiations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*. 6 vols. Paris: 1859-1886. *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*. Ed Giuseppe Canestrini. Vol.3, LXII, 'Le commandeur Petrucci à François de Médicis.'
- Discipline ecclésiastique de La Rochelle*, 12 April 1571. See *Manuscripts*, Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, MS 174, above. See also Aymon, above; Quick, below; and Sunshine, below.
- Durier, Charles, and Jules de Carsalade du Pont. Ed. *Les Huguenots en Bigorre*. Paris: H. Champion, 1884. (*Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*, I, vol.4.)
- Du Tillet, Jean. Five Tracts (1562-1569). I A, 'Jean du Tillet and Wassay'; I B, 'Response A l'escript du Ministre faict A orleans'; II, 'Comparaison du meurtre de monseigneur le duc de guyse a celluy dabel'; III, 'Memoire enuoye au Roy pour le Iugement des Rebelles'; IV, 'Escript touchant la paix des secondz troubles Au Roy'; V, 'Aduys sur les 3es troubles/Memoires sur les troubles et le moyen de les appaiser.' See Brown, Elizabeth A.R. Ed., below.
- Fabas, Jean de. *Mémoires de Jean de Fabas*. Pub. by M. H. Barckhausen. In *Publications de la Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne*. Vol.1. Bordeaux: G. Gounouilh, 1868, pp.161-234.
- Favyn, André. *Histoire de Navarre*. Paris: L. Gaultier, 1612. Books 13, 14.
- Frégose, Janus. *Lettres inédites de Janus Frégose* (bishop of Agen 1555, protégé of Catherine de Médicis). Ed. P. Tamizey de Larroque. Bordeaux: C. Lefebvre, 1873.
- Froissart, Jean. *L'histoire et cronique de Messire Iehan Froissart*. Ed. Denis Sauvage de Fontenailles en Brie. Lyon: Ian de Tournes, 1559.

- Gaches, Jacques. *Mémoire sur les guerres de Religion à Castres et dans le Languedoc (1555-1610)*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.
- Gascon Register A* (Series of 1318-1319). Ed. George P. Cuttino. Oxford: The British Academy, 1975-1977.
- Geneva Bible* (A facsimile of the 1560 edition). Madison (Wisc.): University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Goulart, Simon. *Mémoires de l'Etat de France, sous Charles Neufiesme*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Meidelbourg: Henrich Wolf, 1578.
- Hotman, François. *La Vie de Messire Gaspar de Colligny seigneur de Chastillon, Admiral de France*. Ed. Emile-V. Telle. Geneva: Droz, 1987 (facsimile of Leiden, 1643 French edition; original Latin edition 1575).
- Jeanne d'Albret. See Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret de, below.
- Jouan, Abel. *Recueil et discours du voyage du Roy Charles IX*. Paris: Jean Bonfons, 1566. (See Graham and Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici*, below.)
- Kerrebrouck, Patrick Van. *Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'auguste Maison de France*, vol.4., *La Maison de Bourbon, 1256-1987*. Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1987.
- Knox, John (1505-1572). *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. In Marvin A. Breslow. Ed. *The Political Writings of John Knox*. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985 (first published in Geneva by Crespin, 1558), pp.37-80. See also Ridley, Jasper, below.
- . *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women. To which is added, The Contents of the Second Blast, and A Letter from John Knox to the People of Edinburgh, Anno 1571*. Edinburgh; Printed: and Philadelphia; Reprinted by Andrew Steuart, 1766. (Microfilm: "History of Women" [sequence 2, monographs], Reel 47, no.308. New Haven, Ct.: Research Publications, Inc., 1975.)
- La Force, Jacques Nompard de Caumont, duc de (1558-1652). 'Harangue faicte au roy, par monsieur le marquis de La Force. Au nom de messieurs de Bearn, pour les conclusions des affaires de ladite province,' Paris, S. Moreau, 1620, 13 pp. (Microfilm: Woodbridge, Ct., Research Publications, Inc., 1978; Reel 59, No. 4395, 'French Political Pamphlets.' Reel 62, No. 4632: La Rochelle, 1621.)
- La Huguerye, Michel de. *Mémoires inédits de Michel de La Huguerye*, publiés d'après les manuscrits autographes pour la Société de l'Histoire de France. Ed. A. de Ruble. 3 vols. Paris: Renouard, 1877-1880, vol.1, 1570-1577 (1877).
- La Mothe-Fénelon, Bertrand de Salignac, Seigneur de. *Correspondance diplomatique*. 7 vols. Paris and London: 1838-1840.
- La Noue, François de. *Discours Politiques et Militaires*. Basel: François Forest, 1588. (Dedicated 'Au Roy de Navarre', April 1587.)
- . *Mémoires du Sieur François de La Noue*. Eds. Michaud and Poujoulat ('Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France,' vol.9). Paris: Didier, 1857.
- La Popelinière, Lancelot Voisin de. *La vraye et entiere histoire des troubles et choses memorables, avenues tant en France qu'en Flandres, et pays circonvoisins, depuis l'an 1562*. Books 1-14. La Rochelle: Pierre Davantes, 1573.
- . *Histoire de France depuis l'an 1550*. La Rochelle: Abraham H., 1581.
- La Roque, L. de. *Annales historiques de la ville de Bergerac*. Bergerac: Imprimerie Générale du Sud-Ouest, 1891 (reprint Marseille: Laffitte, 1976). Selected commentary from a French translation of the *Jurades* by Etienne Trelhier. Bergerac: A. Vernoy, 1627; and from *Coutumes et statuts de la ville de Bergerac, traduite du latin en français par M. Etienne Trelhier, commenté par M. de Lamothe*. Bergerac: J-B Puynesge, 1779.
- Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques. *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples*. Ed. Eugene F. Rice, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.
- Le Riche, Guillaume and Michel. *Journal de Guillaume et de Michel Le Riche, avocats du roi à Saint-Maixent de 1534 à 1586*. Ed. A. D. de la Fontanelle de Vaudoré. Saint-Maixent: Réversé, 1846 (reprint Geneva: Slatkine, 1971).

- Lestrade, l'Abbé Jean. Ed. *Les Huguenots en Comminges. Documents inédits publiés pour la Société Historique de Gascogne*. Paris: H. Champion, 1900. (*Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*, II, vol.5.)
- *Les Huguenots en Comminges (Nouvelle Série). Documents inédits* Paris: H. Champion, 1910. (*Archives Historiques de la Gascogne*, II, vol.14.)
- Lorraine, Cardinal de. *Harangue* (Poissy, 1561). (Microfilm: 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 4, no.248. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978.)
- Lublinskaja, Aleksandra Dmitrievna. Ed. *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des guerres civiles en France (1561-1563)*. Moscow: Akademia Nauka, 1962. (Transcriptions in French and Russian of some of the letters in the Collection P.P. Doubrovsky of the Hermitage, St Petersburg. See also Manuscripts, Paris, BNF, Collection St-Petersbourg, above.)
- Marguerite de Valois d'Angoulême. See Navarre, Marguerite de Valois d'Angoulême de, below.
- Marot, Clément, and Théodore de Bèze, *Pseaumes de David*. Ed. of 1561. Signed 'Ex bibliot. Mon. D. Bern. Paris.' (BNF, A-10113.)
- *Les Pseaumes de David. Mis en rime François par Clement Marot et Theodore de Besze*. Paris: Louis Vendôme, 1669 (BNF, A-10132. Psalm 114, p.481, is virtually identical to the 1561 version.)
- *Les Epîtres*. Ed. C. A. Mayer. University of London: Athlone Press, 1958. See also: Pidoux, Psalms, Psautier, Salette, Tyler, Weber, Weston.
- Mauran, Guillaume. *Sommaire Description du Pais et Comté de Bigorre*. Ed. Gaston Balencie. Paris: H. Champion, 1887 (ed. of 1614).
- Médicis, Catherine de. *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*. Ed. Hector de la Ferrière ('Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France'). Vol.1 (1880), 1533-1563. Vol.2 (1885), 1563-1566. Vol.3 (1887), 1567-1570. Vol.4 (1891), 1570-1574. Vol.10 Supplement (1899), 1533-1587. Paris: Imp. Nationale.
- Merlin, Jean-Raymond. 'La Réforme en Béarn. Deux lettres inédites du ministre Raymond Merlin à Calvin Juillet et Décembre 1563.' *BSHPF* 14 (1965), 230-248.
- Monluc, Blaise de. *Commentaires*. Ed. P. Courteault. Paris: Picard, 1911-1925 (reprint 1964).
- *Commentaires et lettres de Blaise de Monluc, Maréchal de France*. Ed. Alphonse de Ruble. 5 vols. Paris: J. Renouard, 1864-1872.
- Montmorency, Henri I de, duc de Damville (1539-1619). 'Declaration et protestation de monseigneur de Dampville marechal de France. Avec la protestation des Eglises Refformées de France, assemblées à Millau en Rouergue, sur les troubles de presant.' Strasbourg: 1575. (Microfilm: 'French Political Pamphlets', Woodbridge [Ct]: 1978. Reel 13, no.864.) 'Declaration ... pour la manutention & conservation de sa couronne & Estate, union & repos & tranquillité de ses subjets, tant Catholiques que de la Religion reformee.' (Reel 13, no.864.1.)
- 'La response faicte ... 1565.' (Reel 7, no.442.)
- Muret, Marc Antoine (1526-1585). *Oraison pour Anthoine et Iane, roy, & royne de Navarre, au pape Pie Quartiesme, prononcée par m. Antoine Muret*. Rouen: Martin le Mesgisier, 1561(?) [interrogation theirs]. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library. (Microfilm: 'French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648.' Reel 4, no.249. Woodbridge, Ct: Research Publications, 1978. [Refers to 'Anthoine de Bourbo' and 'Iane d'Albreth', 'comme vrais enfens de l'Eglise catholique.'])
- Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon de. See Rochambeau, le Marquis de. *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret*, below.
- Navarre, Henry III de Bourbon de (1553-1610); Henry IV, king of France. *Recueil de Lettres Missives de Henri IV*. Ed. Berger de Xivrey. 9 vols. Paris: Imp. Royale, 1843-76. Vol.1 (1843), 1562-1584. Vol.2, *Itinéraire de Henri de Navarre, (1553-1589)*.
- *Lettres de Henri IV concernant les relations du Saint-Siège et de la France, 1595-1609* (Studi

- e Testi 250). Ed. Bernard Barbiche. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968. Appendix I, 'Les lettres de Henri IV. Essai de bibliographie.'
- Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret de (1528-1572). *Mémoires et Poésies*. Ed. Alphonse de Ruble. Paris: Em. Paul et Guillemin, 1893. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970. (Reprint of the Paris edition of 1893; original title *Ample déclaration sur la jonction de ses armes à celles des Réformés en 1568*. La Rochelle: 1570.) Contains a transcription of the *Lettres de treshaute, tres vertueuse, & tres chrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre* (see following).
- *Lettres de treshaute, tres vertueuse, & tres chrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre, au Roy, à la Royne Mere, à Monsieur frere du Roy, à Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon son beau frere, & à la Royne d'Angleterre. Contenant les justes occasions de son parlement, avec Monseigneur le Prince & Madame Catherine les enfans, pour venir joindre à la cause generale, avec Monseigneur le Prince de Condé son frere*. La Rochelle: B. Berton, 1568. (Microfilm of a printed original held by the Newberry Library, Chicago. Woodbridge [Ct.]: Research Publications, Inc., 1978.)
 - *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques de la Reine de Navarre*. Pau, 26 November 1571. See BNF, Fonds Brienne, 217, above, and Rochambeau, le Marquis de, *Galerie des hommes illustres*, below.
 - *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret*. See Rochambeau, le Marquis de, below.
 - 'Documents Inédits et Originaux: Le Conseil de la Reine de Navarre à La Rochelle.' Ed. J. de Gaulle. *BSHPF* 3 (1855), 123-127. ('Archives impériales [nationales] Série K, carton 100, no.53.')
- Navarre, Marguerite de Valois d'Angoulême de (1492-1549). *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (1531). Munich: Allaire, 1972.
- *Les Dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre*. Ed. Abel Lefranc. Paris: Armand Colin, 1896.
 - *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême. Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549)*. Ed. Pierre Jourda. Paris: H. Champion, 1930.
 - *Guillaume Briçonnet et Marguerite d'Angoulême, Correspondance (1521-1524)*. 2 vols. Eds. C. Martineau, M. Vessière, and H. Heller. Geneva: Droz, 1975, 1979.
- Olhagaray, Pierre. *Histoire de Foix, Bearn, et Navarre*. Paris: David Douceur, 1609.
- Palissy, Bernard. *Les Oeuvres de Maistre Bernard Palissy*. Ed. B. Fillon. Notice Louis Audiat. Niort: L. Clouzot, 1888. 2 vols. Vol.1, *Recepte véritable par laquelle tous les hommes de la France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmenter leurs thresors*. La Rochelle: B. Berton, 1563. (Dedicated to 'La roine mère'.)
- *Oeuvres Complètes de Bernard Pallisy*. Ed. and Notice Anatole France. Paris: Charavay Frères, 1880.
- Paz, Julian. *Archivo general de Simancas. Catalogo IV. Secretaria de Estado. (Capitulaciones con Francia y negociaciones diplomaticas de los embajadores de España en Aquella Corte, seguido de una serie chronologica de éstos)*. Vol.1 (1265-1714). Madrid: Revista de Archivas, Bibl. y Museos, 1914.
- *Documentos relativos a España existentes en los Archivos Nacionales de Paris ... (1276 a 1844)*. Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1934.
- Petrucci, Jean-Marie. See Desjardins, Abel, above.
- Quick, John. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: or, the Acts, Decisions, decrees, and Canons of those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Church in France*. 2 vols. London: T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson, 1692. Vol.2, La Rochelle.
- Raemond, Florimond de (King's councillor in the court of the Parlement of Bordeaux). *L'Histoire de la Naissance, Progrez, et Decadence de l'Heresie de ce siecle*. Books 1, 6, 8. Arras: Robert Maudhuy, 1611.
- Ramus, Peter. *De religione christiana libri quatuor*. Frankfurt, 1969 (reprint of 1572).
- Raymond, M. Paul. *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives Départementales Antérieures à 1790:*

- Basses-Pyrénées*. 6 vols. Paris: Imp. Paul Dupont, 1863-1876.
- Raynaldi, Odorico, and Jac. Laderchi. *Annales ecclesiastici*. Vol.4 (1557-1565). Paris: Bloud et Barral, 1879. (Acts of papal accusation against Jeanne d'Albret.)
- Recogniciones feodorum in Aquitania: Recueil d'acts relatifs à l'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIII^e siècle*. Ed. C. Bémont. Paris: Imp. Nationale, 1914.
- Regestum Clementis Papae V*, see Clement V, Pope.
- Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin*. Eds. R. M. Kingdon and J. F. Bergier. 11 vols. Geneva: Droz, 1962-1993. See Kingdon, Robert M., below.
- Rochambeau, le Marquis de. *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret*. Paris: Lib. Renouard, 1877.
- . *Galerie des Hommes Illustres du Vendômois. Antoine de Bourbon et Jehanne d'Albret*. Vendôme: Lemerancier et fils, 1879. (Contains a printed text of *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques de Jehanne Roïne de Navarre*, pp.187-213. See *Manuscripts*, BNF, Fonds Brienne, MS 217, and *Printed Sources*, Chareyre, Philippe, above.)
- See also *Secondary Works*, below.
- Saintes, Claude de. 'Discours sur le saccagement des Eglises Catholiques ... en l'an 1562.' In L. Cimber and F. Danjou. *Archives curieuses de l'Histoire de France*. 1^{ère} série. Vol.4 (1835), pp.359-400 (ed. of Paris, Chez Claude Fremy, 1567).
- Salefranque, Pierre de (1600-1687). *Histoire de l'hérésie de Béarn* (1664?). Ed. V. Dubarat. *Bulletin de la Société des Lettres et Arts de Pau*. 2nd series, 43-46 (1920-1923). Contains valuable transcriptions of MSS of 1555-1572 lost when the archives of the Parlement of Navarre were burned in 1716.
- Salette, Arnaud de. *Los Psalmes de David metuts en rima Bernesa per Arnaud de Salette. M[inistre]*. Ed. Robèrt Darrigrand. Orthez: PerNoste, 1983 (ed. of 1583).
- See also: *Arnaud de Salette et son temps*.
- Béarn sous Jeanne d'Albret, Le*.
- Salignac de La Mothe-Fénélon, Bertrand de. *Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénélon*. 7 vols. Ed. Charles Purton Cooper. Paris and London: Panckoucke, 1838. Vol.1 (1568-1569). Vol.2 (1569).
- Serres, J. de. *Recueil des Choses Memorables avenues en France sous le regne de Henri II. François II. Charles IX. Henri III. Depuis l'an 1547 jusques au commencement de l'an 1597*, 1598.
- . *Memoires de la III. Guerre Civile et des derniers Troubles de France*, 1570.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Plays of William Shakespeare*. Ed. Johnson and Steevens. Vol.2. *Love's Labour's Lost*. London: 1773.
- . *Love's Labour's Lost*. Ed. G.R. Hibbard. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, pp.42-56, 'The Date and 'Sources'.' (See also, on the Nérac park setting, Bullough, Geoffrey.)
- Syrueilh, François de. *Journal de François de Syrueilh, chanoine de Saint-André de Bordeaux, archidiacre de Blaye*. In *Arch. Gironde*, vol.13 (1871-72), no.CIII (1568 to 1585), pp.244-357.
- Tarde, Jean (born 1561-2, vicar-general of Sarlat). *Chronique de Jean Tarde*. Marseille: Laffitte, 1981. (Reprint of Paris ed. of 1887.)
- Thou, Jacques-Auguste de (1553-1617). *Histoire universelle* (first published 1604-1608). Vol.2, 1551-1560. Vol.3, 1560-1567. Vol.4, 1567-1573. Basel: J. L. Brandmuller, 1742.
- Tyler, Evan. *The Psalms of David in Meeter newly translated*. Kirk of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1650 (added to *The Holy Bible*, John Canne, 1682).
- Valois d'Angoulême, see Navarre, Marguerite de.
- Weston, William. *The Psalms of David*. 2nd ed. St Germain-en-Laye: 1704.
- Xivrey, Berger de. See Navarre, Henry III de Bourbon de.

B. Secondary Works

- Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps* (Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972). Paris: Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, 1974.
- Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. London: Verso Editions, 1991.
- Anselme, Père. *Histoire de la Maison Royale de France et des Grands Officiers de la Couronne*. Paris: Ed. du Palais Royal, 1967 (reprint of Paris: Compagnie des libraires, 1726).
- Arbeloa Muru, Victor Manuel. *La Corte Protestante de Navarra (1527-1563)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educacion y Cultura, 1992.
- Arnaud de Salette et son temps: *Le Béarn sous Jeanne d'Albret*. Actes du Colloque International d'Orthez (1983). Orthez: Per Noste, 1984.
- Atlas historique des villes de France: Bergerac*. Eds. Charles Higounet, Jean-Bernard Marquette, and Philippe Wolff. Paris: C.N.R.S., 1984.
- Audiat, Louis. *Bernard Palissy: Etude sur sa vie et ses travaux*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970 (reprint ed. of 1868).
- Babelon, Jean-Pierre, *Henry IV*. Paris: Fayard, 1982.
- Backus, Irena. 'Polemic, Exegetical Tradition, and Ontology.' In *The Bible in the XVIIth Century*. Ed. David C. Steinmetz. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990, pp.167-180.
- Baird, Henry Martyn. *Theodore Beza the Counsellor of the French Reformation 1519-1605*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970 (reprint of 1899).
- Bak, Janos M. 'Roles and Functions of Queens in Arpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 A.D.).' In Parsons. *Medieval Queenship*, 1993, pp.14-22.
- . Ed. *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Barbot, Amos. *Histoire de La Rochelle*. Vol.2 (1199-1575). Paris: A. Picard, 1889.
- Barrère, l'Abbé. 'Analyse et extraits d'un [lost] registre de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Condom.' *Revue de Gascogne*. Vol.13. Auch: F. Foix, 1872, 470-476. 'Note sur frère Thomas Illyricus' (signed Léonce Couture), 476.
- Barthélemy, Edouard de. *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé. Recueil de lettres des principaux habitués de son salon*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1865.
- Baum, Johann Wilhelm. *Theodor Beza nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt*. 2 vols. Leipzig: 1843-1851; *Prewes* (vol.2), pp.176-7. (Baum only goes to 1563.)
- Baumgartner, Frederic J. *Henry II, King of France, 1519-1559*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988.
- Baumont, Stéphane. *Histoire d'Agen*. Toulouse: Privat, 1991.
- Bayrou, François. *Henri IV: Le roi libre*. Paris: Flammarion, 1994.
- Béarn sous Jeanne d'Albret, Le*. 4e centenaire de la publication des Psaumes en béarnais par Arnaud de Salette. Exposition 18 février-31 mars 1983. Pau: Bibliothèque Municipale de Pau, 1983.
- Beaune, Colette. *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (trans. S. R. Huston of *Naissance de la Nation France*, Paris, Gallimard, 1985). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Beauroy, J. *Vin et société à Bergerac: du moyen âge au temps modernes*. Saratoga (Cal.): Anna Libri, 1976.
- Benedict, Philip. 'The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces.' *The Historical Journal*, 21, 2 (1978), 202-25.
- . *Rouen during the Wars of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Benoit, Jean-Daniel. *Calvin and His Letters: A Study of Calvin's Pastoral Counselling*. Trans. Richard Craig. Appleford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1991. See Tonkin, John.
- Bergerac et le Bergeracois* (XLIe Congrès d'Etudes Régionale, Fédération Historique du Sud-Ouest, Bergerac 1990). Périgueux: 1992. A.- M. Cocula, 'Cyrano et Bergerac,' pp.9-21.

- Bergès, Michel. 'De la province Gascogne à la région Aquitaine.' In Robert Escarpit. Ed. *La Gascogne: Pays, Nation, Region?* Paris: Entente, 1982, pp. 57-60.
- Bitton, D. *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640*. Stanford: 1969.
- Blaisdell, Charmarie J. 'Calvin's Letters to Women: The Courting of Ladies in High Places.' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13, 3 (1982), 67-84.
- . 'Calvin's and Loyola's Letters to Women: Politics and Spiritual Counsel in the Sixteenth Century.' In Robert V. Schnucker. Ed. *Calviniana: Ideas and Influence of Jean Calvin*. Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1988, pp.235-253.
- Boettner, Loraine. *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination*. Phillipsburg (NJ): Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1932 (undated modern reprint).
- Bonnassie, P., and J.-B. Marquette. *Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval. Annales du Midi*, 102. Toulouse: Privat, 1990.
- Bonnet, Jules. 'Bref discours sur la mort de la Roynne de Navarre.' *BSHPF* 31 (1882), 12-30.
- . *Récits du seizième siècle*. 2nd ed. Paris: Grassart, 1875. 'Les derniers jours de Lefèvre d'Etaples,' pp.1-23.
- Bornert, René. *La Réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVIe Siècle (1523-1598)*. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Bourgeon, G. *La Réforme à Nérac. Les origines (1530-1560)*. Toulouse: A. Chauvin, 1880.
- Boutruche, Robert. *Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715*. Bordeaux: 1966.
- Bouwsma, William J. *John Calvin, A Sixteenth-Century Portrait*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. See also Tonkin, John.
- Boysonn, Richard de. *L'Invasion Calviniste en Bas-Limousin, Périgord et Haut-Quercy*. Paris: A. Picard, 1924.
- Braudel, Fernand. 'Coligny et son temps.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.21-30.
- Brown, Elizabeth A. R. "Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians" and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 82, Part 7. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1992.
- . *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair*. Cambridge (Mass.): Medieval Academy of America, 1992.
- . Ed. *Jean du Tillet and the French Wars of Religion: Five Tracts, 1562-1569*. Binghamton (N.Y.): Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994.
- . Ed., and Richard C. Famiglietti. *The Lit de Justice: Semantics, Ceremonial, and the Parliament of Paris, 1300-1600*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994.
- . 'Eleanor of Aquitaine: Parent, Queen and Duchess.' In William W. Kibler. Ed. *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976, pp.9-34.
- Bryson, David M. 'Labadie and the Baianès: The Landscape of a Village and Territory in Southwestern France 275-1578.' MA thesis, Department of History, School of Humanities, La Trobe University, 1993.
- . 'Cyran de Bergerac et la bataille "fantôme" de Labadie (Colombier) de décembre 1562: fait réel ou imaginaire?' *BSHAP* 121 (1994), 521-534. Trans. N. Prosper.
- . 'The Vallant Letters of Jeanne d'Albret: Fact or Forgery?' *French History*, 13, 2 (June 1999).
- Bullough, Geoffrey. Ed. *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. Vol.1. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, p.429.
- Cadier, Léon. *Les Etats de Béarn depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XVIe siècle. Etude sur l'histoire et l'administration d'un pays d'états*. Paris: Imp. Nationale, 1888.
- . Ed. 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Reforme en Béarn.' *BSHPF*. Vol.35 (1886).
- Cairns, C.C. *Noble Women*. London: T.C. and E.C. Jack, 1911. 'Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre,' pp.74-109.

- Cameron, Keith. Ed. *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France*. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989.
- Castries, duc de. 'Jeanne d'Albret.' *Revue des Deux Mondes* (April 1974), 32-46.
- Cazaux, Yves. *Jeanne d'Albret*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1973.
- . 'Pour un nouveau portrait de Jeanne d'Albret.' *BSHPP* 119, 4 (October-December 1973), 503-528.
- . 'Réflexions en liberté sur Jeanne d'Albret.' *Revue de Pau et Béarn*, 2 (1974), 71-82.
- . 'Etude en dyptiques sur Jeanne d'Albret et Henri de Navarre.' *Revue de Béarn*, 12 (1984), 265-305.
- Chaix, Paul, Alain Dufour and Gustave Moeckli. *Les Livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600*. Ed. Gustave Moeckli. Geneva: Droz, 1966.
- Chamberland, Nicole, Jane McLeod, Christine Turgeon (directed by Raymonde Litalien). *Amirauté de Guyenne: Sources de l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (Archives départementales de la Gironde Série 6B. Guide de Recherche). Ottawa: Archives nationales du Canada, 1991.
- Charet, Jean. *Le Bergeracois des origines à 1340*. Bergerac: Imp. Générale du Sud-Ouest, 1950.
- Chareyre, Philippe. "'The Great Difficulties One Must Bear to Follow Jesus Christ': Morality at Sixteenth-Century Nîmes.' In Mentzer, *Sin and the Calvinists*, 1994, pp.63-96.
- See also Chareyre, Philippe, in 'Printed Sources', above.
- Cloulas, Ivan. *Philippe II*. Paris: Fayard, 1992.
- . Review of S. Amanda Eurich, *The Economics of Power: The Private Finances of the House of Foix-Navarre-Albret during the Religious Wars* (see below). *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 57, 2 (1995), 524-526.
- Cocula[-Vaillières], Anne-Marie. *Les Gens de la Rivière de Dordogne 1750 à 1850* (Doctoral thesis, University of Bordeaux III, 5 February 1977). 2 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1979.
- . 'Rivières et stratégie au temps des guerres de religion.' In *Le Libournais* (XXXIVe congrès d'études régionales, Libourne 1982). Libourne: 1985, pp.121-128.
- . 'Conclusion générale.' In *Provinces et pays du Midi au temps de Henri de Navarre, 1555-1589*. Ed. J. Garriçon, 1989, p.317.
- . 'Le rôle de la Guyenne dans la conquête du royaume 1576-1589.' In *Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume*, 1990, pp.123-143.
- . 'Cyrano et Bergerac.' In *Bergerac et le Bergeracois* (XLIIe congrès d'études régionales, Bergerac, 1990), 1992, pp.9-21.
- . 'Châteaux et seigneuries: des îles et îlots de Réforme en terre Aquitaine (XVIe-XVIIe s.).' In Sauzet, *Les Frontières religieuses*, pp.185-193.
- Collett, Barry. *Italian Benedictine scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Collins, Roger. *The Basques*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- . 'Queens-Dowager and Queens-Regent in Tenth-Century Léon and Navarre.' In Parsons. Ed. *Medieval Queenship*, 1993, pp.79-92.
- Costedoat, R. *Le peuple 'rebelle' des huguenots de Bergerac*. Beauregard et Bassac: Guliver, 1987.
- Coudy, Julien. Ed. *The Huguenot Wars*. Trans. Julie Kernan. Philadelphia: Chilton, 1969.
- Courteault, Paul. *L'Invasion de l'armée des princes en Agenais (Fin Novembre 1569-Janvier 1570)*. Agen: Imp. et Lithographie Agenoise, 1898.
- . *Blaise de Monluc historien*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970 (reprint of edition of Paris: A. Picard, 1908).
- See also: Monluc, Blaise de.
- Cousin, Victor. *Madame de Sablé*. Paris: Didier, 1859.
- Crouzet, Denis. *Les Guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525-*

- vers 1610). 2 vols. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990.
- Dartigue[-Peyrou], Charles. *Jeanne d'Albret et le Béarn d'après les délibérations des Etats et les registres du Conseil Souverain (1555-1572)*. Mont-de-Marsan: Imp. Jean-Lacoste, 1934 (includes a text of Jeanne's *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, pp.145-164).
- . *La Vicomté de Béarn sous le règne d'Henri d'Albret (1517-1555)*. Paris: Soc. d'Editions les Belles Lettres, 1934.
- . *Histoire de la Guyenne* ('Que sais-je?'). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.
- . *Histoire de Gascogne* ('Que sais-je?'). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Stanford (Cal.): Stanford University Press, 1975.
- . 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth Century France, a Comment.' *Past and Present*, 66 (February 1975), 127-30.
- Delaborde, Jules. *Gaspar de Coligny, amiral de France*. Vols.2, 3. Paris: 1881, 1882.
- Delachenal, Roland. *Histoire de Charles V*. Vol.4 (1368-1377). Paris: A. Picard, 1928.
- Delafosse, Marcel (directed by). *Histoire de la Rochelle*. Toulouse: Privat, 1985.
- Delmas, A. 'Le procès et la mort de Jacques Spifame,' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 5 (1944), 105-137.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme*. Paris: Collection Nouvelle-Clio (P.U.F.), 1965.
- Desplat, Christian. 'La religion d'Henri IV.' In *Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume*, 1990, pp.223-267.
- . 'La Bible en Béarn et dans les provinces basques.' In *Le siècle des Lumières et la Bible*. Beauchesne, 1986, pp.169-191.
- . 'Louis XIII and the Union of Béarn to France.' In Mark Greengrass. Ed. *Conquest and Coalescence. The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*. London: Edward Arnold, 1991, pp.68-83.
- , and Pierre Tucoco-Chala. *Atlas historique: Principauté du Béarn*. Pau: S.N.E.R.D., 1980. Cartography by Monique Morales.
- De Vic, Claude, and Jean-Joseph Vaissete. *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*. 2nd ed. Ed. Auguste Molinier. 15 vols. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1889. Vol.2 (1443-1643). Vol.12, 'Preuves'.
- Dewald, Jonathon. *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility: The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen, 1499-1610*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Dickens, A.G., and John Tonkin. *The Reformation in Historical Thought*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Diefendorf, Barbara. *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- . 'The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century.' In Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse. Eds. *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993, pp.41-63.
- Dion, Roger. *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle*. Paris, 1959.
- Doumergue, Emile. *Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps*. 7 vols. Vol.1, 'La jeunesse de Calvin.' Vol.7, 'Le triomphe.' Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969 (reprint of Lausanne and Paris, 1899-1927).
- Droz, Eugénie. *Chemins de l'hérésie: Textes et documents*. 4 vols. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970-1976.
- Dubarat, V. Ed. 'Courriers de Jeanne d'Albret entre Béarn et La Rochelle.' *Bulletin de Pau* (1930), 283-296.
- Dubourg, Jacques. *Les Guerres de Religion dans le Sud-Ouest*. Luçon: Ed. Sud-Ouest, 1992.
- Duke, Alastair; Gillian Lewis, Andrew Pettegree. Eds. and trans. *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1610: A collection of documents*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1992.

- Dufour, Alain. 'La réformation en Béarn d'après la lettre de Théodore de Bèze à Jeanne d'Albret de janvier 1567.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.313-322.
- Dupont-Ferrier, G. 'Le sens des mots "patria" et "patrie" en France au moyen age et jusqu'au début du XVIIe siècle.' *Revue historique*, 188 (1940), 81-104.
- Dupuy, Ernest. *Bernard Palissy*. Paris: Lecène, Oudin, 1894.
- Eire, Carlos M. N. *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Escande, J.-J. *Histoire de Sarlat*. Sarlat: Imp. Lafaysse, 1903.
- Eurich, S. Amanda. *The Economics of Power: The Private Finances of the House of Foix-Navarre-Albret during the Religious Wars* (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 24). Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994. Reviewed: see Cloulas, Ivan, above.
- Everitt, A.M. 'The Local Community and the Great Rebellion.' London: The Historical Association Pamphlets G.70, 1969.
- Expilly, M. l'Abbé. *Dictionnaire Géographique Historique et Politique des Gaules et de la France*. Vols.1, 3. Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1762, 1764. (Reprint Liechtenstein: Klaus Reprint, 1978.)
- Farge, James K. *Orthodox and Reform in early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543* (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 32). Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- . *Le Parti Conservateur au XVIe siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme*. Paris: Collège de France, 1992.
- . Ed. *Registre des conclusions de la faculté de théologie de l'université de Paris*. Vol.2 (26 November 1533-1 March 1550). Paris: Klincksieck, 1994.
- Febvre, Lucien. *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais* (trans. B. Gottlieb). Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Fénié, Bénédicte et Jean-Jacques. *Toponymie gasconne*. Luçon: Ed. Sud-Ouest, 1992.
- Forster, Robert, and Orest Ranum. Eds. *Rural Society in France: Selections from the Annales*. Trans. E. Forster and P. M. Ranum. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Fortun, Luis Javier. Ed. *Sedes Reales de Navarra*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1991.
- Fradenburg, L. Ed. *Women and Sovereignty*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1991.
- Freccero, C. 'Marguerite de Navarre and the Politics of Maternal Sovereignty.' In Fradenburg. *Women and Sovereignty* (1991), pp.133-149.
- Freer, Martha Walker. *The Life of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarra*. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855.
- Fuchs, Eric. *L'Ethique protestante*. Geneva: Labor et fides, 1990.
- Gamble, Richard C. Ed. *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*. 14 vols. New York: Garland, 1992. Vol.2, *Calvin's Early Writings and Ministry*. Vol.3, *Calvin's Work in Geneva*. Vol.14, *Calvinism in France, Netherlands, Scotland and England*.
- Ganoczy, Alexandre. *Le jeune Calvin: genèse et évolution de sa vocation reformatrice*. Wiesbaden, 1966. See also Tonkin, John.
- Garreta, Jeane-Claude. 'L'Hotel d'Albret, 31 rue des Francs-Bourgeois.' In *La rue des Francs-Bourgeois au Marais*, 1992, pp.257-9.
- Garrison[-Estèbe], Janine. *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598*. Toulouse: Privat, 1991 (edition of 1980).
- . *La Saint-Barthélemy*. Brussels: Complexe, 1987.
- . Ed., *Provinces et pays du Midi au temps de Henri de Navarre, 1555-1589*. Bordeaux: Association Henri IV, 1989.
- . *Guerre civile et compromis 1559-1598*. Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1991.
- . *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*.

- Trans. Richard Rex. London: Macmillan, 1995 (English trans. combining *Royauté, Renaissance et Réforme, 1483-1559*, and *Guerre civile et compromis, 1559-1598*. Ed. du Seuil, 1991.)
- 'Les Saint-Barthélemy des villes du Midi.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.717-730.
 - 'Le protestantisme en Béarn (1560-1580).' In *Arnaud de Salette et son temps: Le Béarn sous Jeanne d'Albret*, 1984, pp.41-51.
 - 'Les Protestants du Sud-Ouest et le premier Bourbon.' 'A propos de l'Edit de Nantes.' In *Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume*, 1990, pp.269-276.
 - 'Leçon Inaugurale.' In Sauzet, *Les Frontières religieuses*, 1992, pp.11-13 (see below).
 - 'La Saint-Barthélemy: Qui a commandité le massacre de milliers de huguenot?' *Historia*. No.580 (April 1995), 29-34.
- Gaulle, J. de. Ed. 'Documents Inédits et Originaux: Le Conseil de la Reine de Navarre à La Rochelle.' *BSHPF*, 3 (1855), 123-127. See also Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret de.
- Gaullieur, Ernest (archivist of the city of Bordeaux). *Histoire de la Réformation à Bordeaux et dans le ressort du parlement de Guyenne*. 2 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1884. See also Manuscripts, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français, above.
- Geisendorf, Paul-F. *Théodore de Bèze*. Geneva: Alexandre Jullien, 1967.
- Godfroy, Marie-France. 'Vers la frontière: Thomas Illyricus.' In Sauzet, *Les frontières religieuses*, 1992, pp.89-96.
- Goujal, M.-A.-F., baron de. *Etudes historiques sur la Rouergue*. Vol.2. Paris: P. Dupont, 1858.
- Gouron, Marcel. *L'Amirauté de Guienne*. Paris: Librairie de Recueil Sirey, 1938.
- Graham, Michael F. *The Uses of Reform*. Godly Discipline and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Graham, Victor E. and W. McAllister Johnson. *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries 1564-6*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979. (Includes edition of Abel Jouan, *Recueil et discours du voyage du Roy Charles IX*, 1566. See above.)
- Greengrass, Mark B. *France in the Age of Henri IV*. London: Longman, 1984.
- *The French Reformation*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
 - Ed. *Conquest and Coalescence. The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe*. London: Edward Arnold, 1991. 'Conquest and Coalescence,' pp.1-24.
 - 'France.' In R. Scribner. Ed. *The Reformation in national context*, 1994, pp.47-66.
 - 'The Calvinist experiment in Béarn.' In Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis. *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp.119-142.
 - 'L'expérience Calviniste en Béarn.' *Revue de Pau et du Béarn*, 21 (1994), 37-60.
- See also Potter, G.R., below.
- Grenier, A. *Manuel d'archéologie*. Vol.VI. *Archéologie Gallo-Romaine*. Paris: A. Picard, 1934.
- Guillemain, Bernard (directed by, with Raymond Darricau and Jean-Bernard Marquette). *Le diocèse de Bordeaux*. Paris: Deauchesne, 1974.
- Ed. *Les recettes et les dépenses de la Chambre Apostolique pour la quatrième année du pontificat de Clément V (1308-1309) (Intriotus et Exitus 75)*. Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 39. Palais Farnèse, Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1978. Map, pp.x-xi, 'Limites du duché de Guyenne' (1308-1309).
 - 'Le duché d'Aquitaine hors du catharisme.' In *Effacement du Catharisme? (XIIIe-XIVe s.)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 20), pp.57-71. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1985.
- Haag, E. and E. *La France Protestante*. 10 vols. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1966 (reprint of Paris-Geneva 1846-1859). Vols.5, 7; vol.10, 'Pièces justificatives.'
- Hanlon, Gregory. *L'Univers des gens de bien: Culture et comportements des élites urbaines en*

- Agenais-Comdomois au XVII^e siècle*. Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1989.
- . *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Harding, Robert R. *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Harris, Robin. *Valois Guyenne: A study of politics, government and society in late medieval France*. Woodbridge (Suffolk): The Boydell Press (The Royal Historical Society Studies in history, no.71), 1994.
- Hauser, Henri, *Les sources de l'histoire de France, XVI^e siècle*. 4 vols. Paris, 1906-1915. Vol.3, *Les Guerres de religion (1559-1589)*, 1912. Vol.4, *Henry IV (1589-1610)*, 1915. (Reprint: 2 vols. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1967.)
- Heller, Henry. *Conquest of Poverty: The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth Century France*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 35.) Leiden: Brill, 1986.
- . *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- . 'Marguerite of Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux.' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXXIII, 2 (1971), 271-310.
- Henri IV Le Roi et la reconstruction du royaume*. Actes de la colloque III – Pau-Nérac – de l'Association 'Henri IV 1989', Jacques Pérot, Président, Pierre Tucoc-Chala, Vice-Président chargé des colloques. Pau: J & D Editions, 1990. See Cocula, Desplat, Garrisson.
- Hermijnard, Aimé Louis. *Correspondance des informateurs dans les pays de langue française*. Geneva: H. Georg, 1866-1897. Vol.3, 1533-1536. Vol.4, 1536-1538.
- Herrerros, Susana. 'Pau.' In Fortun, Luis Javier. Ed. *Sedes Reales de Navarra*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1991, pp.256-7.
- Hexter, J.H. 'Utopia and Geneva.' In Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel. Eds. *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969, pp.77-89.
- Higounet, Charles (under the direction of). *Histoire de Bordeaux*. Toulouse: E. Privat, 1980.
- See also *Atlas historique*.
- Higounet-Nadal, A. (under the direction of). *Histoire du Périgord*. Toulouse: Privat, 1983.
- Hillgarth, J.N. *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516*. Vol.2, 1410-1516, 'Castilian Hegemony.' Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Hofstadter, Douglas R. *Le ton beau de Marot: In Praise of the Music of Language*. London: Bloomsbury, 1997
- Holt, Mack P. *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- . Ed. *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*. Athens (Ga.), 1991.
- . *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Imbart de la Tour, Pierre. *Les Origines de la Réforme*. Book 4, *Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne*. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1935.
- 'Itinéraires protestants en Béarn.' Centre d'étude du protestantisme béarnais: Pau: CEPB, 1993.
- Jackson, Catherine Charlotte. *The Last of the Valois and the Accession of Henry of Navarre*. 2 vols. Vol.1. Paris-Boston: The Grolier Society, 19– [unstated]. 'Crossing the Loire,' p.269.
- Jacquart, Jean. *François I^{er}*. Paris: Fayard, 1981.
- Jackson, Richard A. *Vive le Roi!: A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- . 'Peers of France and Princes of the Blood.' *French Historical Studies*, 7 (Spring 1971), 27-46.

- Jouanna, Arlette. *Le devoir de révolte: la noblesse française et la gestion de l'état moderne, 1559-1661*. Paris: Fayard, 1989.
- Jouhanneau, Camille. *Jeanne d'Albret et les Limousins*. Limoges: H. Ducourtieux, 1897.
- Jourda, Pierre. *Marguerite d'Angoulême. Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549)*. 2 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1930.
- . *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême. Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549)*. Paris: H. Champion, 1930. (Reprint Geneva: Slatkine, 1973.)
- Jullian, Camille. *Histoire de Bordeaux*. Bordeaux: Feret, 1895.
- Kantorowitz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Kelly, Amy. *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Kibler, William W. Ed. *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Patron and Politician*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976. See Brown, Elizabeth A.R., above.
- Kingdon, Robert M. *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563*. PhD Thesis, Columbia University, Dept of Political Science, 1955.
- . *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572: A contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Calvinist Resistance Theory*. Madison (Wisc.): University of Wisconsin Press, and Geneva: Droz, 1967.
- . Ed., and Jean-François Bergier. *Registres de la compagnie des pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin*. Vol.1, 1546-1553, Vol.2, 1554-1564, Vol.3, 1565-1574. Geneva: Droz, 1964 (Vol.1), 1969 (vol.3, ed. Olivier Fatio and Olivier Labarthe).
- . *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572-1576*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1988.
- . 'The First Expression of Theodore Beza's Political Ideas.' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 46 (1955).
- . 'The Political Resistance of the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries.' *Church History* 27 (1958), 220-233.
- . 'Les idées politiques de Bèze d'après son Traité de l'autorité du magistrat en la punition des hérétiques.' *BHR*, 22 (1960), 566-9.
- . 'Calvinism and Democracy: Some Political Implications of Debates on French Reformed Church Government, 1562-1572.' *American Historical Review*, LXIX, 1 (October 1963), 393-401.
- . 'A New View of Calvin in the Light of the Registers of the Geneva Consistory,' in William H. Neuser and Brian G. Armstrong. Eds. *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion*. (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, vol.XXXVI.) Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997.
- Knecht, R. J. *Francis I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- . *The French Wars of Religion*. London: Longmans, 1989.
- Labarge, Marguerite Wade. *Gascony, England's First Colony 1204-1453*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980.
- Labrousse, Elisabeth. *Une Foi, une loi, un roi? La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*. Paris-Geneva: Payot/Labor, 1985.
- Lacoste, Guillaume. *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*. Ed. L. Combarieu, F. Canguardel, Michel Labrousse. Vols.3, 4. 2nd ed. Paris: Guengaud, 1968 (of Cahors, 1883).
- Lafont, Christophe. 'Le rôle d'Henri de Navarre dans la paix de Bergerac et du Fleix,' *BSHAP*, 125, 2 (1998), 199.
- La Ferrière, Hector de. *Le XVI^e Siècle et les Valois d'après les documents inédits du British Museum et du Record Office*. Paris: Imp. Nationale, 1879.
- Lefranc, Abel. *Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1969.
- Le Goff, Jacques. 'A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis: The Ordo of

- 1250.' In Janos M. Bak. Ed. *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, pp.46-71.
- Le Maguet, Paul-Emile. *Le monde médicale parisien sous le grand roy, suivi du 'portefeuille' de Vallant, médecin de S.A.R. Mme de Guise et de Mme la Mise de Sablé*. Paris: A. Maloine, 1899. (Especially part II, 'Le portefeuille de Vallant.')
- Lemaître, Nicole. *Le Rouergue flamboyant. Le clergé et les fidèles du diocèse de Rodez, 1417-1593*. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1988.
- Léonard, E. G. *Histoire générale du protestantisme*. Vol.1, 'La Reformation.' Vol.2, 'L'Etablissement.' Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988 (reprint of edition of 1961).
- Lestringant, Frank. *Le Huguenot et le Sauvage: L'Amerique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1990.
- . 'Geneva and America in the Renaissance: The Dream of the Huguenot Refugee 1555-1600.' (Trans. Ann Blair.) *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26, 2 (Summer 1995), 285-295.
- Libournais, Le (XXXIVe Congrès d'Etudes Régionale, Fédération Historique du Sud-Ouest, Libourne 1982). Libourne: 1985. A.- M. Cocula, 'Rivières et stratégie au temps des guerres de religion,' pp.121-128.
- Ligou, Daniel (directed by). *Histoire de Montauban*. Toulouse: Privat, 1984.
- Lindsay, Robert O., and John Neu. Eds. *French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648: A Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Maag, Karin. *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995.
- Major, J. Russel. 'Noble income, inflation and the wars of religion in France.' *American Historical Review*, 86, 1 (1981), 21-48.
- . *The Monarchy, the Estates and the Aristocracy in Renaissance France*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1988. (Collection of articles, including the above.)
- . *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, and Estates*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
- Marquette, Jean-Bernard. *Le Trésor des Chartes d'Albret*. Vol.1. Les Archives de Vayres. Part 1. Le Fonds de Langoiran. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1973.
- See also *Atlas historique*; Bonnassie; Guillemain.
- Martin, A. Lynn. Ed. *Correspondance du Nonce en France Fabio Mirto Frangipani (1568-1572 et 1586-1587)*. Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae 16. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, Université Pontificale Grégorienne, 1984.
- Martin, Henri. *Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'en 1789*. 4th ed. Paris: Furne, 1860. Vols.9, 10, 'Guerres de Religion. 1559-.'
- Martinena, Juan José. 'Pamplona.' In Luis Javier Fortun. Ed. *Sedes Reales de Navarra*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1991, pp.69-77.
- Maruyama, Tadataka. *The Ecclesiology of Theodore Beza: The Reform of the True Church*. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 166.) Geneva: Droz, 1978.
- Mas Latrie, M. Louis de. 'Arrêt de Montluc après la révolte des protestants de Fumel contre leur seigneur en 1561.' In *Mémoires et dissertations sur les antiquités nationales et étrangères*. Vol.17. Paris, 1844, pp.324-45.
- Maubourguet, Jean. *Sarlat et le Périgord méridional*. Vol.3 (1453-1547). Périgueux: SHAP, 1955 (reprint).
- McCoy, Richard C. "'The Wonderfull Spectacle': The Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation.' In Janos M. Bak. Ed. *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, pp.217-27.
- McGrath, Alister E. *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*. Second Edition. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.
- . *A Life of John Calvin*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993 (ed. of 1990). See also Tonkin, John.

- Mège, A. du. *Memoires de la troisieme guerre civile*. 4 vols., 1571. [BNF, Lb33 247A]
- Mentzer, Raymond A., Jr. *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984. Map, p.6, 'Area administered by the Parliament of Toulouse.'
- . *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility*. West Lafayette (IN): Purdue University Press, 1994.
- . Ed. *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 32, 1994.
- . 'Heresy Suspects in Languedoc prior to 1560: Observations on their Social and Occupational Status.' *BHR*, 39 (1977).
- . 'Ecclesiastical discipline and communal reorganisation among the Protestants of Southern France.' *European History Quarterly*, 21, 2 (1991), 163-183.
- Mercier, C. 'Les théories politiques des Calvinistes au cours des guerres de religion.' *BSHPF*, 83 (1934), 381-415.
- Mesqui, J. *Le Pont en France avant le temps des ingénieurs*. Paris: Picard, 1986.
- Metais, Abbé Charles. *Jeanne d'Albret et Vendôme*. Lemerrier et fils, 1882.
- . 'Jeanne d'Albret et la spoliation de l'église Saint-Georges de Vendôme le 19 mai 1562: inventaire des bijoux et reliquaires spoliés par Jeanne d'Albret à la Collegiale.' *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendômois*, 1882.
- Metzger, Lawrence S. 'The Protestant Cardinal: Odet de Coligny (1517-1571).' PhD thesis. Boston University Graduate School, 1979.
- Meyer, Judith Pugh. 'La Rochelle and the Failure of the French Reformation.' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15, 2 (1984), 169-83.
- . *Reformation in La Rochelle: Tradition and Change in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1568*. Geneva: Droz, 1996.
- Michelet, Jules. *Histoire de France*. Vol.11, 'Les Guerres de Religion.' Paris: Marpon et Flammarion, 1879.
- Michelin Guides Verts. *Burgundy*, 1963 (English ed.). *Côte de l'Atlantique*, 1973. *Périgord*. *Berry Limousin Quercy*, 1973 (includes Montauban). *Pyénées Aquitaine*. *Côte Basque*, 1995. These cover the whole of the territory of the sixteenth-century 'Government of Guyenne', Rodez (which is in *Auvergne*) excepted.
- Monter, E. William. *Studies in Genevan Government (1536-1605)* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 62). Geneva: Droz, 1964.
- . *Calvin's Geneva*. Huntingdon (NY): Robert E. Krieger, 1975.
- . 'The Consistory of Geneva, 1559-1569.' In *Renaissance, Reformation, Resurgence*. Ed. P. de Klerk. Grand Rapids: 1976, pp.63-84.
- Moote, A. Lloyd. *Louis XIII, the Just*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Mours, Samuel. *Les Eglises Réformées en France*. Paris-Strasbourg, 1958.
- . *Le protestantisme en France au XVIe siècle*. Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1959. Map, 'Eglises Réformées XVIe siècle', pp.248-9.
- . 'Liste des Eglises Reformées: Dordogne.' *BSHPF* (1957), 113-130.
- Muret, Théodore. *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret Reine de Navarre*. Paris: Grassart, 1861.
- Nabonne, Bernard. *Jeanne d'Albret Reine des Huguenots*. Paris: Hachette, 1945.
- Naphy, William G. Ed. and trans. *Documents on the Continental Reformation*. London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Neuschel, Kristen B. *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France*. Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1989. Chapter 5, pp.132-185, 'The Ties of Territory: The Bourbons as Provincial Landholders and Feudal Lords.'
- Neuser, William H., and Brian G. Armstrong. Eds. *Calvinus Sincerioris Religionis Vindex: Calvin as Protector of the Purer Religion.* (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 36.) Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1997. See also Kingdon, above.
- Nürnberg, Richard. *Die Politisierung des Französischen Protestantismus*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1948, pp.43-6.

- Olaizola Iguñiz, Juan Maria de. *Historia del protestantismo en el País Vasco: El reino de Navarra en la encrucijada de su historia*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 1993.
- Ozment, Steven. *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland*. London: Yale University Press, 1975.
- . *Protestants: The Birth of a Revolution*. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Pablo, Général Jean de. 'Die Armée von La Rochelle.' Berlin: Huguenottenmuseum, 1969.
- . 'Gaspard de Coligny als Feldherr.' Obersicke/Braunschweig: Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Huguenotten, 1972.
- . 'Gaspard de Coligny, chef de guerre.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.53-62.
- Palm, Franklin Charles. *Politics and Religion in Sixteenth Century France: A Study of the Career of Henry of Montmorency-Damville, Uncrowned King of the South*. Boston: Ginn, 1927.
- Parker, Charles H. 'French Calvinists as the Children of Israel: An Old Testament Self-Consciousness in Jean Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* before the Wars of Religion.' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24, 2 (1993), 227-47.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- . *The Dutch Revolt*. London: Allen Lane, 1977.
- Parsons, John Carmi. Ed. *Medieval Queenship*. New York: St Martin's, 1993. 'Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship,' pp.1-11.
- Patry, H. *Les debuts de la Réforme protestante en Guyenne (1523-1559)*. Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1912.
- Pettegree, Andrew; Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis. *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. See Greengrass, Mark, above.
- Pidoux, Pierre. *Le Psautier Huguenot*. Basel: Baerenreiter, 1962. Vol.1, 'Les Melodies.' Vol.2, 'Documents et Bibliographie.'
- Pierson, Peter. 'The Development of Spanish Naval strategy and Tactics in the Sixteenth Century,' in Malcom R. Thorp and Arthur J. Slavin, *Politics, Religion & Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of De Lamar Jensen*. Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 27. Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994.
- Polizzotto, Lorenzo. *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence, 1494-1545*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Planhol, Xavier de, and Paul Claval. *An historical geography of France*. Trans. Janet Lloyd (of *Géographie Historique de la France*, Paris, Fayard, 1988). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Potter, David. *War and government in the French provinces: Picardy, 1470-1560*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . *A History of France, 1460-1560: The Emergence of a Nation State*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Potter, G.R. and M. Greengrass. Eds. *John Calvin* ('Documents of Modern History'). London: Edward Arnold, 1983.
- Powis, Jonathan K. 'Guyenne, 1548: The Crown, the Province and Social Order.' *European Studies Review*, 12, 1 (1982), 1-15.
- . 'Order, Religion, and the Magistrates of a Provincial Parlement in Sixteenth-Century France.' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 71 (1980), 180-196.
- Prestwich, Menna. Ed. *International Calvinism, 1541-1715*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985. 'Calvinism in France, 1559-1629,' pp.71-107.
- Psalmes. See Arnaud, Béarn, Bèze, Marot, Pidoux, Psautier, Salette, Tyler, Weber, Weston.
- Psautier de Genève 1562-1865, Le*. Images commentées et essai de bibliographie. Geneva: Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, 1986.

- Rabb, Theodore K., and Jerrold E. Seigel. Eds. *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison*. Princeton: University Press, 1969.
- Régner, Jean-Marie. *Histoire de la Soule*. St-Jean-de-Luz: Ekaina, 1991.
- Reilly, Bernard F. *The Medieval Spains*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Renan, Ernest. 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?'. In *Oeuvres Complètes*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1947-61, vol.1, pp.887-906.
- Rennes, J.- M. *Histoire du protestantisme à Bergerac*. Bayac: Editions du Roc de Bourzac, 1987 (reprint of the Paris edition of 1868).
- Renouard, Y. 'Les conséquences de la conquête de la Guienne par le roi de France pour le commerce des vins de Gascogne.' *Annales du Midi*, 61 (1948), 15-31.
- Revue de Gascogne*. Vol.13 (1872). See Poey, Bernard de ('Printed Sources' above); Barrière, l'Abbé (above); Samazeuilh, J.-F. (below). Vol.21 (1880), Notice on Jean d'Antras, p.89. Vol.33 (1892), see Barjeau (above).
- Reulos, Michel. 'Le synode national de La Rochelle (1571) et la constitution d'un 'parti' protestant.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.707-716.
- Ridley, Jasper. *John Knox*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968. (Adoption of Order [of Service] of Geneva as the Common Order of the Church of Scotland after 1560, p.201.)
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *What Were the Crusades?*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1992 (1977).
- Ritter, Raymond. *Lettres et poésies de Catherine de Bourbon: 1570-1603*. Paris: H. Champion, 1927.
- . *Catherine de Bourbon: 1559-1604: la soeur d'Henri IV*. 2 vols. Paris: J. Touzot, 1985.
- . *Les Solitudes de Marguerite de Navarre (1527-1549)*. Paris: H. Champion, 1953.
- . 'Jeanne d'Albret et les troubles de la religion en Béarn, Bigorre, Soule et Navarre (1560-1572).' *Révue de Béarn* (1928-33).
- Robbins, Kevin C. *City on the Ocean Sea: La Rochelle, 1530-1650*. Urban Society, Religion, and Politics on the French Atlantic Frontier. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Rochambeau, le comte de. *Le vendômois; épigraphie et iconographie*. Vol.1. Paris: H. Champion, 1889-1894. (See also *Printed Sources*, above.)
- Roelker, Nancy Lyman. *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1968. (Reviewed by Raymond F. Kierstead of Yale. *American Historical Review*, LXXV, 2 (December 1969), 507-8.)
- . *Jeanne d'Albret Reine de Navarre 1528-1572*. French trans. G. de B. Merrill. Paris: Imp. Nationale, 1979.
- . *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley (Ca.): University of California Press, 1996.
- . 'The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the 16th Century: A Study in Psychohistory.' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1972), 391-418.
- . 'The Role of Noblewomen in the French Reformation.' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 63 (1972), 168-195.
- . 'Les femmes de la noblesse huguenote au XVIe siècle.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.227-250.
- Romier, Lucien. *Catholiques et Huguenots à la cour de Charles IX*. Paris: Perrin, 1924.
- . *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: La France à la veille des guerres de religion*. 2 vols. Geneva: Slatkine, 1978 (ed. of Paris, 1925).
- Rowen, Herbert H. *The King's State: Proprietary Dynasticism in Early Modern France*. New Brunswick (NJ): Rutgers University Press, 1980.
- Ruble, Baron Alphonse de (1831-1898). *Le Mariage de Jeanne d'Albret*. Paris: A. Labitte, 1877.
- . *Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*. 4 vols. Paris: A. Labitte, 1881-1886. Vol.1 (1881), 20 October 1548-10 July 1559. Vol.2 (1882), 10 July 1559-5 December 1560. Vol.3 (1885), 5 December 1560-1561. Vol.4 (1886), 1561-1562.

- . *Jeanne d'Albret et la guerre civile*. Vol. I, 1562-1563 (the only volume completed at the time of Ruble's death in 1898). Paris: Em. Paul et fils et Guillemin, 1897.
See also *Manuscripts*, Bordeaux; and *Printed Sources*, Monluc, Blaise de; and Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret de, above.
- Ryan, P.F. William. *Queen Jeanne of Navarre*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1911. (Microfilm: New Haven [Conn.]: Research Publications, 1977, 'History of Women', no. 6952. From the library of Smith College, Northhampton [Mass.].)
- Sahlins, Peter. *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- . *American Historical Review*, 99, 3 (June 1994), 904-5. Review of Zinc, Anne (see below).
- Sainte-Marthe. *Histoire genealogique de la Maison de France*. 3rd ed. Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1648. Book 25, 'Les Comtes et Ducs de Vendome.'
- Salmon, J. H. M. *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century*. London: Methuen, 1979.
- Sauzet, Robert (under the direction of, with Alain Ducellier and Janine Garrisson). *Les Frontières religieuses en Europe du XVe au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1992. (See also Godfroy, Cocula, Garrisson.)
- Schnucker, Robert V. Ed. *Calviniana: Ideas and Influence of Jean Calvin*. Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1988.
- Screech, Michael A. *Clément Marot: A Renaissance Poet Discovers the Gospel: Lutheranism, Fabrism and Calvinism in the Royal Courts of France and of Navarre and in the Ducal Court of Ferrara*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994 (an English adaptation of the author's *Marot Evangélique*, in *Etudes de Philologie et d'Histoire*, vol. 4, Geneva, Droz, 1967).
- Scribner, Robert; Roy Porter, Mikulas Teich. Eds. *The Reformation in national context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Sedes Reales de Navarra*. Ed. Luis Javier Fortun. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1991. Juan José Martinena, 'Pamplona', pp. 62-77. Susana Herreros, 'Pau', pp. 265-257.
- Seguy, Jean, and X. Ravier. *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne*. Toulouse: C.N.R.S., 1971. Vol. 5, Fasc. 1: cartes.
- Shimizu, J. 'Conflict of Loyalties: Politics and Religion in the Career of Gaspard de Coligny Admiral of France, 1519-1572.' In *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, CXIV. Geneva: Droz, 1970, pp. 61-64.
- Slocombe, G. *Henri IV (1553-1610)*. Paris: Payot, 1980 (reprint of ed. of 1933).
- Stauffer, Richard. 'Autour du Colloque de Poissy: Calvin et le "De officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri".' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp. 135-153.
- Stocker, Christopher. 'The Calvinist Notables of Orléans.' *Proceedings of the sixth annual meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 6 (1979), 21-33.
- Strayer, Joseph R. 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King.' In Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel. Eds. *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E.H. Harbison*. Princeton: University Press, 1969, pp. 3-16.
- Stupperich, Robert. 'La Confession d'Augsbourg au Colloque de Poissy.' In *Actes du Colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp. 117-134.
- Sunshine, Glenn S. 'French Protestantism on the Eve of St. Bartholomew: The Ecclesiastical Discipline of the French Reformed Churches, 1571-1572.' *French History*, 4, 3 (September 1990), 340-377. (Contains an edition of the *Discipline Ecclésiastique* of La Rochelle, 12 April 1571. See also *Printed Sources*, Aymon, and Quick, above.)
- Sutherland, Nicola M. *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559-1572*. London: 1974.
- . *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- . *Princes, Politics and Religion, 1547-1589*. Historical Series, 30. London: Hambledon Press, 1984.

- , 'The Origins of Queen Elizabeth's Relations with the Huguenots, 1559-1562.' *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XX (1963), 626-648.
- , 'The Role of Coligny in the French Civil War.' In *Actes du colloque L'Amiral de Coligny*, 1974, pp.21-30.
- Swanson, Guy E. *Religion and Regime: A Sociological Account of the Reformation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.
- Taber, Linda L. 'Royal Policy and Religious Dissent within the Parlement of Paris, 1559-1562.' PhD thesis. Stanford University, June 1982.
- Tachouzin, Patrick. *Henry de Navarre à Nérac*. Nérac: Amis du Vieux Nérac, 1989.
- Tamizey de Larroque, P. *Antoine de Noailles à Bordeaux*. Bordeaux: C. Lefebvre, 1878.
- , *Documents Inédits Pour Servir à l'Histoire de l'Agenais*. Bordeaux: C. Lefebvre, 1874.
- Tavard, George H. *Holy Writ or Holy Church: The Crisis of the Protestant Reformation*. London: Burns and Oates, 1959.
- Taylor, Larissa. *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Thompson, James Westfall. *The Wars of Religion in France 1559-1576*. New York: F. Ungar, 1957 (reprint of ed. of 1909).
- Thompson, John Lee. *John Calvin and the Daughters of Sarah: Women in regular and exceptional roles in the exegesis of Calvin, his predecessors, and his contemporaries*. Geneva: Droz, 1992.
- Thorp, Malcolm R., and Arthur J. Slavin. Eds. *Politics, Religion & Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of De Lamar Jensen*. Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 27. Kirksville (Mo.): Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994. (See also Pierson, Peter, above.)
- Tinsley, Barbara Sher. *History and Polemics in the French Reformation: Florimond de Raemond, Defender of the Church*. Selinsgrove (Pa.): Susquehanna University Press, and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992.
- Tonkin, John. 'The Calvin Enigma Revisited.' *Journal of Religious History*, 18, 2 (December 1994), pp.219-226. Reviews of: Jean-Daniel Benoit, *Calvin and His Letters: A Study of Calvin's Pastoral Counselling*, Appleford, Sutton Courtenay Press, 1991; William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1988; Alexandre Ganoczy, *The Young Calvin*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1987; Alister E. McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin: A Study of the Shaping of Western Culture*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1990; Heiko Oberman, *Initia Calvini: The Matrix of Calvin's Reformation*, Amsterdam, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1991.
- , Ed., and A.G. Dickens. *The Reformation in Historical Thought*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Trindade, W. Ann. 'Berengaria of Navarre - England's Neglected Queen as Patroness of the Cistercian Order.' In John Stanley Martin, Ed. *St Bernard of Clairvaux the Man*. Melbourne: Department of Germanic Studies and Russian, University of Melbourne, 1991, pp.21-30.
- Trocmé, E. 'Réflexion sur le séparatisme rochelais, 1568-1628.' *BSHPF*, 122 (1979).
- Tucoc-Chala, Pierre. *Gaston Fébus et la Vicomté de Béarn (1343-1391)*. Bordeaux: Imp. Bière, 1959.
- , *La vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines jusqu'à 1620*. Bordeaux: Imp. Bière, 1961.
- , and Christian Desplat. *Principatus Beneamnia. La Principauté de Béarn*. Pau: Soc. Nouvelle d'Éditions Regionales et de Diffusion, 1980.
- , *Béarn*. Paris: C. Bonneton, 1986.
- , *Histoire de Pau* (directed by). Toulouse: Privat, 1989.
- , *Catherine de Bourbon: Une calviniste exemplaire*. Biarritz: Atlantica, 1997.
- , 'Le développement urbain de Pau à l'époque de Jeanne d'Albret et d'Henri de Navarre (1555-1589).' In Garriçon, *Provinces et pays du Midi au temps d'Henri IV de Navarre, 1555-1589* (1989), pp.251-271.

- Tucoc-Chala, Suzanne. 'Un patrimoine méconnu des pays de l'Adour, les temples réformés XVI-XXe siècles.' *Centre d'Etude du Protestantisme Béarnais (CEPB)*, 8ème numéro spécial, 1990.
- . 'Le Réveil Protestant dans la Consistoriale d'Orthez.' *Revue de Pau et du Béarn*, 21 (1994).
- Vale, M. 'The Gascon nobility and the crisis of loyalty, 1294-1337.' In *La 'France Anglaise' au Moyen Age*. Actes du IIIe Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Poitiers, 1986). Vol.1. Paris: Ed. C.T.H.S., 1988, pp.207-216.
- Vauvilliers, Mlle. *Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret, Reine de Navarre*. 3 vols. Paris: L. Janet et F. Guitel, 1818.
- Vic, Claude de, see De Vic, Claude.
- Vose, Heather M. 'A Sixteenth-Century Assessment of the French Church in the Years 1521-4 by Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet of Meaux.' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39, 4 (October 1988), 509-519.
- Wagret, Paul (under the direction of). *Histoire de Vendôme et du Vendômois*. Toulouse: Privat, 1984.
- Weber, Edith. 'Le psautier huguenot: hier et aujourd'hui.' *BSHPF*, 125 (October-December 1979), 523-47.
- . 'Chant et musique des Réformés français: le psautier huguenot.' *Maison-Dieu*, 164 (1985), 7-29.
- Weiss, N. 'La Conversion de Jeanne d'Albret.' *BSHPF* (1923), 72-127.
- Wendel, François. *Calvin*. Trans. Philip Mairet. London: Collins, Fontana, 1974.
- Wood, James B. *The king's army: Warfare, soldiers, and society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . 'The Royal Army during the Early Wars of Religion.' In Mack P. Holt. Ed. *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*. Athens (Ga): 1991, pp.1-35.
- Woodhouse, A.S.P. (1895-1964). *Puritanism and Liberty*. 2nd ed. London: Dent, 1956. Introduction.
- Wolff, Philippe. See *Atlas historique*.
- Zink, Anne. *L'héritier de la maison: Géographie coutumière du Sud-Ouest de la France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Civilisations et sociétés, 87). Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1993. (Review: See Sahlins, Peter, above.)

INDEX

- Abraham**, Children of, 177, 224
 admirals, of Guyenne, 58-62; of
 realm of France, *see* Coligny,
 Gaspard de
 Adour, river, war front, 235-8
 Adrets, family, barons of, 320
 Agen, Agenais, Agenois, 21, 41-2, 85-
 6, 154, 193, 216, 230, and
 medieval bridge at, 41, 250,
 Collège, 85, and temple Ste
 Capraise, 101; bishop, bishopric,
 127; war in, 234-63
 Aguyn, Guillaume, of Plymouth, 245
 n.133
 Aiguillon, on river Garonne, 247
 Ailhas (Aillas, south of Langon),
 Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
 Aire-sur-Adour, *see* Adour
 Alava, Frances de, ambassador of
 Spain to the court of France, 174,
 193, 204-5, 209, 261, 265-71
 Alba, Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo,
 duke of, 50; governor-general of
 Spanish Netherlands, 265-8
 Albret, duchy, territory, 21, 56, 157,
 165, 189, 261, 276 n.58
 Albret (Labret, Lebret, Lebreto,
 Lebrit), dynasty, family, house of,
 2-3, 13, 42, 43-76, 288-9, 294-5;
 domains, incohesion, and titles of,
 56-7, 75-6; general conclusions
 concerning, 307-8, 310; their
 failure to assert power in Bordeaux,
 313-14; *see also* Albret, duchy,
 territory; Albret, *Trésor des Chartes*
d'; and *see* blood
 Albret, Alain d', 'le Grand', count of
 Périgord and Limousin, 47
 Albret, Amanieu VII d', 45
 Albret, Arnaud-Armanieu d', 47
 Albret, Bérard I d', lord of Vayre, 46
 n.13
 Albret, Bernard-Aiz V d', 46
 Albret, Henry II d', Jean d', Jeanne III
 d', *see* Navarre
 Albret, Louis d', bishop of Lescar, 73,
 102-3
 Albret, Mathe d', dame of Bergerac
 and Moncuq, 45-7; dowry of, 281
 Albret, Pedro d', illegitimate son of
 Jean, 130, 266
 Albret, Perducat d', military governor
 of Bergerac, 46
 Albret, *Trésor des Chartes d'*, manuscript
 collection, 45-7
 Alençon, duchy of, 56; Jeanne at, 71
 Alençon, Françoise d', 71
 Alfonso VII, king of Castile and Leon,
 29
 Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, 29
 Amboise, 109, 292; edict of, 152; *see*
also Edict of Pacification
 America, French Protestant refuge,
 sanctuary in: 'Antarctic France',
 Brazil, Canada, Florida, Fort
 Coligny, 'great Atlantic plan', Rio
 de Janeiro, 167-8, 270
 Ammonites, 28, 225-7
 Amorites, land of, 225-7
 anagrams, 136, 150 n.126, 226
 Andelot, François d', brother of
 admiral Coligny, 182 n.34
 Andelys, on river Seine, 151
 Angoulême, Angoumois, duchy of, 37,
 57, 209, 211, 216, 259; Tillet and
 Calvin at, 86
 Anjou, duchy, 57
 Annexsay, Jeanne, countess of, 276
 n.58, 285 n.104
 Antarctic France, *see* America
 Antichrist, 25, 164, 169; *see also* Satan
 Antioch, Passage of (Antioche, le
 Pertuis de), 94-5
 Antiochus, king; *see* Zurich, and
 Antioch, Passage of
 Antoine de la Tour, *ecuyer* of Louis XI,
 47
 Antwerp, 88
 Aquitaine, Aquitania, Aquitanian (*see*
also Guyenne, Guyennan), 1-2, 18-
 21, 46-9, 56-7, 62, 148, 152, 208,
 212; 'a dowry for a queen', 294;
 Protestant dream of, 306, 315
 Aragon, 29; crown of, 51
 Archiac, 204
 Archives, *see* Archives nationales,
 Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Simancas
 Archives nationales, Paris, 11, 283;
 Series K 100/b, 339
 Argentat, in Quercy, 243 n.127
 Armagnac, Armagnac, county, duchy,
 21, 56, 261, 267 n.13, 276 n.58;

- cardinal of, 102, 157; pillaging of, 249
- Arnon, river, 225-7, 229; 'the cities that are on the banks of the Arnon', 239, 252, 262; *and see* Garonne, river
- arquebustiers*, 230, 235, 250
- Artix, atrocities at, 232
- Astarac, 172
- Atlantic, ocean, 19, 21; coast, ports, 35-6, 59-62
- Aubeterre, 204
- Aubigné, Théodore Agrippa d', 10, 136, 153, 224, 227, 242, 257, 297-8, 302
- auditoires*, 123
- Aunis, 21, 36, 58-61, 98
- Auvergne, heresy in, 104 n.113; regiment of, 203
- Aydie, family, 47
- Baal**, 177-9; *see also* idols; Kings, book of
- Babylon, 144, 177, 180, 216; *see also* France
- Bagnères-de-Bigorre, 238
- Baianès, Bayanès, territory south of Bergerac, 31 n.47, 281 n.85
- Bajamont, castle above Agen, 253
- Baluze, manuscript collection, 10, 231, 339-40
- Bannes, castle, Périgord, 46
- Barbezicux (Charente), 204
- Barbot, Amos, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, 184-5
- Barran, Pierre-Henry de ('Maître Henri'), preacher, 101-2
- Basle, 87
- Basque, territory, 22; component territory of general government of Guyenne in 1650-1651, 342-3
- Basse-Guyenne, 22
- Basse-Navarre, 'French', *see* Navarre
- Bassillon, Bertrand de Gabaston, lord of, Catholic governor of Navarrenx, executed, 232
- bastides, 34
- Bastille, 37 n.70
- Baum, Johan Wilhelm, 140
- Bayonne, 36, 59, 61, 266, 302
- Bazadais, Bazadois (alt. Basadois), Bazas, 21, 166, 253, 257
- Béarn, Béarnais, 2-3, 21, 26-9, 50-6, 149; and Béarnais language, 29, and Estates of, 49, 53-4, 63, 70, 74-5, 103, 109, and evangelisation of, and Reformed pastors to, 108, and Reformed establishment in, 'liberty of conscience' in, first *Discipline ecclésiastique* of, 132, 156-7; Catholic Church, Reformed distribution of wealth, forced 'liberation' of monks and nuns in, 164; Catholic revolt, 184-5; Jeanne's 'abandonment' of, 206, and royal seizure, 215-16, and union with France, exclusion from, 224; money of, *see* Morlaas; Montgomery's reconquest of, 228-40, and cannon seized in, 267, and complaints of, and actions against, Catholics in, 274-7, 282-8; order by Jeanne for 'entire restoration of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ' in, 284-8; Synod of, 287; the administration of Henry III of Navarre, 302, and of Catherine as regent, 304; the realm dissolved, 306; *see also* Navarre
- Beatrice (Sancha) of Castile, 29
- Beaumont, bastide, Périgord, 46
- Beaumont, Jeanne, duchess of, 276 n.58
- Beauregard, Etienne Autour, lord of, of Geneva, chargé d'affaires of Jeanne, 163 n.197
- Beauvoir, Louis Goulard, lord of, governor of Prince Henry, 293 nn.138, 139
- Beloy, sieur de, 28, 224
- Berenguela (Berengaria), princess of Navarre, queen of England, 29
- Bergerac, Bergeracois, Albret seigneurie, town and bridge at, 9, 18, 31, 37-41, 45-7, 89-90, 96-7, 107, 130-1, 148-51, 189, 192-203, 211, 243, 260, 281, 290, 292; *collège*, 165; peace negotiations at, 303
- Berne, 87
- Berry, apanage, 17; duchy, 56; excluded in dowry, 57-8, and question of dowering of Guyenne, 294-6
- Beza, *see* Bèze
- Bèze, Théodore de, 1, 9-10, 78, 107-16, 124, 126, 134-8, 140, 142, 163, 168-70, 178 n.211, 182, 203, 208-9, 278-80; as 'Monsieur de Chalonnet', 114; *De haereticus, Du droit des magistrats*, 125; *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 149, 155, and *Correspondance*, 150-1, 218, 222-3
- Bible, in French, 65, 92; *Geneva Bible*

- (1560), 180, 185, 226 n.48;
Reformed war strategy by biblical analogy, 224-30, 310-11; see also New Testament, Old Testament, Chronicles, Exodus, Jeremiah, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Matthew, Paul (epistles of), Psalms, Samuel, Song of Songs
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, 10-11, 144, 339-41
- Bidal, servant of Gourdon, 104; *see also* Vidal
- bienfaits du roi*, 59
- biens paraphernaux*, 57, 294
- Bigorre, area, viscounty, 21, 56, 172, 229, 261; countess Jeanne of, 276 n.58; in general government of Guyenne, 342-3
- Billon, Thomas, royal anagrammatist, 226 n.49
- Biron, Armand de Gontaut, baron of, 124, 260, 289, 296-7; castle of, 289-91
- Blaye, fortress, ferry crossing of Gironde, 18, 147, 211, 237, 245, 254, 302; Catholic prisoners held at, 245
- Blois, Treaty of, 28, 51; *see also* France, court
- blood, and Jeanne's dynasty as 'my blood', 196-204, 263-9, 288-9; 'blood wedding', 298; 'city of blood', *see* Paris; *see also* Albret, dynasty; first prince of the; Navarre, Antoine; Navarre, Henry III; Navarre, Jeanne III
- Boisnormand, *see* Leguy
- bondage, escape from, 1, 179, 216; *see also* Exodus
- Bonnet, Jules, 81, 94-6, 113
- Bonny-sur-Loire, 181
- Bordeaux, Bordelais, 7, 13-19, 23, 26-8, 32-41, 58-62, 107, 166, 172-3, 180, 208, 211-12, 219-21, 266; Catholic control of, 99, 117, 128, 154; Collège de Guyenne at, 128; first Protestant attempt to seize, and failure, 146-8; Château-Trompette, fort of, 146, 302; executions ordered in, 216; fortification of, 237, and holding of Protestant prisoners in, 245; Lansac and Monluc's defence of, 247-51, 254-9; New Jerusalem of Promised Land of Guyenne, 262-3, 314; refusal of entry to Henry of Navarre, 302; summary of evidence and conclusions of aborted plan, and Reformed failure to take, as key to Guyenne, 311-14; *see also* Parlement
- Bordeaux III, University of, 8
- Bordenave, Nicolas de, 4, 9, 71, 101-2, 103, 113, 163, 190, 193
- Bort-les-Orgues, Dordogne bridge at, above Argentat, 246
- Bouchonneau, director-general of *gabelles* in Guyenne, 36
- boulevard of France, Spain-Paris, Guyenne as, 40, 47-8
- boundaries, 31 n.47
- Bouniagues, bourg south of Bergerac, 149 n.125
- Bourbon, *see* Charles, Charlotte, Marguerite, Pierre; Condé, Henry, Louis; Navarre, Antoine, Catherine, Henry, Henry III, Louis-Charles, Magdelaine(?)
- Bourbon, Charles de, illegitimate son of Antoine, 133 n.53, 219, 266
- Bourbon, Charles de, cardinal, 201
- Bourbon, Charles de, duke of Vendôme, 71
- Bourbon, Charlotte de, 296 n.151
- Bourbon, Marguerite de, sister of king Charles V, 47
- Bourbon, Pierre de, 21
- Bourg, Ann du, executed, 112 n.140, 319
- Bourg, fortress town, 147, 211, 219
- Bourgeon, G., 79
- Brannoix, de, signatory for Queen Jeanne's council at La Rochelle, 275 n.56
- Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, lord of, 79
- Braudel, Fernand, 240-1
- Brazil, *see* America
- Bretagne, Brittany, 34-5, 39 n.83, 59
- Brétigny, Treaty of, 35-6
- Briçonnet, Guillaume, bishop of Meaux, 63-5
- bridge of boats, across river Garonne at Port Ste Marie, 247-59, 262; summary of evidence and conclusions concerning, 311
- Bridoire, castle in Bergeracois, 150, 211-12 n.152
- Brienne, manuscript collection, 341
- Briquemart, Protestant captain, 221
- Brouage, Atlantic seaport, 22, 36, 61, 94, 220 n.26, 254; 'piracy' from, 269-71
- Brown, Elizabeth A.R., 20-1

- Bucer, Martin, 94
 Bullinger, Heinrich, 122, 132, 208
 Burgundy, province of France, 59;
 Huguenot leaders in, 173
 Burie, Charles de Coucy, lord of,
 lieutenant-general of Guyenne,
 107-8, 124, 127-9, 146-8, 154;
 death (1565), 155
- C**
 Cadier, Léon, 8
 Cadillac, 146
 Cadouin, Cistercian abbey, 38 n.74,
 194 n.74
 Cahors, 46, 77
 Cahusac, village, 90
 Cairns, C.C., 4 n.6
 Calvin, John (Jean), 9, 25, 63-8, 78,
 86-101, 125, 182-3, 186; and
 Institutes of the Christian Religion, 87;
 as 'Charles d'Espeville', 90;
 authority of and exercise of power
 by women, 105, 227-8; enlistment
 of Antoine, 105-8, 111-13, 201;
 enlistment of Jeanne, 113-16, 132-
 3, 136-7, 150-1, 152-4, 157; his
 death, 163
 Calvo, Bonifacio, troubadour, 29
 Cambrai, Treaty of (1529), 54
 Canada, *see* America
 Candale, Henri de Foix-Candale,
 count of, 147
 Candau, Françoise de, widow, Béarn,
 164 n.200
 Capdenac, on river Lot, 246
 captains, Reformed, in Guyenne, 128-9
 Cardaillac, Jeanne de, sister of Flotard
 de Gourdon, wife of Terride, 289
 n.125
 Cassaigne, near Nérac, 176
 Casteljalous, Albret town and house,
 45, 165, 189-190, 254; sacked,
 tombs profaned, 169-70
 Castelmoron, Albret territory, Entre-
 Deux-Mers, 165
 Castelnau, Michel de, 256-7
 Castile, 29, 50
 Castillonès, bastide, 46
 Castres, 39, 229-32
 Castries, duc de, 6 n.12, 299 n.165,
 300
 Catalonia, 31
 Cateau-Cambresis, Treaty of (1559),
 108
 cathedral, of Bordeaux, St André, 17;
 Pamplona, Santa Maria, 43, 48;
 Paris, Notre-Dame, 298; *see also*
 Chartres, Lescar, Reims
- Catherine de Bourbon, *see* Navarre,
 Catherine de Bourbon, princess of
 Catholic, Church, clergy, faith,
 Gallican church, Most Catholic
 monarch, Roman church, royal
 Catholic France, society, strategy,
 1, 18, 23-5, 32-5, 64-5, 91, 108,
 117, 122-4, 128, 131, 135-6, 141,
 149, 157, 161, 164, 168, 172-3,
 175, 197, 207-8, 215-18, 224, 226,
 229, 236, 244, 280, 293, 313; and
 Jeanne's renunciation of, 113; as
 'false prophets of Baal', 'idolatry',
 prostituted by the Devil, 'Throne
 of Pure Pride', 'vile Babylon', 144-
 5, 164, 177, 180, 186-7, 216, 224;
 Reformed violence against, 151,
 169-70, 174, 232-4, 263-4, 273-7,
 282-8; unification under, 306;
 Vatican, 160; *see also* Inquisition
 Caumont-La Force, family, 47, 146;
 castles of Caumont and La Force,
 146-7, 198-9
 Caumont, Geoffrey, baron of, 199
 Caumont-La Force, François Nompars
 de Caumont, duke of, 198-9, 289
 Cauterets, Pyrenean spa, 63, 70
 Cayet, Palma, 103
 Cazaulx, royal captain, 237 n.99
 Cazaux, Yves, 4 n.6, 5-6, 12, 83, 233-
 4, 237
 Cecil, secretary of state, England, 210
 Cène, La, *see* Lord's Supper
 Cénevières (Lot), castle, 77, 143, 290
 Cerdanya, 30-1
 Chalos (Chalosse), between Dax and
 Aire, component territory of
 general government of Guyenne in
 1711, 343
 Champagne, province of France, 59
 Champlain, Samuel de, 270
 Chantonnay, Spanish ambassador to
 court of France, 133-4, 136
 Charente, river, 21, 254
 Charles, prince of France, duke of
 Guyenne, 17, 20-1, 23
 Charles V, king of Spain, Holy Roman
 Emperor, 55, 82 n.14, 104
 Charles V, king of France, 47
 Charles VIII, king of France, 60
 Charles IX, king of France, 57, 111,
 126-7, 134, 136, 144-5, 148, 158,
 162-4, 168 n.218, 169, 172-5, 191-
 9, 244-5, 261, 266-7, 271, 282-4,
 291-6, 319; orders confiscation of
 Jeanne's properties, deprivation of
 estates and offices of Reformed

- government and legal officers, 207-8; orders seizure of Béarn and Navarre, 215-16; perceived to seek elimination of Protestants of France, 301-2; recollected death, 302
- Chartres, crowning at, 306
- Chastelier, sieur de, Protestant naval lieutenant-general, 202 n.110
- Châteaubriand, Châteaubriant, edict of, 82 n.15, 97, 104, 318 n.7
- Châtellerault, in Berry, 70; in Poitou, 152, 244
- Châtillon, Odet de, cardinal of, brother of admiral Coligny, supporter of Huguenot cause, 246-7, 260
- Chaunay, 292
- chefs-général, Reformed, in Guyenne, 129
- Chenonceaux, royal house on Loire, 292
- Chinon, 244, 261
- Chosen People, God's, Reformed as, 1, 24, 117, 138, 217, 222, 313; *see also* Abraham, God, Hebrew, Israel, Jacob
- Christ, Jesus, 2, 32, 96, 135-6, 160; 'kingdom of Christ on Earth', Reformed, 25, 126, 284-8; 'risen again in Aquitaine', 148-51, symbolism of resurrection, 150-1; temporal power of, 164; three evocations of by Jeanne, 292-3; *and see* Messiah
- Chronicles, book of, 222
- Church of England, Anglican Church, 187
- Churchill, Winston, 240
- circles of identity, 31
- Clairac, 85, 156, 247, 249
- Clement V, pope, bull of, 24
- Clermont, Robert, count of, 71
- Cleves, William, duke of, 67, 70, 267
- clientage, clients*, 59-60
- Coarrez, 232
- Cocula, Anne-Marie, 6-7, 195-6, 305
- Cognac, 204, 260
- Coligny, Gaspard de, admiral of France, Protestant military leader under Condé and Jeanne, 140, 152, 270, 279; 'Atlantic plan' of, 167-8; escape to La Rochelle, 176-88; leader in third war in Guyenne, 218-62: absence of memoirs, 218, 254; at Moncontour, wounded, 239-40, campaign on banks of the Garonne, and plan, strategy, 241-59, 'great retreat', 258-62; marriage, 268; Paris, 291, and at deathbed of Queen Jeanne, 297, and his death, 298
- Colladon, Nicolas, biographer of Calvin, 64
- Collège de Guyenne, 40, 85
- colloquy, *see* Poissy
- Colomb., admiralty magistrate of Bordeaux, 247
- Colombier (Dordogne), *see* Labadie
- colonels, Reformed, in Guyenne, 129
- Commingses, 21, 172, 236
- Communay, Arnaud, 228, 231, 232-3
- Compostela, St James of, pilgrimage to, 38, 194
- Condé, Henry, prince of, 238, 279; escorts Jeanne, 292
- Condé, Louis de, prince of, brother of Antoine of Navarre, Protestant leader, 109, 111, 140-1, 145, 149, 168, 200, 320; escape to La Rochelle, 176-88; named 'Defender of the Religion', 204, 218; shot dead, 219
- Condom, Condomois, 21, 32-3, 228, 238-9, 248-9, 267
- Confession of La Rochelle, *see* Ecclesiastical Discipline; *and see* Rochelle, La
- Conserans, west of Foix, component territory of general government of Guyenne in 1711, 343
- consuls, of Bergerac, 38
- Cordeliers, provincial of for Aquitaine, 127-8; *see also* Franciscans
- Cormère, Jean ('Barrelles'), minister of Ste Foy and Agen, 129
- coronation, 43, 48, 75, 306
- Coucy, chateau (Aisne), 72
- Courtault, Paul, 8, 129; *Blaise de Monluc historien*, 241, 273-4
- crescent, Calvinist, Protestant (La Rochelle to Geneva), 7, 100; 'safe route', 35, 189, 195-6, 229, 243, 281, 314
- Crespin, Jean, *Histoire des Martyrs*, 156, 222
- Crouzet, Denis, 32-3, 123 n.10
- Crussol, M. de, 128
- Cumberland, 30
- Cyrano de Bergerac, 150 n.126
- Daix**, doctor, of Bergerac, 195
- Darros (d'Arros, of Arros), Bernard, 301 n.173; *and see* Darros, Guy

- Darros (d'Arros, of Arros), Guy
 d'Auvillars, lord, captain-general of
 Navarrenx, 74, 169, 215; in Béarn
 and Navarre, Jeanne's lieutenant-
 general, 176, 273-7, 285; in
 Jeanne's absence, co-governor, 238;
 later discharged by Henry, 299,
 301
- Dartigue-Peyrou, Charles, 8, 44, 55
- Dauphiné, province of France, 59
- David, Pierre, preacher, 101-2, 107
- David, *see* Psalms
- De Vic, Claude, and Jean-Joseph
 Vaissetc, 229
- Dead Sea, 225
- Delaborde, Henri, 256-7
- democracy, democratic, elements in
 French Reformed churches, 166-7;
see also Morély
- Desplat, Christian, 8
- destroit*, of Guyenne, Béarn within, 27
- diagonal, Protestant (La Rochelle to
 Montauban), 7; *and see* crescent,
 Calvinist
- dime, 127
- Doat, manuscript collection, 340
- Donnesan, Jeanne, sovereign dame of,
 285 n.104
- Dordogne, river, 18-19, 26, 37-9, 173,
 184, 229, 235, 243, 246, 254;
 Protestant concentration in valley
 of, 148, and strategic importance
 of, 193-4; bridge, *see* Bergerac; *see
 also* Bort-les-Orgues
- Dover, 220
- Dreux, battle of (1562), 141, 149
- Dronne, river, 243
- Dropt, river, valley, 90, 148-9
- Dubrowski, Peter, manuscript
 collection, 10-11, 341
- Duras, family, 47
- Duras, Symphorien de Durfort, lord of,
 Protestant army chief in Guyenne,
 130, 146-9, 155
- Durham, 30
- dynasty, family, house, *see* Albret;
 Bourbon; *see also* blood
- E**aux-Chaudes, Pyrenean spa, 63, 70,
 162, 284, 290
- Eauze, river at, 238
- Ecclesiastical Discipline, 10; *see also*
 Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret;
 Rochelle, La
- Edict of 1607, exclusion of Béarn from
 unification of France, 28
- Edict of January (1562), 137, 145
- Edict of Nantes, and revocation of, 306
- Edict of Pacification (1563), 152, 157-
 8, 166
- églises dressées*, 100
- églises plantées*, 100
- Egypt, 1, 144-5, 160, 177-9, 185, 224;
see also Exodus
- el camino real*, Bordeaux-Poitiers, 40,
 268-9
- Eleanor of Aquitaine, 17, 29
- Eleanor, queen of France, wife of
 Francis I, 55
- Elijah, *see* Kings, book of
- Elizabeth I, queen of England, 35,
 121-2, 134, 177, 196, 201-3, 209-
 10, 217, 219-20, 247, 260, 296,
 301
- England, English, 25-30, 35-6, 160;
 aid, military of, to La Rochelle,
 209-11, 219-20; at Blaye, 237;
 English Channel, 269; potential
 alliance with Protestant France,
 296
- Entre-Deux-Mers, 146
- Escars, François, count of, 184; acting
 governor of Périgord and
 Limousin, 203
- Espeville, Charles d', *see* Calvin
- Estarac, south of Auch, component
 territory of general government of
 Guyenne in 1711, 343
- Estates-General, 35; *see also* Bordeaux,
 Toulouse
- Estates of Béarn, *see* Béarn
- Estillac, near Agen and Nérac, castle of
 Monluc, 154, 176, 189
- Eudes, count of Poitiers, duke of
 Gascony, 27
- Eurich, S. Amanada, 61 n.85, 271-2
- evangelising, 2, 35, 89-117, 122; *see also*
 Béarn, Guyenne, Navarre;
 Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret
- excommunication, 50
- Exodus, 1-2, 144-5, 179-80, 185-7,
 216, 218, 221, 226, 229
- Eymet, bastide, 149-50, 192
- F**arel, Guillaume, 77, 81, 86-7, 90,
 318
- Fenario, commissioner of Queen
 Jeanne in Béarn, 274 n.49
- Ferdinand, king of Aragon and Castile,
 50-2, 82 n.14
- Ferrara, Renée de France, duchess of,
 82 n.14, 86
- Fézenzaguët, county, 56
- fidèles*, 60

- 'first prince of the royal blood of France', 71, 105, 111, 288; *and see* Navarre, Antoine, king of; Navarre, Henry III, prince of, king of
- Florence, 33 n.57
- Florida, *see* America
- Foix, 21, 176, 232, and house of, 48; countess, counts, county of, 60, 261, 276 n.58
- Fonpeyre, La, fountain in Bergerac, 195
- Fontainebleau, edict, 112 n.140, 319; court refuge at, 139-40, and return to Paris, 145; Henry of Anjou at, 244
- Fontarailles, Michel d'Astarac, baron of, seneschal of Armagnac, 191-2, 203
- Fontenay, in Poitou, 152
- forgery question, *see* Vallant, Portefeuilles
- Fort Coligny, *see* America
- France, country, kingdom, monarchy, nation, realm of, 7-8, 20-36, 42, 160-2, 199-201, 206, 210; court of, at Paris, 3, 111, 141, 154, 198, 218, and court of, Blois, 53, 57, 269, 284-96; crown, king of, Most Catholic King of, 146, 196-7, 228, 294-6; France as 'vile Babylon', 145, 177, 180, 216; French as 'false prophets of Baal', 179; French royal 'grand tour' (1564-1566), 162, 168, 194-5; royal French armies, 191, 203, 232, 234-42, 288, royal French marines, 237, 251; royal French monarch as enemy of Reformed, 277; unification of realm, 306, and conclusions concerning, 313-15
- Franche-Comté, 269
- Francis I, king of France, 54-8, 62-6, 71, 143-4, 320; 'Sardanapalus', 90
- Francis II, dauphin, king of France, 71, 107, 109, 126; death, 111
- Francis of Alençon, 'Monsieur', brother of king Henry III of France, 302
- Franciscans, 32-3; *see also* Cordeliers
- Francisque-Michel, 29
- Françoise of Brittany, 47
- Francourt, Barbier, lord of, chancellor of Queen Jeanne at La Rochelle, co-signatory with Brannoix, 275 n.56
- Freer, Martha Walker, 4 n.6, 6
- Frégose, Janus, bishop of Agen, 127 n.27, 289 n.121
- Frégose, Jean Galéas, royal negotiator, 289, 295
- Fuenterrabia, 107
- Fumel, François de Segueville, baron of, murdered, 128
- G**abardan, Gabaudan, Gavardan, west of Condom, viscounty, 56, 172; Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
- gabelle*, tax, 27, 36-7, 92-4
- Gaches, Jacques, memoirs, 304
- Gaiffier, branch of Gourdon family, 324
- Gaillon, chateau (Normandy), 72
- Gallican, 23; *and see* Catholic church, France
- Gandie, Jeanne, duchess of, 276 n.58
- garden-refuges, Protestant, 40, 87, 92-4, 96; *see also* Palissy, Bernard
- Gardères, 149 n.125
- Gaillardet, lieu-dit, 149 n.125
- Garonne, river, 17-20, 26-7, 40-1, 146-8, 173, 184, 190-1, 196, 208-9, 226-7, 230-1, 235, 247-59, 284; *see also* 'bridge of boats'
- Garrison, Janine, 6-7, 30, 167 n.214, 195-6, 305
- Gascon, Gascony (Gascogne, Gascoigne, Guascogne), southern Guyenne, 19, 21, 27-30, 48, 184, 234-9, 247, 253; *see also* Guyenne
- Gaul, Roman, 19
- Gaullieur, Ernest, 149-50
- Gave, river, 232
- Geneva, Genevan, 1-2, 25, 35-6, 40, 64, 81, and Geneva Company of Pastors, 98-100; and Guyenne, pastors to, 85-117, 208; as model of military republic, 129-30, 167; Béarn, Genevan pastors to, 156, 162-3; and La Rochelle, 278-80; as 'New Jerusalem', paradigm of Guyenne, 261-3; viewed as foreign, 313
- gens d'armes*, 23, 236
- gens de bien*, 84 n.21, 143 n.98, 200 n.100
- Gensanne, Arnaud, secretary of Queen Jeanne, at La Rochelle, 275 nn.54, 55
- Georges, cardinal of Armagnac, papal legate to Béarn and Navarre, 157, 159-60
- Germany, 34, 125; Protestant princes of, 177; troops, mercenary of, 219, 239, 257-8
- Geronimo Manrigg, Spaniard in La Rochelle, 268
- Gironde, estuary, 18-19, 147, 173, 211, 255

- God, 24, 28, 52, 106, 109, 113-16, 124, 152-3, 160, 164, 167, 196-7, 205, 222-7, 278, 286; armies, battles, God of, 138, 177-8, 201-2, 205, 223, 234, 245 n.132, 261; condemns idols, 142, 178-9; God's favour, Divine Providence, great grace, legitimising grace, 184, 187-8, 191, 210, 293; God's wrath, 207; 'Lord who was on our side', special dispensation by, 227, 251; *see also* Chosen People, God's
- Godfrey de Bouillon, 263
- Gontaut-Biron, family, 47; *see also* Biron, Armand de Gontaut
- Goulart, Simon, ed. of Crespin, *Histoire des Martyrs*, 156
- Gourdon, viscounts of, letters, 4, 12-13, 77-84, 104, 111-12, 117, 138-9, 143-7, 152, 164, 169, 177-83, 185, 188, 192, 197 n.85, 199-200 n.97, 201, 205-6, 224, 237, 289-90, and later correspondence with Henry of Navarre and Henry III of France, 303-4; conclusions concerning, 308, and texts of, first letter, 317-19, third letter, 319, fifth letter, 320, eighth letter, 321-2, ninth letter, 322-3; Summary Comment on the Question of Authenticity, *see* Vallant; *see also* Antoine; *and see* Nicolas de Flotard
- Gourdon, Antoine, viscount of, of Cénevières, son and heir of Nicolas de Flotard, 12, 83, 104 n.110, 143-6, 152, 177, 208, 230, 237, 246, 289-90, 292, 320 n.16; correspondence with Henry of Navarre, 303; count, marquis of, 304
- Gourdon, François, viscount of, father of Nicolas de Flotard, 144
- Gourdon, Nicolas de Flotard, viscount of, of Cénevières, 12, 77-9, 83-4, 104, 289 n.125; death of, 143-44, 320
- Gouron, Marcel, 60-1, 272
- governors, of Guyenne, 58-63; of Picardy, 58; of the provinces of France, and of Languedoc, 59-60
- Gramont, Antoine d'Aurc, lord of, lieutenant-general of Queen Jeanne in Béarn, 150, 155, 162-3, 300-1
- grand tour, royal (1564-1566), *see* France
- 'great Atlantic plan', *see* America; *and see* Coligny
- great retreat, *see* Coligny
- Greengrass, Mark, 7
- Gregory XIII, pope, 298 n.160
- Grenade, P., minister of Clairac, 156 n.159
- Gros, Bernard, of Bergerac, 195
- grotto, *see* Tuileries
- guerre mouillée, la*, 108
- Guienne (alt. Guyenne), territory within larger ensemble of general and military government of Guyenne, 21-2, 342-3; *see also* Guyenne
- Guise, family, dukes of, 109, 112 n.141, 122, 126, 131, 204-5, 221, 291; *see also* Guise, François, duke of; Lorraine, Charles de Guise, cardinal of
- Guise, François, duke of, 137; assassination of, 152
- Guise, madame de, 11
- Guyenne (alt. Guienne), duchy, general and military government, governors and admirals of, province of France, territory, 1-7, 21-3, 44-9, 58-63, 147-159; as country, homeland, *patrie, pays*, sanctuary for Reformed, 2-4, 180, 188, 196-7, 208, 263, 288-9; as Promised Land of, 13-42, 306, 332, 314-15; in apanage, dowry, 17, 20, 268-9, 281, 293-6, 302; paramilitary Reformed organisations, strategy for Reformed conquest of, uprisings in, war in, 92-7, 124-31, 173-4, 216-18; pastors to, evangelisation of, 98-100, 108, 116-17, 122-4, 157-9, 165-8; Poitou included in, 126, 152; Reformed Genevan Republican model of, 129, 167; Reformed nobles, urban establishment in, 146, 189, 191-2, 208; Reformed ordered to be executed in, 216; Reformed revenues from admiralty of, 271-2; royal garrisons in, 284; said subject to Queen Elizabeth, 301; supposed offer of to Henry of Navarre, 302; 'United Provinces of the Midi' and aftermath: attitude of common people, 'La Plainte de la Guienne au Roy', 305-6, conclusions concerning, 307, 311-15; *Collège* of, *see* Bordeaux
- Haag, E. and E., 79
- Hamelin, Philibert, 93, 95-6
- Haute Garonne, 148-9

- Haute-Guyenne, 22
 Haute-Navarre, 'Spanish', *see* Navarre
 Hebrew, people, 1, language, 183; *see also* Israel, Jacob
 Henry, earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, 46
 Henry II, king of England, 29
 Henry II, king of France, 36, 82, 104, 125, 143-4; death of, 109, 230, 320
 Henry II, king of Navarre, *see* Navarre, Henry II d'Albret
 Henry III, king of France, *see* Henry of Anjou
 Henry (Henri) III, prince, king of Navarre, *see* Navarre, Henry III de Bourbon
 Henry (Henri) IV, king of France, *see* Navarre, Henry III de Bourbon
 Henry, Jean, preacher, 101-2
 Henry of Anjou ('Monsieur'), prince of France, Henry III, king of France, 134, 198, 200-1, 215, 219, 239, 243-4, 261, 302-3, 305-6
 Herminjard, Aimé Louis, 81
 Holland, *see* Netherlands
 holy war, 229; *and see* God; Chosen People
 Holy League, 51
 homeland, *see* Béarn, Guyenne, Navarre
 Hotman, François, 257-9
 Huguenot, 1, 13, 163, 167-8, 173-4, 180, 186, 191, 196, 206, 209-10, 212, 217-18, 243, 247, 254-5, 261, 270-1, 293, 297; origin of term, 110 n.134; their motto, 137-8; *see* Reformed; *see also* R.P.R.
 Huguenotte, *La*, Protestant warship, 220, 270
 Hundred Years War, 34, 36, 39
Iconoclasm, iconoclastic, *see* idols; *see also* violence
 idols, images, cast down in the Temple, 124, 160, 186-7; condemned by God, 142, 177-8; *see also* violence
 Ile-de-France, province of France, 59
 Illyricus, Thomas, Franciscan friar, 32-3, 85
 Imbart de la Tour, Pierre, 99, 131
 Indies, 270
 Inquisition, 41, 159, 162
 Isabella, queen of Aragon and Castile, 50
 Isle, river, 243, 254
 Israel, Israelites, 1-2, 36, 42, 153, 160, 178-80, 221-2, 251; children of, 185-6, 192 n.66, 222; kingdom, 185
 Issigeac, deaconate, episcopal summer palace, town, Périgord, 46, 292; Protestant uprising in, 122-5, and collegiate church of, 123
 Italy, 86
Jackson, Catherine Charlotte, 'Crossing the Loire,' 181
 Jacob, house of, 1
 Jacques de Foix, bishop of Lescar, 53
 Jarnac, 36; battle of, 219-21, 239
 Jean of Brittany, 47 n.19
 Jeanne I, queen of France and of Navarre, 48
 Jeanne II, queen of France and sovereign queen of Navarre, 48
 Jeanne III d'Albret, *see* Navarre, Jeanne III
 Jephthah, 28, 224-7
 Jeremiah, book of, 223
 Jericho, 180
 Jerusalem, 'New', 'Old', 35, 40, 42, 87-8, 160, 167, 180; *see also* Bordeaux, Geneva, Toulouse
 Jerusalem, temple of, near Val-de-Grâce (Paris), 138
 Jordan, river, 180, 186-8
 Joshua, book of, 180, 186
 Jourda, Pierre, 12, 80-1
 Juda, Judah, Judea, 1; analogy with Protestant Guyenne, 180, 185
 Judgement Day, 32
 Judges, 224-30, 249, 262; 'Song of Deborah', 153, 224
 Julius II, pope, 82 n.15; bulls of, *Exigit contumaciam obstinata protervitas, Pastor ille caelestis*, 50-1
jurats, *see* Parlement, of Bordeaux, of Toulouse
 justification by faith, 91
Kantorowitz, Ernst, 23
 Kent, 30
 Kingdon, Robert, 6, 98-100, 130
 Kings, book of, 179, 222
 Knox, John, *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, 105, 153
La Béraudière, Louise de, 133 n.53, 219
 la Borce (or la Borde), village in parish of Sarrance, 273 n.45
 La Charité, Loire bridge, 218, 259; place of security, 260

- La Ferrière, Hector de, 204 n.118, 295
 La Flèche, chateau (Anjou, Maine), 72
 La Force, *see* Caumont-La Force
 La Garde, Escalin, baron of, commander of royal marines on rivers Dordogne and Garonne, 237; defender of Bordeaux with Lansac, 248-51, 255
 La Jarrie, near La Rochelle, 276 n.61, 284, 286
 La Mothe Fénelon, Bertrand de Salignac, lord of, 169, 175, 184, 191-6, 198, 205, 209-10
 La Motte, Genevan minister at Nérac, 110
 La Noue, François de, Jeanne's lieutenant at La Rochelle, 174, 207, 218; memoirs, 272
 La Popelinière, Lancelot Voisin de, 10, 230, 242-53, 262
 La Rivière, family, consuls and *syndics* of Bergerac, 130 n.46
 La Rivière, lawyer, Protestant lieutenant, of Bergerac, 107 n.119, 130-1, 149 n.124; guerilla action of, 149-51; 191
 La Rochefoucauld, count of, 221
 La Salle, Joanicot de, controller general of Henry II of Navarre, 73
 La Sauve-Majeure, abbey in Entre-Deux-Mers, destruction of, 169
 La Sauvetat, near Eymet, 192
 Labadie (Colombier, Dordogne), village, 31; 'battle' of, 149-50
 Labouheyre, new castle of, 46 n.13
 Labour, south of Bayonne, component territory of general government of Guyenne in 1711, 343
 Lacoste, Guillaume, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, 143
 Lalinde, bastide, Périgord, 46
 Landes, 21, 28, 216, 237
 Langon, 257, 284
 Languedoc, province of France, 21, 34, 41, 58-9, 149, 207, 229-32, 236, 256, 258; heresy in, 104 n.113
 Languillier, Reformed minister at La Rochelle, 301
 Lansac, Louis de Saint Gelais, lord of, Catholic military governor of Bordeaux, 245-53
lansquenets, 239
 Larchant, lord of, 146 n.107
 Lautrec, Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
 Laverdun (Foix), 282
 Le Lude, royal house on Loire, 292
 Le Riche, Michel and Guillaume, *Journal*, 305-6
 Lectoure, bishopric purchased by Jeanne, 159, 165, 261, 267 n.13; Jeanne at, as 'lord' of, 291
 Lefèvre d'Etaples, Jacques, biblical scholar, resident at Marguerite's court, 63-5, 81
 Legay, François ('Boisnormand'), 101, 107, 128, 129 n.40
 Leicestershire, 30
 Lemée, Pierre, preacher, 101-2
 Leonora (Eleanor), princess of England, 29
 Lescar, Béarn, bishopric, cathedral, 53, 102-3, 157, 160; synod at, 238; tombs, Albret-Navarre in, 299-300
 Lestringant, Frank, 167 n.215
libertin, 68
 Libourne, 61
 lieutenants-general, of the provinces of France, 59
 Limoges, 58, 101, 193, 209; Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58; *see also* Limousin
 Limousin, 21, 37, 47, 49, 57; duchy of Jeanne, 180; in general government of Guyenne, 342-3; *see also* Limoges
 L'Isle-Jourdain, 21; county of L'Isle, 56
 Loire, bridges, river, valley, 1, 18-19, 50, 57, 133, 211, 216-18, 292; line of battle, 141; 'miraculous' Protestant crossing of, 179-88, 191, 196, 218, 251; *see also* La Charité
 Lomaque, county, 56
 London, 210, 220
 Longjumeau, on road to Orléans, 140; Peace and Edict of Pacification of (1568), 172-4
 Lons, Jean de, governor of Pau, 238
 Lonzac, south of Saintes, 284 nn.95, 96
 Lord's Supper, 108, 188, 290; Catholics forbidden admission to, 128; transubstantiation, 135
 Lormont, 17-18
 Lorraine, Charles de Guise, cardinal of, 128, 131, 135, 197
 Lort, Antoine de, 'papist', brother of Guillaume, 245
 Lort, Guillaume de, 'of the Religion', 245
 Losse, Jean de, king's lieutenant in Guyenne, 184, 246
 Lot, river, valley, 77, 148, 190, 192, 246-7, 254, 257
 Louis, duke of Orléans, 47 n.19

- Louis VII, prince of France, duke of Aquitaine, king of France, 17, 21
 Louis IX, king of France, *see* Saint Louis
 Louis XI, king of France, 17, 20-1, 27, 40, 47, 268-9, 294
 Louis XII, king of France, 28, 39, 50-1, 144, 161, 194
 Louis XIII, king of France, 226 n.49; dissolves kingdom of Navarre and sovereign state of Béarn, 306
 Louis XIV, king of France, revocation of Edict of Nantes by, 306
 Low Countries, *see* Netherlands
 Lusignan, 292
 Lutheran, Lutheranism, 32 n.53, 85, 91, 107, 156, 275
 Luxe, baron Charles de, leader of revolt of Catholic nobles of Navarre, 169, 172-3
 Luxembourg, 269
 Lyonnais, province of France, 59; *see also* Lyons
 Lyons, 68, 99, 100, 110
- M**
 Madrid, peace of (1526), 56 n.55
 Magnoac, 172
 Maigrin, viscount of, army companies of, 203
 Malhout, Jehan, 90
 Mansfeld, count of, 268
 Marck, assembly of, 82 n.14, 318
 Marenpuc, Landes, Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
 Marguerite de Turenne, dame of Bergerac and Moncuq, 46
 Marguerite, princess of France, 57, 134, 265-9, 292-6; marriage to Henry III of Navarre, 298
 Marle, Jeanne, countess of, 285 n.104
 Marot, Clément, poet, psalmist, secretary of Marguerite d'Angoulême of Navarre, 1, 63, 66-7, 145, 182, 185-6; poems, 'Epistle to the queen of Navarre,' 66-7, 78-9, and 'A une Damoyse malade,' 67 n.115
 Marquette, Jean-Bernard, 45 n.10
 marriage, 3, 70-2, 75, 264-9, 281-4
 Marsac, Jeanne, countess of, 276 n.58
 Marsan, viscounty, 56, 157, 166, 172, 253, and Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58; in general government of Guyenne, 343; *see also* Mont-de-Marsan
 Martin, preacher, 101
 Maruyama, Tadataka, 147 n.116
 Mas d'Agenais, 253
 Massif Central, 19, 246
 Mathe d'Armagnac, 47
 Matthew, gospel, power of the keys, power of binding and loosing, by Reformed churches, 25, 125
 Maure, countess of, 11
 Mayne, county, 57 n.66
 mayors, of Bergerac, 38
 Mazères, Foix, 232
 Meaux, 140
 Medici, Cosimo I de', duke of Tuscany, 295
 Médicis, Catherine de, queen of France, queen mother, regent of France, 37 n.70, 111, 113, 122, 126-8, 134, 139-40, 141, 145, 154-5, 158, 160-4, 168-9, 190-1, 194, 199-200, 261, 266-7, 282-4, 291-8, 301-2
 Mediterranean, 62, 258
 Médoc, island in Gironde estuary, 219
 Melanchthon, André, at Tonneins, 86
 Melanchthon, Philippe, 86
 Memy, Sieur de, Reformed chief of Haute-Guyenne, 129
 Mende, bishop of, 101
 Merlin, Raymond, Genevan minister in Béarn, 156-7; allegation concerning, 162-3; at deathbed of Jeanne, 297; escape from St Bartholomew's massacre, 298
 Messiah, Queen Jeanne seen as, 132-4
 Michelet, Jules, 218, 254
 Midi, 29, 256-7
 Millau, 304
 ministers, pastors, *see* Béarn, evangelising, Geneva, Guyenne, Reformed
 Mirabel, nephew of viscount of Gourdon, 320
 mission, *see* evangelising
 Moab, land of, 225-6, 229
 Monbrun, Charles du Puy, lord of, 256
 Moncontour, battle, 6, 238-40, 244
 Moncuq, fortress of Bergerac, castellany, 46-7, 281
 Monheurt, on river Garonne, 247
 Monier, Armand, of St Emilion, execution, 104 n.113
 Monluc, Blaise de, lieutenant of Guyenne, 8, 42, 107-8, 128-9, 148-51, 153-9, 162, 165, 170, 172-7, 183-4, 189-94, 216, 229, 235-8, 243-59, 295; *Commentaires*, omissions by him in, 151; Jeanne, 'obscene advances' towards, 155-6; myth of,

- 156; wounding and loss of office, 271
- Monluc, Jean de, son of Blaise, 228, 236, 243
- Monmarvès, parish church near Issigeac, 123
- Monsaguel, parish church near Issigeac, 123
- Mont-de-Marsan, 25, 236, 292; Reformed 'republic' of, 166
- Montamat, Bernard of Astarac, baron of, brother of Fontarailles, 191-2, 203; as second in command to Montgomery, 231-5; co-governor of Béarn in Jeanne's absence, 238; strategy, 252, 259
- Montauban, 7, 22 n.14, 33, 39-40, 229, 246, 253, 257-62; bishop of, 127
- Montaut, parish church near Issigeac, 123
- Montblanc, Jeanne, duchess of, 276 n.58
- Montbrun, noble family; *see also* Monbrun
- Montferrand (Monferrand), Charles de, governor of Bordeaux and the Bordelais, 237
- Montgomery (Mongommery, Mongonmery, Montgommeri, Montgomery), Gabriel de Lorges, count of, captain, Protestant general, 109, 191, 211; Jeanne's general of 'Army of the Viscounts' of Béarn campaign, 228-59; perceived atrocities attributed to, 232-4, 273, 289-90; self-description as king's lieutenant general in Guyenne, 238
- Montmorency, Ann de, constable of France, 93, 159
- Montmorency-Damville, Henry of, king's lieutenant in Languedoc, governor of Languedoc, Catholic *politique*, 165, 167, 229, 236-7; 'Provinces-Unies du Midi', co-governor of, 304
- Montmorillon, in Poitou, 152
- Montpellier, 39, 258
- Morely, Jean, lord of Villiers, 'Democraticus', 'Morely affair', 166
- Morlaas, 28, 53; money of Béarn, 54 n.50
- Moulins, 71
- Muret, near Toulouse, 230, 236
- Muret, Théodore, 4 n.6
- Mussidan, fortified town, 'the Navarrene's ark', 203, 292
- Nabonne**, Bernard, 4 n.6
- Nassau, Louis, count of, prince of, 210, 268, 279
- nation, 29-30
- Navarre, 2-3, Basse-Navarre ('French'), 22, 26, 49, 62; Haute-Navarre ('Spanish'), 29-30, 107-8, and succession of crown of, 43-4, female line, 48-9; kingdom of, 50-3, 151, 296; revolt of Catholic barons in, 172-3, 190, 282-4; royal seizure of, 215-16; union with France, exclusion from, 224; the realm dissolved, 306; *see also* Béarn
- Navarre, Antoine de Bourbon, king of, 'first prince of the blood of France', duke of Vendôme, governor of Guyenne, 21 n.11, 22, 54-5, 58-60, 126-8, governor of Picardy, 58, Guyenne, admiral of, 60, lieutenant-governor of France, 111, 141, 147; marriage to Jeanne, 71-5, and coronation, 75, and entry into Limoges, 100-1, and extramarital affairs and illegitimate son, 132-3; relations with Reformed religion, Jeanne, and Calvin, 101-8, 111-16, 130, 137-42, as 'Julian the Apostate', 'Juliani perfidia', 137 n.74; wounding, death, and burial of, 151, 199, 299-300
- Navarre, Catherine de Bourbon, princess of, 1, 72, 133, 190, 192, 204, 268; regent, administrator of restored Reformed realm of Béarn and Navarre, 304
- Navarre, Catherine of Foix, queen of, 43-52, 159
- Navarre, Eleanor, queen of, 48-9
- Navarre, Francis, minor king of, 49
- Navarre, Henry I 'the Fat', king of, 52 n.43
- Navarre, Henry II d'Albret, king of, governor and admiral of Guyenne, sovereign viscount of Béarn, 21 n.11, 36, 52-63; administration, death, 73-6; court at Nérac, 89
- Navarre, Henry (Henri) III de Bourbon (1553-1610), prince of, king of, Henry IV, king of France, 1, 5, 7-8, 28, 37 n.70, 133, 139, 146 n.107, 168, 190, 192, 194-8, 204-9, 224, and 'First Prince of the Royal Blood of France', 288; as admiral and governor of Guyenne, 22, 58,

- 60-2, 151, 154-5, 174-6, 236, 238, 263-4, 270-2; birth of, 72, and allegation concerning, 162-3; king, not at majority, 209; made nominal Protestant chief, 219-21, 224, 278-9; marriage negotiations, 265-9, 282-4, 288-96, and marriage to Marguerite of France, 298; massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, and aftermath: restoration of Catholic religion, 298-301, resumption of Reformed religion, 302; open letter from Agen, 302-3, and nationalism of, 306; 'Provinces-Unies du Midi', co-governor of, 304-5; unification of realm: abjuration, crowning as Henry IV of France, promulgation of Edict of Nantes, and assassination, 306
- Navarre, Henry de Bourbon, infant prince of, b.1550, d.1552, 72
- Navarre, Jean d'Albret, viscount of Tartas, king of, 43-52, 159
- Navarre, Jeanne (Jane, Jehanne, Johane) III d'Albret (1528-1572), sovereign queen of, sovereign viscountess of Béarn, 1-13, 22, 27-30, 32, 39, 44, 49, 52, 55-8, and her titles, 276 n.58, 285 n.104; birth, childhood, marriages, 69-72; children, 72; coronation, and entry into Limoges, 75-6, 100-1; early evangelising of, and supposed opposition to Reformed religion, 77-108; enlistment by Calvin, conversion to Reformed religion, politicisation, 113-17, 121-2, 138-47; her commitment to blood and *pays*, 130, 160, 196-203, 263, 265; her role at Paris and Poissy, 132-9; her wartime movements from Fontainebleau to Vendôme, 139-46; involvement in attack on St George church and tombs, 142; involvement in attempt to take Bordeaux, 146-7; involvement in guerilla actions in Périgord, 149-51; Jeanne's return to, and Reformed government of Béarn, 'our Deborah', sole sovereign queen, 151-2, 163-4, 206, 224, 227-8, 297-8; Jeanne's sovereignty and attempt to extend Protestantism over wider Guyenne: 157-9, 170-1, 173-5, and papal admonition and citation against, 159-62; 'La Duquesa de Vandoma': 168, 173, 193, 209, and refuge in Navarrenx, 172; *Mémoires*: 169, 172-83, 189-207, 219, 254, and *Lettres* from Bergerac, 173-5, 196-203, 263; militarisation of, escape from Nérac, and 'heroic march' to La Rochelle, 173-212, and declaration of holy war, 179; 'Procurador de los Hugonotes', 'Queen of the Calvinists', 'Queen of the Huguenots': 212, 265, 268, and her financial accounts, 217, 220-1, as acting party chief, as leader, 219-21, 228, 243, 245-6, her responsibility for executions, 232-4, her strategy at Parthenay, 239-40, 249, 256-9, 262, 310-11, her peace negotiations, 260-4, 272; proposed marriage of Henry, 265-9; seizure and redistribution of Roman Catholic assets and revenues in Béarn and Navarre in *Ordonnances* of 1570-March 1571, 273-8, 285; Synod, Confession and Ecclesiastical Discipline of La Rochelle, 278-80, and the four letters from La Rochelle, August 1571, 281-4, departure La Rochelle, arrival Pau, 284-90, *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, Pau, November 1571: adultery, child welfare, church attendance, consanguinity, consistency, debauchery, delinquent husbands, desertion, divorce, drunkenness, ecclesiastical council and committee, education, gambling, gluttony, immodesty, lewd singing and dancing, Lord's Supper, marriage, non-consummation, poor, promises, properties and revenues, separation, sodomy, synods, vagrancy, widows and orphans, young women, 284-8, 290, 323; time at Pau and marriage negotiations, 288-90; to Nérac, Lectoure, travel to court and marriage agreement at Blois, 291-6; travel to Paris, 'city of blood': and death, burial, destruction of remains, epitaph, will, 296-300; Vallant letter testimony, 308, and conclusions concerning Jeanne's Promised Land of Guyenne, 308-13, and

- reasons for her failure to impose a Protestant Guyenne, 315
- Navarre, Louis-Charles de Bourbon, infant prince of, d.1552, 72
- Navarre, Magdelaine(?) de Bourbon, infant princess of, d.1556, 72
- Navarre, Marguerite de Valois d'Angoulême, queen of, 55-8; 'evangelising' of, 62-73, and 'Lutheranism' of, 66; *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, 'Les Prisons,' 66; Calvin and Marot, 66-8; her death, 73; incident of caning, 77-84; Nérac, court of at, 79-86, 89-90; perceived role in evangelisation of Jeanne, 114; *see also* Berry
- Navarrenx, fortress, refuge, 11, 73-4, 121, 169, 172, 215, 232-4; cannon of, 248-9, 249, 253-4, 267; disarmament of, 306
- Navarrería, La, central Pamplona, 43
- Nay, Béarn, 102
- Nébousan, Nébouzan, east of Tarbes, viscounty, 56, 172, and Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
- Nemours, duchy, 57; Jeanne, duchess of, 276 n.58
- Nérac, 33, 42, 45, 53, 55, 61-2, and court and palace at, 57, 62-71, 79-86, 89-90, 121, 154; Beza at, 110-11; Jeanne at, 132, 176-90, 291, and Prince Henry not at, 296-7; Prince Henry and Princess Marguerite at, 294, 303
- Netherlands, 26, 36, 85, 210, 265; road, Spanish, to, and uprising in, 269, 269 n.26; sea lane to, 271
- New Religion, *see* Reformed
- New Testament, 40, 87, 222; *see also* Bible
- Nîmes, 39, 229, 258, 304; seneschal of, 104 n.113
- Niort, 240-1
- noblesse d'épée*, 38, 131
- noblesse de robe*, 38, 41, 130 n.46, 131
- Nogaro, 238
- Nontron, Périgord, 228
- Normandy, province of France, 59
- Northhamptonshire, 30
- Nostradamus, Michel, 226 n.49
- Noyers, Condé fortress in Burgundy, 181
- Noyon, Picardy, 87
- O**det, count of Foix, 60
- Odos, Bigorre, castle of Marguerite d'Angoulême of Navarre, 63, 72, 83-4, 318
- Olaizola Iguñiz, Juan Maria de, 234, 299
- Old Testament, 2, 28, 36, 42, 117, 124, 145, 153, 167, 179-80, 186, 221-8, 252, 262, 310-11; *see also* Bible
- Oléron, Ile de, 94
- Olivet, near Orléans, 141-2
- Olivetain, 92
- Oloron, 28, 53, 274, and diocese of, 52; bishop of, 101; *see also* Roussel, Gérard; Régin, Claude
- Ombrière, royal palace at Bordeaux, 216
- Orange, William of, 210
- Ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, 10; *see also* Béarn; and Navarre, Jeanne III d'Albret; *also* Reformed
- Origen, 187
- Orléans, town, edict of, 133-4, 138, 140-2, 149-50, 320
- Orthez, 28, 53, 232-4, 267, 274; *collège* of, 163-4
- P**ablo, Jean de, 94-5
- paillardise*, 288 n.117
- Palissy, Bernard, 37, 92-3, 167, 186, 188
- Pamiers, 267 n.13, 282
- Pamplona, 43, 48-53
- Panhol and Claval, *An historical geography of France*, 62
- Panisseau, Jean de, Protestant captain in Bergeracois, 124
- papacy, papal, *see* popes
- papist, 245 n.134, 321
- Pardaillan, family, related to Gourdon, 147; castle of, *see* Bridoire
- Pardaillan, 'le Puch de', *see* Ségur, Joachim de; *see also* Ségur, Berard de
- Pardiac, 172
- Paris, and court at, 3, 11, 20, 26, 35, 42, 211, 256; and university of, 86; and Reformed synod of (1559), 108-9; Jeanne at, 133-9, 168; Paris as 'city of blood', 292-8, 312, and death of Jeanne at, 297-8, and house of bishop of Chartres in, rue de Grenelle, 297, and Hotel d'Albret in, 297 n.157, Notre-Dame of, 298; *see also* France; and *see* St Bartholomew's
- parish, 31
- Parlement, of Bordeaux, *pouvoir royal* by, *ressort* of, 7, 23, 40-1, 63, 90,

- 96, 126-8, 147, 157, 165-6, 207, 261; of Toulouse, *pouvoir royal* by, *ressort* of, 7, 23, 41, 96, 117, 207, 236, 261; Paris, 90, 137, 207; royalist Catholic power, 314
- Parthenay, strategy, 6, 239-40, 249, 256-9, 262, 310-11
- pastel*, trade, 27
- patrie*, 30
- Pau, 10, 53-55, 57, 62-3, 71-5, 102, 108, 121, 157, 215-16, 234-5, 238; conversion of Queen Jeanne at, 113-17; Jeanne's return to, and Reformed government of, 151-62, 269, 273-7, 284-90; synod at, 156, 160
- Paul, Epistles of, 95-6
- Paul IV, pope, 104
- Pavia, French defeat at, 56
- pavillon*, at Bergerac, 195
- 'Pax certa, Victoria integra, Mors Honesta', medallion, motto, 219
- pays, l'amour du pays*, 29-30
- Pays-Bas, *see* Netherlands
- Pelletier, Jean Le, secretary of Queen Jeanne, 274 n.47, 275 nn.55, 56
- Penfiel, Jeanne, duchess of, 276 n.58
- Perche, county, 56
- Périgord, 21, 31, 37, 41, 47, 49, 57, 123, 149, 158, 189, 192, 203, 216, 281; Jeanne, countess of, 276 n.58; manuscript collection, 341
- Périgueux, 148
- Petrucchi, Jean-Marie, Tuscan ambassador to court of France, 295
- Peyre, Geoffroy de Peyre-Marchastel, baron of, Protestant captain, 235, 252, 259
- Philip II, king of Spain, 130, 134, 168, 193, 266-71
- Philip IV, king of France, 161
- Philip VI, king of France, 46, 281
- Picardy, province of France, 58
- Piedmont, military campaign, 56
- Piles, Armand de Clermont, lord of, Protestant captain in Bergeracois, 107 n.119, 130-1, 150-1, 191, 203, 221, 244-5; death of, 298
- piracy, privateering, Protestant, from La Rochelle, 211, 217, 269-72; *and see* Brouage
- Pius IV, pope, admonition and citation of, 159-62
- Pius V, pope, 267
- places of security, Protestant, 40, 260, 310; weakness of, 314
- playing cards, burning of, 33
- Plaze, Philippe, of Bergerac, 195
- Pluviers, 292 n.132
- Pocoy, Bernard de, poet, ex-counsellor of Queen Jeanne, 274
- Poissy, colloquy, 2, 115, 117, 122, 127, 131-6, 218; Dominican nuns' refectory, and prioress's room at, 134
- Poitiers, battle of, 38; town, 40, 289-90, 292; Reformed community and 'mother congregation' of, 87, 95-6; siege of, 220-1, 239
- Poitou, Estates of, 37; Guyenne, included in, 58, 126, 152; Guyenne, separated from, 60; province of, 95, 209
- politique*, 236
- Pons, Renaud de, lord of Bergerac and Moncuq, 45-6
- Pontac, Jean de, *greffier*, 41, 126-7, 147, 157; *see also* Parlement of Bordeaux
- popes, 18, 25 n.24, 131, 145, 159-62, 288; *see also* Clement V, Julius II, Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII; *see also* Catholic, Church
- Port Ste Marie, on river Garonne, *see* 'bridge of boats'
- Portal, general, spy, 150, 154
- pouvoir royal*, *see* Parlement
- Powis, Jonathan, 7
- Poyné, Pierre, lieutenant-general of Bergerac, 97
- Promised Land, 1-2, 13, 42, 117, 177, 180, 185-6, 187, 217, 224, 228, 263, 265, 304, 306, 314-15; *see also* Bordeaux, Guyenne, Rochelle, sanctuary
- Protestant, Protestantism, 34-5; *see* Reformed; *see also* Church of England, Huguenot, Lutheran; Scotland, Church (Kirk) of
- Provence, province of France, 59
- Provinces-Unies du Midi, 304-5
- Psalms, psalter, 1, 29-30, 37, 93-4, 128, 133, 136, 145, 158 n.170, 181-3, 185-8, 200, 222, 234, 251; *see also* Marot
- Pyrenees, 1, 19, 26, 30-1, 202, 238, 258
- Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Archives départementales des, Pau, 10-11, 38, 45, 73-5, 104, 215-16, 274, 342-3
- Quercy, 21, 203; and Bas Quercy, 343
- R.P.R. (Religion Prétendue Réformée), 97, 173, 208, 243 n.125, 260-1; *see also* Reformed

- Raemond, Florimond de, counsellor in Parlement of Bordeaux, 123
- Ramus, Peter, 280
- Ré, Ile de, 94-5
- Red Sea, 1, 144-5, 179, 184-8, 225; *see also* Exodus
- Reformed, churches of France, New Religion, 'of the Religion', party, religion, strategy, temples, 1-3, 34-42, 87, 91-2, 100, 123, 128-9, 130-1, 141, 144-8, 163-71, 175, 185-7, 195-7, 205, 212, 217-21, 225-30, 244-6, 255-63, 279-80, 285-8; as 'humble Church of Christ', 'true servants of God' and 'all christianity', 144-5, 179, 205; 'general cause' of, 192, 201-2, 294; military and paramilitary organisation and actions of: fleet, 94-5, 211, 220, 245, 269-72, land armies, 'Army of the Princes', 'Army of the Viscounts', 122-31, 140-2, 146-51, 203, 208-9, 217-21, 230-60; ministers, pastors, 99-103, 156-9, 279; national and provincial Reformed synods: of Paris (1559), Clairac (1560), Poitiers (1560, March 1561), Agen (October 1561), Haut-Guyenne (Ste Foy la Grande, November 1561), Montauban (1594), 108-9, 125, 128-9, 278; national Synod and Confession of La Rochelle (April 1571), and Canons of Discipline, on baptism, conduct, consistories, deacons, elders, excommunication, gaming, Lord's Supper, marriage, matters of misbehaviour and correction, 278-80; *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* and Confession of Faith, Pau (November 1571), 285-6; 'Puritanical' aspects: adultery, blasphemy, concubinage, dancing, 'paillardise', prostitution, 288; vulnerability, weaknesses, 307, 312-14; *see also* evangelising; and *see* Huguenot
- Régin, Claude, bishop of Oloron, 103 religion, 2-3; *see also* Catholic, Church of England, Reformed, Lutheran, Scotland
- Reims, cathedral, 306
- René Florentin, perfumer, alleged poisoner of Jeanne, 297
- Rennes, bishop of, 161
- Republic, Reformed, 25
- ressort, *see* Parlement
- Rhineland, 210
- Rhône, valley, 39, 259
- Ribérac, 292
- Richard, duke of Aquitaine, king of England, 29
- Rio de Janeiro, *see* America
- Ritter, Raymond, 12, 79, 83, 178
- Rivière-Basse, in Guyenne south of the Garonne, 172
- Rochambeau, count, marquis of, 9-10, 103-4, 300
- Rochelle, La, 1, 3, 7, 9-11, 18, 21, 26, 35-7, 39, 59, 92-5, 107, 167, 170, 180-1, 188-9, 193, 290, 301; as refuge, sanctuary, triumphal entry into, 204-7; base for Reformed arms buildup, 209-12, 217-21, 254; government of Queen Jeanne at, 245-6; Jeanne's peace negotiations at, 260-2; marriage negotiations and piracy at, 265-75, 281-4; Synod of 1571 at, Confession and Discipline of, 278-81
- Rochette, Louis de, inquisitor, 85-6
- Rodez, county of, 56, 158, 207; Jeanne, countess of, 276 n.58
- Roelker, Nancy Lyman, 4-5, 11-12, 69, 80-4, 105-6, 111-12, 114, 140, 177, 206, 241; errors in *Queen of Navarre*, 115-16, 154 n.144, 155, 283 n.93
- Roger-Bernard, count of Périgord, 281
- Rome, *see* Catholic; Inquisition; popes
- Romier, Lucien, 22, 129
- Roncesvalles, pass, 26
- Roquépine, bastide, Périgord, 46
- Roques, maître d'hôtel of Queen Jeanne, 199 n.97
- Rose de Bourg, dame of Vayres, 45
- Rouen, 2 n.3; siege of, 151
- Rouergue, 21, 56, 158, 207
- Roussel, Gérard, chaplain of Marguerite d'Angoulême of Navarre, 63-5, 318; bishop of Oloron, 65, 73, 89, 103; Clairac, at abbey school of, 85
- Roussillon, bourg near Lyons, 162
- royal road, *see* *el camino real*
- Ruble, Alphonse de, 4, 8, 108, 140, 248; collected papers of, 8, 339; ed. of Monluc *Commentaires*, 155; *Jeanne d'Albret*, 155
- Rudel, Hélié, lord of Bergerac, 38
- Ryan, P.F. William, 4 n.6
- Sablé, madame de, 11
- Sables-d'Olonne, 61
- safe route, *see* crescent, Protestant; diagonal, Calvinist

- Saint Louis, 71, 161
 Sainte-Marthe, *Histoire genealogique de la Maison de France*, 299-300
 Saintes, Saintonge, 21, 36-7, 58, 94-6, 173, 191, 209, 216
 Salefranque, Pierre de, 102-3, 132
 Salic law, application not in kingdom of Navarre, 48-9; applied in France, 105
 Salies-en-Béarn, 237
 Salignac, Dordogne, 243
 Salles, Andre de Gachissans, lord of, lieutenant-commander of Navarrenx, 75 n.155, 215-16
 Salmon, J.H.M., 221, 254
 salt, tax, *see gabelle*; trade, 27, 217, 220
 Samuel, book of, 222
 Sancerre, 181
 Sancho VI *el Sabio*, king of Navarre, 29
 sanctuary, 1, 36-42, 92-6, 167-8, 171, 185-8, 192, 195, 212-17, 270, 310; *see also* America, Guyenne, homeland, Palissy, Promised Land
 Sangüesa, Spanish Navarre, 49
 Sardanapalus, *see* Francis I
 Sardinia, 137 n.73
 Sarlat, bishops of, 123; region of, 246 n.139
 Sarrance, abbey in Béarn, burned and pillaged, 273
 Satan, 138, 160, 169, 313; the Devil, 164
 Saülites, Guise as, 138
 Saumur, 302
 Sauveterre, Béarn, 50, 53
 Savoie, Louise de, queen mother, duchess of Angoulême, 65 n.103
 Savoie, Philiberte de, duchess of Nemours, 65 n.103
 Savonarola, Girolamo, 33
 Savoy, 269
 Scaliger, Jules-César, in Agen, 85
 Scotland, Church (Kirk) of, 1 n.1, 185
 Scotland, Scots, Scottish, aid to Reformed by, 210; ships at Blaye, 237; spy report, 268
 Ségur, Berard de, lord of Seiches and of Labarrière, 147 n.112, 211-12 n.152
 Ségur, Joachim de, 'le Puch de Pardaillan', Protestant noble, governor of Blaye, envoy at court of Elizabeth, 147, 211-12, 220, 245
 Serdoy, de, scribe of Queen Jeanne at La Rochelle, 275 n.56
 Serres, baron of, 75 n.155; *and see* Salles
 Servetus, Michael, 92
 Sevin, head of presidial of Agen, 250
 Shakespeare, William, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and Nérac, 62, 132, 294, 303
 Simancas, Archivo General de, 11; K series coded dispatches of Spanish ambassadors to France, 133-4, 133 n.55, 283 n.93, 343-4
 Slavonia (Croatia), 32
 Solon, Bernard, preacher, 101
 Somport, pass, 26
 Song of Deborah, *see* Judges
 Song of Songs, 67
 Souillac, Dordogne, 229, 243, 246
 Soule, between Béarn and Navarre, 22 n.14, 52; component territory of general government of Guyenne in 1711, 343
 southwestern France, 19, 22, 49; as 'une citadelle protestante', 147 n.116; Protestant urban establishment in, 208; *see* Aquitaine, Gascony, Guyenne; *see also* Béarn, Languedoc, Navarre, Poitou
 Spain, Spaniards, Spanish, 23, 26, 29-31, 54-5, 107-8, 168, 193, 204-5, 238, 265-71, 275; in first war in Guyenne, 148-9; Jeanne's fear concerning, 159; plot, alleged, of, 162, 172-3; reports, exaggerated, of, 184; strategy, naval, 269 n.26; 'Spanish Road', *see* Netherlands
 Spifame, Jacques, Jeanne's chancellor in Béarn, and scandal, beheading in Geneva, 162-3, 224 n.45
 Sponde, Enecot de, secretary of Henry II of Navarre, 73; and of Jeanne, 162, 237-8; and of king Henry III of Navarre, 301 n.173
 St Bartholomew's Day, massacre, 150, 298, 305
 St Céré, Quercy, 246
 St Cloud, 140
 St Denis, abjuration at, 306
 St Gaudens, 176
 St Georges, collegiate church, *see* Vendôme
 St Germain des Prés, abbey library, 11; Edict of Pacification of (1570), 260, 265, 270, 284
 St Germain-en-Laye, royal court palace, 69, 134
 St Germier, Guyon de Gout, lord of, at Pau, 160
 St Godon, on Loire, 181

- St Jean d'Angély, defence of, 244-7, 259
 St Jean-Pied-de-Port, 54
 St Maixent, Gironde, 233
 St Martin, parish church of Pau, 157, 234
 St Palais, Basse Navarre, 275
 St Pardoux, parish church near Issigeac, 123
 St Paul, 160
 St Peter, 160
 St Petersbourg, *see* Dubrowski
 St Sever, 260
 Ste Capraise, temple, Agen, 101
 Ste Foy la Grande, 39 n.82, 88-9, 149
 Strasbourg, 86-7
 Stuart, Mary, 107, 137 n.73
 Sunshine, Glenn S., 10 n.30, 279 nn.72, 73
 Swanson, Guy E., 34
 Switzerland, 86, 125
syndic, 38
 synods, *see* Reformed; *see also* Rochelle, La
 Syruelil, François de, canon of Bordeaux, 174, 203 n.115
- T**anlay, castle of Coligny in Burgundy, 181
 Tarbes, 229; burning of, 232
 Tarde, Jean, bishop of Sarlat, 123 n.6
 Tarn, bridge, river, 40; *see also* Montauban
 Tartas, Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
 Taulade, Robert de, Protestant minister, 274 n.47
 Terride (alt. Tarride), Antoine de Lomagne, lord of, 184; Béarn and Navarre, his seizure of Queen Jeanne's realm of, 215-16; capture and execution of, 232-4, 289-90; relation to Antoine de Gourdon, 289 n.125, 323 n.19
 Thou, Jacques-Auguste de, *Histoire universelle*, 181, 209, 218
 Throckmorton, English ambassador to court of France, 134
 Tillet, Jean du, 86
 Tillet, Louis du, and Calvin, 63, 86
 Tonnay-Charente, 219, 239
 Tonneins, 85-6, 190-1
 Torrena, cardinal of, 268
 Tortorel and Pérrissin, engravers, 134
 Toulouse, 33, 35, 40-1, 62, 117, 230, 235, 258-9; compared with Jerusalem, 160; *and see* Parlement
 Tours, 71, 290, 292
trajectus, of river Dordogne at Bergerac, 37, 122 n.5
 transhumance, 28, 216
 Trent, Council of (1545-1547), 90-1
 Tucoc-Chala, Pierre, 8
 Tucoc-Chala, Suzanne, 187 n.50
 Tuileries, grotto in, 37 n.70
 Tursan, 172; Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
- U***ne foi, une loi, un roi*, slogan, 34, 136, 315
 United Provinces of the Midi, United Provinces of the South, *see* Provinces-Unies du Midi
 University of Paris, *see* Paris
 usufruit, 56
- V**aillac, Jean Ricard Gourdon de Genouillac, lord of, governor of Château-Trompette, Bordeaux, 146-7
 Vaissete, Jean-Joseph, *see* De Vic
 Val-de-Grâce (Paris), *see* Jerusalem, temple of
 Valée, de, commissioner of Parlement of Bordeaux, 85
 Vallant, Dr Jean, 11, 324
 Vallant, Portefeuilles, manuscript collection, 10-13, 77 n.1, 79-84, 112, 138, 145, 152, 164 n.203; forgery question, 12-13, 79-84, 111-12, 178-9, 183, 230, 237, 290, 303-4; incorrect datings, 138 n.76, 143 n.99, 319 n.9, 320 n.13, 324 n.21, and conclusions concerning, 308; Summary Comment on the Question of Authenticity, 323-4, 340; *see also* Gourdon, letters
 Valois, kings of France, 46, 71, 136
 Vassignac, Gédéon de, Huguenot of Turenne, 320 n.15
 Vassy (Haute-Marne), massacre, 137-8
 Vatican, *see* Catholic, Church
 Vaudois, 32 n.53
 Vauvilliers, Mlle., 4 n.6, 6, 160, 167, 211, 239-40, 249, 252, 299
 Vendôme, Bourbon tombs and collegiate church of St Georges at, sack of, 142, 151; Jeanne duchess of, 276 n.58; Jeanne en route to Paris, 296; Jeanne's epitaph and burial at, 299-300
 Vergt, battle of, 148-51, 155
 Vézère, river, 243
 Vic-Bigorre, 176

- Vidal, secretary named by Antoine of Gourdon, 104 n.110
- Villanova, Juan de, signatory for Catholic supplicants, 275 n.56
- Villars, Honorat de Savoie, marquis of, lieutenant-general of Guyenne, 271
- Villefranche-en-Périgord, bastide, 46
- Villegagnon, leader of Brazilian expedition, 167 n.215
- Villemur, Haute Garonne, sale of, 267 n.13; Jeanne, viscountess of, 276 n.58
- Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 90, 191-2
- Villeroche, Reformed minister of Nérac, 105, 107
- Vincennes, 297
- violence, 2, 27, 33, 92-7, 121-4, 137-8; iconoclastic, 124-5, 142, 263-4; in Guyenne, 126-31, 169-70, 174, 189, 216, 263-4, 288, and in Béarn, 157, 160, 169-70, 232-5, 273; in Paris, 298; *see also* Wars of Religion
- Viret, Pierre, 68, 87, 234, 251
- Voye, Aymon de la, 88-9
- War**, *see* holy war, Hundred Years War, Wars of Religion
- Wars of Religion, 2, 8, 32, 42, 191; first war (1562-1563), 138-52; second war (1567-1568), 166, 183; third war (1568-1570), 185-265
- William, duke of Aquitaine, 48
- Wiltshire, 30
- wine trade, 26-7, 38, 85, 217, 220
- X**ivrey, Berger de, 12, 302
- Z**urich, 94
- Zweibrücken, Wolfgang, duke of, 210